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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

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THIRD SESSION
CALCUTTA

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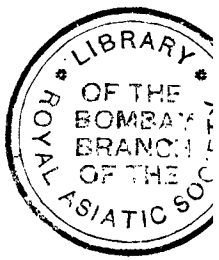

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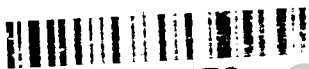

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INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS, CALCUTTA, 1939

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INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

THIRD SESSION, 1939

REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS

Preliminary Preparations

On June 8, 1935, a representative gathering of scholars met at Poona to inaugurate the All-India Modern History Congress. The general meeting on the 10th June, 1935, decided to widen the scope of the organisation and to rename it the Indian History Congress. At the Second Session, held at Allahabad in October, 1938, the reorganise d Congress received its new constitution.

The Third Session of the Indian History Congress was invited to the capital of Bengal by the University of Calcutta. The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Azizul Huq, C.I.E., B.L., M.L.A., the Vice-Chancellor of the University, became the Chairman of the Reception Committee which undertook all the necessary arrangements in this connection. Dr. S. N. Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt. (Oxon.) and Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D. were appointed Local Secretaries. On the resignation of Dr. Sen after his appointment as Keeper of Imperial Records, the Syndicate of the Calcutta University selected as Local Secretaries in his place Mr. J. C. Chakravorti, M.A., and Mr. S. C. Sarkar, M.A. (Oxon.). A Working Committee was formed consisting of the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., D.Litt., M.L.A., Barrister-at-Law, Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee, M.A., B.L., M.L.A., Barrister-at-Law and the three Local Secretaries. The organisational work was carried

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out through eleven Sub-Committees, a full list of which with the names of their Conveners will be found elsewhere in this Report.

The Working Committee sent out circulars and a bulletin to all Provincial Governments, the major Indian States, Universities, Research Societies, Records Offices and Museums, degree Colleges, and teachers of History all over India, as well as to all scholars known to have an interest in any aspect of Indian History, inviting their participation in the Congress. The response was very encouraging. The Government of India and the Governments of Assam, Bombay and the Punjab and six Indian States nominated representatives to the Third Session of the Congress. Sixteen Universities, twenty-seven research and learned institutions and thirteen Colleges also were officially represented at the Calcutta Session. The total number of delegates came up to the figure of 185 of whom 95 joined the Congress in their individual capacity. Almost every part of India came thus to be represented in the gathering at Calcutta. The number of papers included in the agenda of the Session reached the total of 144.

Financial Support

The Reception Committee which came to consist of 165 members endeavoured to the best of its capacity to secure the smooth working of the Congress and to make the sojourn of the visitors in Calcutta comfortable. Large funds were needed for the purpose and the problem was tackled by the Working Committee with the help of the Collections Sub-Committee which had the able guidance of its convener, Mr. Nibaranchandra Ray, M.A. A princely donation of Rs. 1,000 from Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D. and generous grants from the Bengal Government and the Calcutta University of Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 750 respectively materially lessened the burden on the organisers of the Congress.

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Other donations also were deeply appreciated and a full list of donors will be found in the Appendix. Each delegate paid a sum of five rupees only and the fee for membership of the Reception Committee was fixed at rupees ten only.

The Presidents

Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dacca and its first Professor of History, very kindly agreed to preside over the Third Session of the Congress and to guide its deliberations. The academic work of the Session was divided into five Sections, and the following scholars were kind enough to accept the presidentship of the sections noted against their names and thereby to promote the success of the Congress :—

1. Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt., Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Benares Hindu University. ... Archaic and Early Cultural Section.
2. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A., Professor of Indian History and Archæology, Madras University. ... Ancient Imperial Section.
3. Dr. M. Nazim, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.), Superintendent, Central Circle, Archæological Survey of India. ... Early Mediæval Section (including the Sultanate period and contemporaneous Rajput history).
4. Dr. Tarachand, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.), Principal, Kayastha Pathsala, Allahabad. ... Mughul Section (including the Early Maratha-Sikh period).
5. Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Professor of History, Annamalai University. ... Modern Section (including the Later Maratha-Sikh history).

Co-operation of Scholars and Local Workers

Whatever success the Third Session of the Indian History Congress in Calcutta may have achieved is largely due to the kind interest taken in it by the General President and the

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Sectional Presidents, to the co-operation of scholars and institutions from all over the country, to the devoted labour and sympathy of local workers and to the generosity of public-spirited citizens of Calcutta and suburbs.

Accommodation

The Delegates Camp was located in the Asutosh Building, Calcutta University, where accommodation was provided for over sixty delegates as guests of the Reception Committee. The catering of the principal meals was arranged free of charge from the 14th to the 18th December. Mr. Sailendranath Mitra, M.A., Secretary of the Post-Graduate Councils, was in charge of the Camp, and he was assisted by Mr. B. N. Sen, M.A., Inspector of Messes and Hostels, Mr. S. C. Raychaudhuri, M.A., Superintendent of the Hardinge Hostel and by the members of the Accommodation Sub-Committee. A number of workers and student volunteers attended to the comforts of the delegates in the Camp. Accommodation was also provided in the Camp, before and after the Session, for delegates of the Congress who arrived early to attend the Indian Historical Records Commission or stayed on for the meetings of the Numismatic Society of India.

Arrangements for Reception of Delegates

The Reception Committee is deeply grateful to the Railway Board of India which very kindly arranged with all the principal Indian Railways a special concession for the members of the Congress travelling to Calcutta and back for the Session. This courtesy on the part of the Railway Board and the Railways has been highly appreciated by the delegates. Efforts were made to meet all the principal trains in Calcutta and to help the delegates at the station by the members of a Sub-Committee entrusted with this work. A body of willing student-volunteers was organised by another Sub-Com-

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mittee with Mr. S. C. Majumdar, M.A., B.L., as convener. Attendance at the station was undertaken along with the volunteers and members of the History Union by the following gentlemen amongst others—Mr. Sachindranath Banerji, M.A., B.L., Mr. D. K. Sanyal, M.A., Dr. N. K. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., Profs. Sukumar Bhattacharyya, M.A., Sambhunath Banerji, M.A. and Abaninath Bose, M.A. of Asutosh College, Prof. Zahurul Islam, M.A. of Islamia College, Prof. J. K. Chowdhury, M.A. of Vidyasagar College, Prof. S. C. Majumdar, M.A., B.L. of the Presidency College and Mr. Sarasikumar Saraswati, M.A. of the Asutosh Museum. The Bengal Scouts rendered valuable assistance in the reception of the delegates, and the Reception Committee is taking this opportunity of expressing its thanks to the Scouts' organisation. Thanks are also due to the Principals of Vidyasagar and Asutosh Colleges who very kindly placed their buses at the disposal of the Reception Committee for the conveyance of the delegates from the Camp to social functions and back.

Arrangements for Meetings and Sundry Official Business

The papers received for the Session were allotted to their respective Sections by a Papers Sub-Committee with Mr. P. N. Banerjee, M.A., B.L., M.L.A., Barrister-at-Law, as its convener. The number of papers placed before the five sections were 21, 35, 27, 26 and 35 respectively. The arrangements in connection with the actual meetings of the Congress were in the hands of another Sub-Committee with Dr. A. P. Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), as convener. Dr. Niharranjan Ray, M.A., Ph.D., Dr. Phil. (Leyden) conducted the publicity work with the help of still another Sub-Committee. Mr. Tripurari Chakravarti, M.A., the convener of a fourth Sub-Committee, was placed in charge of matters relating to the Office and Enquiries. The Reception Committee is grateful to Dr. P. C. Bagchi, M.A., Dr. es Lettres

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(Paris) who was kind enough to compile a book, named 'Calcutta: Past and Present'. This book, a copy of which was presented to each delegate, was very much appreciated by the visitors and the chapter on 'A short guide to Calcutta' included therein and the Map were specially helpful to newcomers to Calcutta, who wanted to visit the various places of interest in this city.

The Opening Session

On Friday, December 15, 1939, the Inaugural Ceremony of the Third Session of the Indian History Congress was held at 10 A.M., in a spacious decorated *pandal* erected between the Senate House and the Asutosh Building, before a large and distinguished gathering. On arrival, His Excellency Sir John Arthur Herbert, G.C.I.E., the Governor of Bengal and Chancellor of the Calcutta University, was received by the Chairman and Working Council of the Reception Committee and the Presidents, Vice-Presidents, Secretaries and Treasurer of the Congress. He was then taken to the *dais* in a procession in the following order :—

The Local Secretaries,
The Members of the Working Committee,
His Excellency the Governor,
The Chairman of the Reception Committee,
The President-elect of the Third Session,
The Sectional Presidents,
The President of the last Session and the Vice-Presidents,
The General Secretary of the Indian History Congress,
The Joint Secretary of the Indian History Congress,
The Treasurer of the Indian History Congress.

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur M. Azizul Huque, C.I.E., M.L.A., Vice-Chancellor and Chairman of the Reception Committee, then welcomed the delegates and members of the Congress to the city where was laid "the foundation of

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what we may term Modern India." He spoke about the aims and aspirations of the Congress and invited His Excellency the Governor of Bengal to inaugurate the Session. His Excellency in declaring the Session open pointed out that the Congress, though a comparatively recent body, represented a long and distinguished tradition of historical scholarship and research. Events of to-day, he added, are not and never can be dissociated from the past and the historian can be of help even to people who are primarily concerned with day-to-day affairs.

Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Kt., M.A., Ph.D., proposed the name of Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., for Presidentship, which was seconded by Dr. M. H. Krishna, M.A., D.Litt. (Lond.) and unanimously adopted. The President of the Session in his address emphasised the necessity of a public forum for discussing all historical problems. He put in a plea for widening the scope of historical studies and indicated the lines on which future investigations in the subject ought to proceed. The Opening Session of the Congress was ended by the formal presentation of the Proceedings of the Allahabad Session by the General Secretary, Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Kt., M.A., Ph.D.

The Historical Exhibition

In the same *pandal* in the afternoon of the same day, the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Chief Minister of Bengal, who also holds the portfolio of Education, opened the Historical Exhibition and announced the Government grant of Rs. 1,000 to the funds of the Reception Committee. The Exhibition which was housed in the Senate Hall had been organised by a Sub-Committee with Mr. D. P. Ghosh, M.A., Curator of the Asutosh Museum, as convener. He was assisted in this work by Dr. Niharranjan Ray, M.A., Ph.D., Dr. Phil. (Ley.), Mr. S. K. Saraswati, M.A., Mr. N. N. Dasgupta, M.A., Mr. K. Ganguli, M.A., Mr. K. G. Gos-

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wami, M.A.,and a band of hard-working student-volunteers and other scholars and workers. The response to the appeal for exhibits was ready and gratifying and a full list of the exhibits, many of which attracted the deep attention of scholars and students, has been included in this Report.* The Exhibition was kept open for a few days beyond the actual sitting of the Congress in consideration of its high educative value for the public.

Illustrated Lecture

The organisers of the Congress owe a debt of gratitude to Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M.A., Director-General of the Archæological Survey of India, for delivering to the Congress on December 15, 1939, an illustrated lecture on Prehistoric India. The Darbhanga Hall was crowded to its fullest capacity and the large audience listened to the discourse with rapt attention.

Sectional Meetings

The five Sections of the Congress held their meetings in the spacious halls and lecture rooms of the Asutosh Building on December 15, from 2 p.m. to 5 p.m. and on December 16, from 8 a.m. to 11 a.m. The Presidential Addresses were delivered at different times so that the delegates could listen to all of them if they so liked. The smooth and uninterrupted working of the sections was ensured by the watchful eye of the Sectional Presidents who were helped in their task by the Sectional Secretaries and their colleagues and by Dr. A. P. Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.) and his Meetings Sub-Committee. The Presidential Addresses are printed in the body of this volume. The papers received for the Session have also been noticed and most of them have been printed *in extenso*.

* This list of exhibits is printed after Section V of the entire Proceedings.

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The Archaic and Ancient Cultural History Section

The Archaic Period Section (Section I) of the Third Session of the Indian History Congress met under the presidentship of Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., LL.B., D. Litt. The President was assisted by Dr. B. C. Sen, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), and Mr. J. N. Banerjea, M.A., the Sectional Secretaries, who were helped by Dr. Niharranjan Ray, M.A., Ph.D., Dr. Phil. (Leyden). There was an appreciative gathering of scholars on both the days. The President took about an hour to deliver his learned address on the Reconstruction of the pre-Bhārata-War History of India, which was followed with keen interest by the scholars present on the occasion. Of the 21 papers in this section, 5 had to be taken as read as the writers were not present. The papers dealt with the various historical and cultural aspects of the remote past of India (particularly of the period before the rise of the Maurya Empire) and helped to throw fresh light thereon. A resolution was moved from the Chair on the second day of the meeting, requesting the Government of India to reconsider their decision about stopping further excavation work by the Archæological Department on account of general financial stringency due to war, and inviting the co-operation of the Indian Universities and other learned bodies in this matter. The resolution was carried unanimously.

The Ancient Imperial Period Section

The Ancient Imperial Period Section (Section II) met under the presidency of Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A. Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph. D., was the Sectional Secretary, assisted by Dr. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D., and Mr. N. C. Sinha, M.A. The Presidential Address dwelt upon the Conception of Empire in Ancient India. A very interesting feature of the section, which was concerned mainly with the period of the Mauryas and their successors down to the

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Imperial Cholas, was the fact that most of the papers were discussed and that several eminent scholars took part in many of the debates.

Mr. P. Acharya suggested in his paper that the famous inscription of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva did not originally belong to the Bhuvaneśvara temple, and Prof. B. M. Barua supported the theory. Dr. B. R. Chatterji's paper on Jayavarman VII of Cambodia, the only paper in the section devoted entirely to a Greater Indian topic, was welcomed by Dr. R. C. Majumdar who pointed out that a revised and up-to-date edition of the author's *Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia* is badly needed. Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao's theory that the original home of the Chalukyas was in Andhradeśa was supported by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya. Dr. D. C. Sircar, however, disagreed and pointed out that the actual name in the expression *Khamdachalikiremmanaka* of the Nāgārjunikonda inscription, excluding the meaningless suffix, is *Khamdachalikiremma* and that *Chaliki*, the *central* part of the name, can hardly have anything to do with the Chalukyas. Mr. D. N. Mukherji's theory of the contemporaneity of the early Guptas with Kanishka was controverted by Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri. The latter also pointed out difficulties in the way of accepting Mr. B. N. Puri's suggestion that Kanishka of the Ārā inscription is to be identified with his namesake of the records with earlier dates. Mr. M. M. Nagar read a paper on an interesting image of Rāhu which evoked a discussion in which Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Professor Raychaudhuri and others took part. Mr. R. V. Poduval's paper was on the Birudas or secondary epithets of the kings of Travancore. Of special interest was Mr. Y. K. Deshpande's paper on a newly discovered copperplate of Vākāṭaka Vindhyaśakti, which excited a keen debate joined by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Prof. V. V. Mirashi, Dr. D. C. Sircar, Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit and Prof. H. C. Ray-

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chaudhuri. Dr. Majumdar, Rao Bahadur K.N. Dikshit and Prof. Mirashi were inclined to agree with Mr. Deshpande that it was a genuine record belonging to the founder of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. Dr. D. C. Sircar, however, pointed out that the box-headed characters of the record closely resemble those of the grants of Pravarasena II. If the grant be a genuine one, he argued, Pravarasena, the first king mentioned in it, should be identified with Pravarasena I and Vindhyaśakti should be taken as a later prince, different from the founder of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. Prof. B. M. Barua's learned paper was on the religious condition of Bengal before the Pālas. Dr. U. N. Ghoshal read an interesting paper on the head-offering motif; Mr. S. K. Saraswati subjected it to a critical examination. Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri and Dr. D. C. Sircar were not inclined to accept Prof. K. P. Chattopadhyaya's theory regarding the cross-cousin marriage and matrilineal succession among the Sātavāhanas and Professor Mirashi referred in this connection to a large find of new Sātavāhana coins where the royal title is not accompanied by the metronymic. Dr. D. C. Sircar drew attention in his paper to a *mantra* in Parāsara's *Krishisamgraha*, which proves that the auspicious symbol at the beginning of Indian inscriptions was pronounced as *Om siddhih*, and suggested that the *pranava* in that expression was responsible for Al-Bīrūnī's wrong interpretation of the symbol as *Om*. Prof. Mirashi thought that the symbol indicates *siddham*, while Mr. K. P. Mitra found in it nothing but a developed form of the *svastika*. Dr. D. C. Sircar pointed out in reply that Al-Bīrūnī's mistake and the symbol followed by *siddhih* in the land grant of Raṇabhanja's 58th year have got to be explained and that *siddham* and the *svastika* are found side by side in the Nasik cave inscriptions. Interesting papers were also read by Prof. Mirashi, Mr. K. C. Chattopadhyaya, Dr. Venkataramanayya, Dr. B. C. Sen, Mr. S. Banerji, Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri,

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Dr. D. C. Ganguli, Dr. M. H. Krishna and Dr. R. G. Basak. Mr. V. R. R. Dikshitar's paper was read by Dr. Venkataramanayya. Mr. S. C. Banerji tried in his paper to prove the existence of a ruler of Vyāghratatī (=Bagri) named Kalyānavarman. Mr. Panthrey read a paper on the sources of Maukhari history and Mr. S. K. Das (M.A. student in Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University) read another on the position of women in Kautilya's Arthaśāstra. The remaining papers were taken as read, as their authors were absent. These included an interesting paper by Dr. B. C. Law, entitled "Contemporaneity of the kings of India and Ceylon."

The Early Mediæval History (including the Sultanate) Section

The Early Mediæval Period Section (Section III) met under the presidency of Dr. M. Nazim, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.). Mr. Subimalchandra Dutt, M.A., was the Sectional Secretary assisted by Mr. Anil Banerji, M.A. and Mr Golapchandra Raychaudhuri, M.A., B.L. Dr. Nazim's address was a survey of the original contributions made by Indian scholars to the early Indo-Muslim history.

All papers written by the delegates present in the meeting were read. The following papers were taken as read as the writers were not present:—(1) The earliest Muslim inscription from Ahmedabad by Dr. M. A. Chagtai. (2) The reign of Sultan Humāyūn Shāh Bahmanī by Prof. H. K. Sherwani. (3) The Hindus in Mediæval India by Dr. Mehdi Husain. (4) Relations between Eastern Ganga rulers and the Sultans of Delhi and Bengal (1205-1435) by Mr. R. Subba Rao.

Among the more interesting papers mention may be made of "Influence of Sher Shāh Sūr on Islamic Architecture" (by Mr. Percy Brown), "India as described by an unknown early Arab Geographer" (by Mr. R. K. Chaube),

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"Some Hindu elements in the Muslim coinage of India" (by Dr. S. K. Chakravorti), "Kumāragiri Reddi" (by Dr. Rama Rao), "Chaitanya's relations with contemporary Reformers" (by Dr. B. B. Majumdar), "Life and Times of Alauddin Khalji" (by Dr. N. C. Banerjee), "The word Turuska in Tummana Haihaya records" (by Dr. H. C. Ray), "The Arab Conquest of Sind" (by Mr. S. N. Dhar), "Unpublished source-books of the pre-Mughul Indo-Muslim history" (by Dr. A. B. M. Habibullah), and "The Historicity of Dewal Rānī" (by Dr. K. R. Qanungo).

Mr. N. B. Ray argued that the infant who was placed on the throne of Delhi after the death of Muhammad bin Tughluq was a pretender of unknown origin, but Dr. N. Venkataramanayya and Mr. R. K. Chaube were inclined to take him as a real son of the late Sultan. Dr. K. R. Qanungo argued that the case was suspicious.

Dr. B. B. Majumdar cited interesting literary evidence regarding similarity of views held by Chaitanya and contemporary reformers like Rāmānanda and Nānak. Dr. K. R. Qanungo held that such similarity should not be taken to indicate mutual influence.

With regard to Dr. N. C. Banerjee's paper, Dr. K. R. Qanungo referred to certain interesting details in Amir Khusrau's books.

There was a discussion about Dr. H. C. Ray's paper, in which Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri, Dr. K. R. Qanungo and others participated.

Mr. S. N. Dhar explained the causes of the defeat of Dahir by the Arabs, and repudiated the current theory that the Buddhists acted treacherously towards the Hindu king. Dr. K. R. Qanungo supported him. Dr. S. K. Banerjee argued that economic factors played a leading part in bringing the Arabs upon Sind.

Dr. Qanungo held that Amir Khusrau's work on Dewal

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Rānī could not be accepted as a truly historical account of a contemporary episode and that the figure of the heroine was more or less romantic. Mr. Shri Ram Sharma and Dr. B. P. Saksena disagreed with him and maintained that the poem had a real historical basis.

The Mughul and the Early Maratha-Sikh Period Section

The Mughul and the Early Maratha-Sikh Period Section (Section IV) was presided over by Dr. Tarachand, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.) with Mr. Zahurul Islam, M.A., B.L., and Dr. Indubhushan Banerji, M.A., Ph.D., as Sectional Secretaries assisted by Dr. Sanaullah, Ph.D. The Presidential Address was a survey of Indian culture under the Mughuls.

The papers of the section were divided for the sake of convenience into two parts—those relating to Mughul history proper and those concerned with the early Maratha-Sikh period. In the first group, there was a discussion on the paper by Dr. S. K. Bhuyan on Swargadeo Rudra Singh, King of Assam (1696-1714) ; Mr. S. H. Askari expressing doubts about the historicity of the projects of Rudra Singh. In the second division there was a keen debate on Mr. V. D. Rao's generalisations from Maratha bardic literature in which Professors Kale, Puntambekar, Shri Ram Sharma and Banhatti took part. In both groups there were interesting papers most of which were read *in extenso*. In a concluding speech Dr. Tarachand drew attention to the progress already achieved by Indian scholars in this field of study but sounded an ote of warning against possible bias in historical writings.

The Modern and the Later Maratha-Sikh Period Section

The Modern and the Later Maratha-Sikh Period Section (Section V) was presided over by Rao Sahib Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., whose Presidential Address was on the study of Modern Indian History. The Sectional Secretaries

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incharge were Dr. N. C. Banerji, M.A., Ph.D. and Dr. N. K. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., assisted by Dr A. P. Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).

Prof. T. G. P. Spear read a paper entitled "Lord Ellenborough and Lord William Bentinck." He enumerated the points of difference between Ellenborough and Bentinck and emphasised the former's highhandedness. There was a discussion in which the President and Dr. N. L. Chatterji took part, the former suggesting that perhaps the atmosphere of Madras had something to do with Bentinck's early failure as Governor there. Prof. Spear referred in reply to the comparative youth and inexperience of Bentinck when he was in Madras. He said that the Government in England knew well how Ellenborough was accustomed to hustle everybody but they could not do without him because of his great political influence.

Mr. S. N. Banerji in his paper "The Beginning of an Asiatic Policy" pointed out how the Durrani menace and Wellesley's attempts to meet it resulted in the adoption of an Asiatic foreign policy by the British Indian Government. Dr. K. K. Dutt in course of a discussion said that the precise date of the beginning of this Durrani menace was pointed out by Dr. N. K. Sinha in a paper, published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1934.

Dr. S. N. Sen read two papers—"Lord Auckland on Delhi" and "Settlement of the Peshwa's Territories." He pointed out that Auckland used to take great interest in the Imperial City and he compared him with Curzon in this respect. The paper on the settlement of the Peshwa's territories contained very interesting details.

Mr. R. C. Banerji had two papers for the section. His first paper "State patronage to Hindu and Muslim religions under the rule of the East India Company" showed how healthy was the religious atmosphere in the early days of the Company. He gave interesting and detailed figures

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of State contributions towards the expenses of Hindu and Muslim religious celebrations. He pointed out how troops used to line the roadways as guards of honour to idols when they were carried in processions. Dr. A. P. Dasgupta supported Mr. Banerji from the detailed report of the settlement of the Rajshahi district in 1772. He said that for that district alone Rs. 18,000 a year was allocated under this head. The President also supplied some details from the history of Madras in the early days of the East India Company in this connection.

Dr. Hari Ram Gupta explained the observations of Mohanlal on the causes of the Insurrection in Kabul (1841-42) and threw light on the tense situation leading to the rising. The paper of Dr. N. L. Chatterji was one of the series that he is publishing on Verelst's administration in Bengal (1767-69) and referred to the Anglo-Dutch disputes during the period. The dissertation of Dr. A. P. Dasgupta, already referred to, gave details of the financial relations between the East India Company and Rani Bhawani, relating to the settlement of the district of Rajshahi. Mr. T. Chakravarty read a paper entitled "New Light on Morley-Minto Reforms," describing the genesis of separate electorates and unimpeachable evidence from Lady Minto's diary of the policy of "*Divide et impera*." Pointed reference was made to Morley's compunctions and hesitations in this connection.

Dr. K. K. Dutt, in his note on "The Two Brothers of Sadat Ali," threw light on an obscure chapter of the history of Oudh. Bengal's opium trade in the early 19th century was the subject of a paper read by Mr. H. R. Ghoshal. In reply to an enquiry of Dr. Bisweswar Prasad, Mr. Ghoshal admitted that the Malwa opium trade had much to do with the British annexation of that region.

Mr. Ganda Singh discussed the Maratha-Sikh treaty of 1785, analysed its clauses and explained why it failed.

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Prof. D. V. Potdar read the paper of Mr. G. R. Khandekar on Gopal Sambhaji. Dr. M. H. Krishna gave very interesting details dealing with the administration of Mysore in the days of Hyder Ali, basing his conclusions on the *Hyder Nama*, a Canarese document. Dr. Bisweswar Prasad's paper on "Some early post-mutiny Schemes of Decentralisation" was an interesting contribution to the constitutional history of the period. Mr. Anil Chandra Banerji, in his note on Madhava Rao's relations with the English, dealt with the subject in considerable detail, while Dr. N. K. Sinha's paper on "Madhava Rao and the First Anglo-Mysore War" explained that Peshwa's relations with Hyder between 1767 and 1769.

This Section was also enriched by Dr. I. Banerji with his dissertation on "The Kashmir Rebellion and the Trial of Lal Singh," by Dr. N. C. Banerji with his study of "Ranjit Singh, the man and his achievements," by Mr. Nirmal Chandra Sinha with his notes on "The First Public Service Examinations, 1845-52," by Dr. K. N. V. Sastri with his discourse on "The Present Problems of Indian Administration" and by Mr. S. N. Dasgupta with his narration of "The English East India Company's quest for settlements in the East Indies in the 18th century." Mr. S. C. Sarkar contributed a paper, dealing with the Nepal Frontier in the second half of the 18th century, which was taken as read.

Business Meeting and Concluding Session

The Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress held a long meeting on December 15 and prepared the business which came up next day for consideration by the concluding plenary session of the Congress. A full account of these meetings will be found elsewhere in this Report. Certain modifications were adopted in the Constitution as a

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result of the experience gained in working. A special committee was appointed to explore the financial aspects of the scheme of undertaking a comprehensive history of India. The new Executive Committee was elected with the following members :

President—Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D.

Vice-Presidents—Diwan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., D.Litt., M.R.A.S., F.R.H.S., F.A.S.B.
Prof. D. V. Potdar, B.A.

General Secretary—Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Kt., M.A., D.Litt.

Joint Secretary—Prof. J. F. Bruce, M.A. (Oxon.).

Treasurer—Prof. Shri Ram Sharma, M.A.

Ordinary Members—Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.A.S.B.
Dr. S. N. Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt. (Oxon.).
Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D.
Prof. M. H. Krishna, M.A., D.Litt. (Lond.).
Rao Sahib Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A.
Prof. H. K. Sherwani, M.A. (Oxon.).
Prof. S. V. Puntambekar, M.A. (Oxon.).

On behalf of the Punjab University, Prof. J. F. Bruce invited the Indian History Congress to hold its Fourth Session at Lahore, and the offer was accepted with thanks.

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The Social Side of the Congress

Not the least interesting feature of the Congress was the opportunity that it afforded for social contact between scholars coming from different parts of India and those who ordinarily reside in the Presidency of Bengal. The organisation of social functions was undertaken by a local Entertainments Sub-Committee with Mr. Satischandra Ghosh, M.A., as its convener. The Sub-Committee had the kind co-operation of a number of distinguished citizens of Calcutta. To meet the members of the Congress, the Indian Research Institute, of which Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D. is a leading figure, organised a pleasant programme on December 14 in the afternoon, on the eve of the opening of the Congress. On the first evening of the Session, the Arts Faculty Club of the University arranged for a Musical Soiree with songs, instrumental music and dances which were much appreciated. The University of Calcutta entertained the Congress at lunch on December 16, in the spacious *pandal* next to the Senate House. That same afternoon, Dr. S. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., F.N.I., F.Z.S. was at home to the Congress members in his famous Aviary, several miles out of Calcutta. The delegates were conveyed by special buses along the Barrackpur Trunk Road to Dr. Law's Villa at Agarpara to spend a very enjoyable afternoon in his beautiful grounds. The visitors much admired Dr. Law's collection of rare birds and were treated to music after tea. At night on December 16, the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University gave a sumptuous dinner to the members of the Congress at his residence at 21, Loudon Street, in a specially erected *pandal* in the garden. The Reception Committee arranged for a steamer party on December 17, with lunch and tea and a visit to the Botanical Garden. The delegates on board had an opportunity of making new acquaintances while entertainment was provided in the shape of conjurors' tricks displayed by a number of

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gentlemen including the noted magician Mr. P. C. Sorcar. on that evening, after the steamer trip, the Sanskrit Sahitya Parishad staged two dramatic pieces, before a large audience of Congress members, which were much appreciated by the distinguished guests. The social functions of the Session were wound up in a fitting manner with a grand dinner given by Dr. N. N. Law, M.A., Ph.D., editor of the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, at his residence at 96, Amherst Street, on the night of December 17.

Historical Excursion

The longer historical trips to Paharpur and Mahasthangarh, Gaur and Pandua, or Murshidabad and Plassey—contemplated by the Excursions Sub-Committee, with Dr. N. C. Banerji, M.A., Ph.D., as its convener—had to be abandoned on account of lack of support from a sufficient number of delegates, though the Archæological Survey very kindly offered all facilities. An excursion to Triveni and its neighbourhood was, however, organised by the Calcutta University History Union, on December 18, in connection with the History Congress Session.

The party consisted of about one hundred persons, including a large number of students and seven lady-students of the University History Department. Four buses started with the party from the University gates at about 8-30 A.M. and arrived at Belur at about 9 A.M. There the beautiful *Math* and the Ramkrishna Temple evoked a good deal of interest amongst the members of the party. They proceeded next to Uttarpara where the local gentry led by Mr. D. N. Mukherji, M.L.A., had arranged a reception in the compound of the premises of the Public Library. Mr. Syama Prasad Mukherji, M.A., B.L., of Uttarpara, in a neat little speech heartily welcomed the delegates and others of the party, while Dr. H. R. Gupta, M.A., Ph.D. of Lahore thanked the management on behalf of the delegates. This pleasant

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function over, the party went to the Serampur College and was received by Rev. J. A. Rawson, the Acting Principal, who showed them round the library and the works of Carey and Marshman. The party next visited the tomb of the Carey family and at about 12 noon reached Chandernagore where Mr. Harihar Seth welcomed the visitors with his usual hospitality and treated them to a sumptuous meal. The party then visited the local Roman Catholic church endowed by Claude Martin. The next stage was at Hooghly where the visitors were taken to the College and the Principal showed them the points of interest. Thereafter they visited the Imambara. The Portuguese Church at Bandel was the next halting stage. The party subsequently proceeded to Triveni and visited the Zafar Shah Mosque, the *ghats* of Raja Mukundadeva of Orissa and some temples and sculptures lying there. Saptagram was dropped from the programme as it was growing late. The party took some rest at the residence of the Mahasayas of Bansberia who welcomed the delegates and other members of the party and treated them to tea and light refreshments. It was about a quarter to nine that the buses returned to the University gates.

The tour was thoroughly enjoyed. The students co-operated to make it a success and they had an opportunity of spending some time with the visiting delegates.

In conclusion, the Local Secretaries convey on behalf of the Reception Committee their best thanks to all workers who contributed in any way to the success of the Session. Special mention should be made in this connection of the willing co-operation received from the members of the administrative and the subordinate staff of the University and the University Press which considerably lightened the duties of the organisers.

H. C. RAYCHAUDHURI
J. CHAKRAVORTI
S. C. SARKAR.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

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APPENDIX A

REPORT OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress was held in the Registrar's Room, Calcutta University, Calcutta, on Friday, December 15, at 7-15 P. M.

The following members attended:—

Diwan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar
Prof. D. V. Potdar
Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan
Dr. S. N. Sen
Prof. Shri Ram Sharma
Dr. R. C. Majumdar
Rao Sahib Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, and
Prof. S. V. Puntambekar.

Dr. Bisweswar Prasad, Prof. J. F. Bruce and the Local Secretaries of the Third Session were present by invitation.

1. It was decided that condolence resolutions on the deaths of

(*i*) Sir Evan Cotton
(*ii*) Mr. Balasubramaniam Pillai
(*iii*) Mr. T. R. Sesha Iyengar
(*iv*) Mr. Mesrov J. Seth
(*v*) Mr. Nanigopal Majumdar, and
(*vi*) Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen

would be moved from the Chair, at the Concluding Session of the Congress.

2. The published Proceedings of the Second Session of the Indian History Congress held at Allahabad in 1938 was presented for record by the General Secretary.

3. Action taken on Resolution No. 5 of the Indian History Congress, 1938, was reported by the General Secretary.

The Resolution was communicated to the Government of India, Provincial Governments and some prominent Indian States (*vide*

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Circular Letter, dated 30th August, 1939) with the request that they may take such action as they deem fit. The Government of India and the Provincial Governments of Bengal, Bombay, Madras, the Punjab and Central Provinces have replied that they possess well-equipped Record Offices to which access to *bonafide* researchers is allowed under certain rules. The Government of Bihar do not see the need of a Central Record Office but have published a Handbook of the Records in their Province, which they desire to bring up to date.

The State of Travancore has a Record Office containing a valuable collection of ancient palm-leaf documents. So also the Hyderabad State has its Daftar-e-Diwani. The question of establishing a Record Office is under consideration in Mysore. Rampur State has a well-equipped Library, but the record of official papers bearing on modern Indian history has not yet been organised. No reply has yet been received from the Governments of the United Provinces, Orissa, Sind, N. W. Frontier, Assam and several Indian States.

4. It was resolved that in furtherance of the objects of Resolution No. 4 of the Indian History Congress held at Allahabad, 1938, the plenary session of the Congress be requested to appoint a Committee of Ways and Means consisting of the following members to explore the financial possibilities of the scheme of preparing a comprehensive history of India on scientific lines, with instructions to report to the Committee appointed by Resolution No. 4 mentioned above. The Committee will determine its own procedure and may co-opt members if necessary—

Dr. R. C. Majumdar. *Chairman*
Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar
Diwan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar
Prof. D. V. Potdar
Sir Jogendra Singh
Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, *Secretary*
Dr. Bisweswar Prasad, and
Prof. Shri Ram Sharma.

5. It was resolved that the following modifications in the Constitution of the Indian History Congress be recommended to the business meeting of the Congress.

(*a*) The following sentence to be added after section 2—"Each

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of the new candidates for membership should have his name proposed and seconded by existing members of the Congress. The Executive Committee will admit the new members and maintain a full register of membership."

(*b*) In section 4, the words " members of " should be added before " the Congress."

(*c*) In section 7, a sub-section should be added—

"Of the annual fee for membership (Rupees Five only) received from each member of the Congress, the Local Committee shall in future retain only three rupees and remit the balance to the General Secretary for defraying the expenses of the Central Office."

6. It was resolved that the Congress be requested to direct the Local Secretary of each Session to publish summaries of papers received from the delegates, at least a fortnight before the actual Session. It was further resolved that no paper should be read ordinarily *in extenso*, that a time limit should be fixed for the purpose by the Sectional President concerned, and that some time should be allowed for the discussion of papers.

7. It was resolved to recommend to the Congress the election of the following Executive Committee for the next year :—

President ...	...	Dr. R. C. Majumdar
Vice-Presidents	...	Diwan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar
		Prof. D. V. Potdar
General Secretary	...	Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan
Joint Secretary	...	Prof. J. F. Bruce
Treasurer ...	...	Prof. Shri Ram Sharma
Ordinary Members	...	Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar
		Dr. S. N. Sen
		Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri
		Prof. M. H. Krishna
		Rao Sahib Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari
		Prof. H. K. Sherwani
		Prof. Puntambekar.

8. On behalf of the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the Punjab University, Prof. J. F. Bruce invited the Indian History Congress to hold its next session at Lahore. The invitation was forwarded to the plenary session of the Congress for acceptance.

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9. It was resolved to request the Congress to authorise its General Secretary to ask the Government of India and the Inter-University Board to consider the Indian History Congress as the National Committee of Historians for the purpose of sending representatives to all international historical conferences.

10. A vote of thanks to local workers on behalf of the visiting delegates was proposed by Rao Sahib Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari and seconded by Prof. Puntambekar and adopted.

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APPENDIX B

Report of the Concluding Session

The Concluding Session of the Indian History Congress, 1939, was held in the Darbhanga Hall, Calcutta University, on Saturday, the 16th December, 1939, at 1-30 P.M.

1. The proceedings commenced with the following Condolence Resolution moved from the Chair—the Third Session of the Indian History Congress, Calcutta, 1939, places on record its deep sense of grief at the death of the following scholars and conveys its sincere condolences to their bereaved families—

(*i*) Sir Evan Cotton
(*ii*) Mr. Balasubramaniam Pillai
(*iii*) Mr. T. R. Sesha Iyengar
(*iv*) Mr. Mesrov J. Seth
(*v*) Mr. Nanigopal Majumdar, and
(*vi*) Dr. Dineshchandra Sen.

2. Messages and good wishes to the Congress were read by the President from Datia State, Bharatpur State, Rangoon University, Mr. C. A. Kincaid, Mr. S. M. Jaffar, Principal Balkrishna, Prof. Sherwani, Sardar Rao Bahadur M. V. Kibe and Mr. B. R. Kulkarni.

3. The published Proceedings of the Second Session of the Indian History Congress held at Allahabad in 1938 was presented for record by the General Secretary.

4. A note on the replies from the Provinces of British India and Indian States regarding the provision of Record Offices in Provinces and States—was read by Dr. Bisweswar Prasad.

The Resolution was communicated to the Government of India, Provincial Governments and some prominent Indian States (*vide* Circular Letter, dated 30th August, 1939) with the request that they may take such action as they deem fit. The Government of India and the Provincial Governments of Bengal, Bombay, Madras, the Punjab

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and Central Provinces have replied that they possess well-equipped Record Offices to which access to *bonafide* researchers is allowed under certain rules. The Government of Bihar do not see the need of a Central Record Office but have published a Handbook of the Records in their Province, which they desire to bring up to date.

The State of Travancore has a Record Office containing a valuable collection of ancient palm-leaf documents. So also the Hyderabad State has its Daftar-e-Diwani. The question of establishing a Record Office is under consideration in Mysore. Rampur State has a well-equipped Library, but the record of official papers bearing on modern Indian history has not yet been organised. No reply has yet been received from the Governments of the United Provinces, Orissa, Sind, N. W. Frontier, Assam and several Indian States.

5. It was resolved that in furtherance of the objects of Resolution No. 4 of the Indian History Congress held at Allahabad, 1938, a Committee of Ways and Means consisting of the following members be appointed to explore the financial possibilities of the scheme of preparing a comprehensive history of India on scientific lines, with instructions to report to the Committee appointed by Resolution No. 4 mentioned above. The Committee will determine its own procedure and may co-opt members, if necessary—

Dr. R. C. Majumdar, *Chairman*
Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar
Diwan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar
Prof. D. V. Potdar
Sir Jogendra Singh
Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, *Secretary*
Dr. Bisweswar Prasad, and
Prof. Shri Ram Sharma.

moved by Prof. Shri Ram Sharma,
seconded by Dr. Bisweswar Prasad.

6. It was resolved that the following modifications, recommended by the Executive Committee, in the Constitution of the Indian History Congress, be adopted.

(*a*) The following sentence to be added after section 2—"Each of the new candidates for membership should have his name proposed and seconded by existing members of the Congress. The

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Executive Committee will admit the new members and maintain a full register of membership."

(*b*) In section 4, the words " members of " should be added before " the Congress."

(*c*) In section 7, a sub-section should be added—

" Of the annual fee for membership (Rupees Five only) received from each member of the Congress, the Local Committee shall in future retain only three rupees and remit the balance to the General Secretary for defraying the expenses of the Central Office."

moved by Rao Sahib Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari,
seconded by Prof. D. V. Potdar.

7. It was resolved that the Congress directs the Local Secretary of each Session to publish summaries of papers received from the delegates at least a fortnight before the actual Session. It was further resolved that no paper should be read ordinarily *in extenso*, that a time limit should be fixed for the purpose by the Sectional President concerned, and that some time should be allowed for the discussion of papers.

moved by Rao Sahib Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari,
seconded by Prof. D. V. Potdar.

8. The Executive Committee for the next year was then elected as follows, the proposal being from the Chair:—

President ...	...	Dr. R. C. Majumdar
Vice-Presidents	...	Diwan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar
		Prof. D. V. Potdar
General Secretary	...	Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan
Joint Secretary	...	Prof. J. F. Bruce
Treasurer ...	...	Prof. Shri Ram Sharma
Ordinary Members	...	Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar
		Dr. S. N. Sen
		Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri
		Prof. M. H. Krishna
		Rao Sahib Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari
		Prof. H. K. Sherwani
		Prof. Puntambekar.

9. On behalf of the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the Punjab University, Prof. J. F. Bruce then invited the Indian History

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Congress to hold its next session at Lahore. The invitation was accepted with thanks.

10. It was resolved that the General Secretary be authorised to request the Government of India and the Inter-University Board to consider the Indian History Congress as the National Committee of Historians for the purpose of sending representatives to all international historical conferences.

moved from the Chair.

11. A vote of thanks to local workers on behalf of the visiting delegates was proposed from the Chair and carried.

12. The Chairman, Reception Committee, gave a suitable reply to the vote of thanks.

13. The proceedings concluded with a short speech by the President.

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APPENDIX C

PROGRAMME

Friday, 15th December, 1939

10 A.M.	Inauguration of the Third Session (*i*) Speech of Welcome by the Chairman, Reception Committee (*ii*) Inauguration of the Congress by His Excellency the Governor of Bengal (*iii*) Presidential Address, Third Session (*iv*) Report of the Proceedings of the last session by the General Secretary	...	*Pandal*, Asutosh Building.
2 P.M.	Presidential Address, Archaic Period	...	Asutosh Hall.
3 P.M.	Presidential Address, Mughul Period	...	Room 31, Asutosh Building.
2 P.M. to 5 P.M.	Sectional Meetings—		
	Archaic Period	...	Asutosh Hall
	Ancient Imperial Period	...	Room 26, Asutosh Building.
	Early Mediæval Period	...	Room 27, Asutosh Building.
	Mughul Period	...	Room 31, Asutosh Building.
	Modern Period	...	Room 25, Asutosh Building.
5-15 P.M.	Opening of the Exhibition by the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Chief Minister, Bengal	...	*Pandal*, Asutosh Building.

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6-15 P.M.	Lantern Lecture on Pre-Historic India by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M.A., Director-General of Archæology	...	Darbhanga Hall.
7-15 P.M.	Musical Soiree—organised by Arts Faculty Club, Calcutta University	...	Asutosh Hall.
7-15 P.M.	Business Meeting of the Congress Executive	...	Registrar's Room, Darbhanga Building.

Saturday, 16th December, 1939

8 A.M.	Presidential Address, Ancient Imperial Period	...	Asutosh Hall.
9 A.M.	Presidential Address, Early Mediæval Period	...	Room 26, Asutosh Building.
10 A.M.	Presidential Address, Modern Period	...	Room 31, Asutosh Building.
8 A.M. to 11 A.M.	Sectional Meetings— Archaic Period	...	Room 27, Asutosh Building.
	Ancient Imperial Period	...	Asutosh Hall
	Early Mediæval Period	...	Room 26, Asutosh Building.
	Mughul Period	...	Room 25, Asutosh Building.
	Modern Period	...	Room 31, Asutosh Building.
12 noon.	University Lunch	...	*Pandal*, Asutosh Building.
1-30 P.M.	Concluding Session of the Congress	...	Darbhanga Hall.

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4 P.M.	Dr. S. C. Law At Home	...	Law Villa, Agarpara, Barrackpur Trunk Road.
8 P.M.	The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor's Dinner Party at his residence	...	21, Loudon Street.

Sunday, 17th December, 1939

8 A.M.	Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society—Presidential Address	...	Asutosh Hall.
11 A.M. to 4-30 P.M.	Steamer Party from Chandpal Ghat		
5-30 P.M. to 8-30 P.M.	Dramatic Performance	...	Room 31, Asutosh Building.
9 P.M.	Dr. N. N. Law's Dinner Party at his residence	...	96, Amherst Street.

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APPENDIX D

Abstract Statement of Accounts

Receipts—

1.	Donation from Dr. B. C. Law	Rs. 1,000- 0-0
2.	Bengal Government Grant	Rs. 1,000- 0-0
3.	Calcutta University Contribution	Rs. 750- 0-0
4.	Other Donations	Rs. 1,025- 0-0
5.	Delegates' Fees	Rs. 925-12-0
6.	Reception Committee Fees	Rs. 1,650- 2-0
7.	Excursion Fees	Rs. 21- 0-0
8.	Sale Proceeds of Students' Tickets ...	Rs. 30- 0-0
9.	Re-sale of sundry articles	Rs. 24-13-3
10.	Miscellaneous	Rs. 8- 5-0
		Rs. 6,435-0-3

Disbursements—

I. Accommodation of Delegates—

Caterers' Bills	Rs. 256-11-0	
Furniture Hire	Rs. 140- 0-0	
Servants and Coolies ...	Rs. 74-12-6	
Miscellaneous	Rs. 60- 2-9	
(Purchases and Sundries)		
		Rs. 531-10-3

II. Conveyance—

Hire of buses and drivers ...	Rs. 79- 0-0	
Petrol (25 gallons) ...	Rs. 32- 0-6	
Miscellaneous	Rs. 0- 5-3	
		Rs. 111- 5-9

III. Reception and Volunteers—

Asutosh College Unit ...	Rs. 12- 0-0	
Asutosh Museum Unit ...	Rs. 28- 0-6	
Hardinge Hostel Unit ...	Rs. 7- 0-0	
Presidency College Unit ...	Rs. 5-12-0	
Post-graduate Unit	Rs. 33- 0-0	
Scouts Unit	Rs. 7- 8-0	
Vidyasagar College Unit ...	Rs. 5- 0-0	
		Rs. 98- 4-6

IV. Pandal, Decorations, Electricity—

Bengal Decorators ...	Rs. 656-5-0	
Electrical arrangements ...	Rs. 108-0-0	
(Messrs. Wilson & Roy)		
		Rs. 764-5-0

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V. Exhibition—

Carriage of Exhibits	...	Rs. 168- 9-6
Coolies and Conveyance	...	Rs. 35-14-3
Showcases ...	...	Rs. 101- 8-0
Salary of an Artist	...	Rs. 20- 0-0
Materials and Sundries	...	Rs. 15- 9-9
Electrical arrangements	...	Rs. 30- 6-0
		Rs. 371-15-6

VI. Excursion—

Hire of one bus	...	Rs. 30-0-0

VII. Steamer Trip—

Steamer Hire ...	...	Rs. 75- 0-0
Caterers ...	...	Rs. 406- 4-0
Miscellaneous ...	...	Rs. 5- 0-0
		Rs. 486-4-0

VIII. Entertainment—

Dramatic Performance	...	Rs. 94- 0-0
Mr. P. C. Sorcar (Magician)	...	Rs. 55- 0-0
		Rs. 149-0-0

IX. Postage—

Cost of Stamps	...	Rs. 337-12-6

X. Stationery— ... Rs. 200- 6-3

XI. Printing and Paper—

(Circulars, letters, forms, addresses bulletin, Guide to Calcutta, etc.)	...	Rs. 792- 0-0

XII. Office—

Salary of office staff	...	Rs. 240- 0-0
Lower subordinate staff	...	Rs. 75- 1-3
		Rs. 315- 1-3

XIII. Miscellaneous—

Group Photo ...	...	Rs. 20- 0-0
Badges ...	...	Rs. 80- 0-0
Contingency ...	...	Rs. 18- 1-0
Coolies ...	...	Rs. 12-13-3
Contractor ...	...	Rs. 16- 1-0
		Rs. 146-15-3

XIV. Contribution to the Calcutta University towards the cost of Publication and Despatch of Proceedings— ... ... Rs. 2,100-0-0

Rs. 6,435-0-3

Grand Total of Receipts from Items 1 to 10 ... *Rs. 6,435-0-3*
Grand Total of Disbursements from Items I to XIV *Rs. 6,435-0-3*

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APPENDIX E

LISTS

LIST A

Presidents

General President:

DR. R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., PH.D.,
Vice-Chancellor, University of Dacca.

Sectional Presidents:

1. ARCHAIC PERIOD
   PROF. A. S. ALTEKAR, M.A., LL.B., D.LITT.,
   Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Benares Hindu University.

2. ANCIENT IMPERIAL PERIOD
   PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, M.A.,
   Professor of Indian History and Archaeology, Madras University.

3. EARLY MEDIAEVAL PERIOD
   DR. MOHAMMAD NAZIM, M.A., PH.D. (CANTAB.),
   Superintendent, Central Circle, Archæological Survey of India.

4. MUGHUL PERIOD
   DR. TARACHAND, M.A., D.PHIL. (OXON.),
   Principal, Allahabad Kayastha Pathsala.

5. MODERN PERIOD
   RAO SAHIB PROF. C. S. SRINIVASACHARI, M.A.,
   Professor of History, Annamalai University.

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LIST B

Donors

				Rs.
1.	Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D.		...	1,000
2.	The Government of Bengal		...	1,000
3.	The University of Calcutta		...	750
4.	Other Donations		...	1,025
	(i) National Sports Club	250		
	(ii) Rai Bahadur Radha Kissen Jalan ...	150		
	(iii) Sir Badridas Goenka, Kt.	100		
	(iv) Mr. Atulchandra Gupta, M.A., B.L. ...	100		
	(v) Sir James Reid Kay C/o Messrs. James Finlay & Co., Ltd.	100		
	(vi) Sir U. N. Brahmachari, Kt. ...	50		
	(vii) Sir William Lamond, Kt. C/o The Imperial Bank of India ...	50		
	(viii) Mr. Amritalal Ojha C/o Security House	50		
	(ix) Captain N. N. Dutta, M.A. (in addition to his membership of the Reception Committee)	40		
	(x) Sir Henry Birkmyre, Kt.	25		
	(xi) Mr. D. P. Khaitan	25		
	(xii) Mr. W. J. Orange	25		
	(xiii) The Hon'ble Mr. Justice A. N. Sen, M.A.	25		
	(xiv) Principal B. M. Sen, M.A. (Cantab.), I.E.S.	20		
	(xv) Mr. J. N. Basu, M.A., M.L.A. (in addition to his membership of the Reception Committee)	15		
		Total:	...	3,775

LIST C

Representatives to the Third Session

I. *Governments*

1.	Government of India (Imperial Records Department)	Dr. S. N. Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt. (Oxon.).
2.	Government of Assam ...	Rai Bahadur S. K. Bhuyan, M.A., B.L., Ph.D. (Lond.).
3.	Government of Bombay ...	Mr. V. S. Bendrey, M.A.
4.	Government of the Punjab	Dr. G. L. Chopra, M.A., Ph.D.

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II. *Indian States*

1. Baroda State	...	Mr. C. V. Joshi, M.A.
2. Gwalior State	...	1. Mr. Badrinarayan, M.A. 2. Dr. Prakaschandra, M.A., Ph.D.
3. Holkar State	...	1. Prof. S. N. Dhar, M.A. 2. Mr. V. N. Singh, M.A.
4. Junagadh State	...	Prof. M. J. Pathakji, M.A.
5. Mayurbhanj State	...	1. Mr. P. Acharyya, M.A. 2. Dr. S. K. Mukherji, M.A., Dr. es. Lettres (Paris).
6. Patna State	...	Mr. P. C. Rath, B.A., D.Ed.

III. *Universities*

1. Agra University	...	1. Dr. B. R. Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.). 2. Mr. N. N. Mundle, M.A.
2. Allahabad University	...	1. Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Kt., M.A., Ph.D. 2. Dr. Bisweswar Prasad, M.A., D. Litt. 3. Dr. Banarsi Prasad Saksena, M.A., D.Litt.
3. Andhra University	...	Mr. O. Ramchandraiya, M.A. (Hons.)
4. Annamalai University	...	Rao Sahib Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A.
5. Benares Hindu University	...	1. Prof. S. V. Puntambekar, M.A. (Oxon.). 2. Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt. 3. Dr. R. B. Pande, M.A., D. Litt. 4. Dr. R. S. Tripathi, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.). 5. Mr. K. Bhattacharyya, M.A.
6. Bombay University	...	Prof. R. P. Patwardhan, M.A. (Oxon.), I.E.S.

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7. Dacca University	...	1. Dr. M. I. Borah, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).
		2. Dr. K. R. Qanungo, M.A., Ph.D.
		3. Dr. M. Husain, Dr. Phil. (Heidelberg).
		4. Dr. D. C. Ganguli M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).
		5. Mr. J. Sen, M.A. (Cal.), B.A. (Oxon.).
		6. Dr. P. C. Chakravarti, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).
		7. Dr. A. F. M. Khalilur Rahman, Ph.D. (Lond.).
8. Delhi University	...	1. Prof. T. G. P. Spear, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.).
		2. Dr. Boolchand, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).
9. Lucknow University	...	1. Dr. S. K. Banerji, M.A., Ph.D.
		2. Mr. S. N. Dasgupta, M.A. (Lond.), F.R.Hist.S.
		3. Dr. N. L. Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.
10. Madras University	...	1. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A.
		2. Dr. Venkataramanayya, M.A., Ph.D.
		3. Mr. V. R. Ramchandra Dikshitar, M.A.
11. Mysore University	...	Dr. K. N. V. Sastri, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).
12. Nagpur University	...	1. Prof. Hirde Narayan, M.A., B.T.
		2. Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M.A.
13. Osmania University	...	Dr. Yusuf Husain, B.A., D.Litt. (Paris).
14. Patna University	...	Dr. K. K. Dutt, M.A., Ph.D.
15. Punjab University	...	Prof. J. F. Bruce, M.A. (Oxon.).*
16. Travancore University	...	Mr. V. Narayan Pillai, M.A.

* Also a member of the Local Reception Committee.

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IV. *Other Learned Societies and Institutions*

1.	All-Bengal College and University Teachers' Association	1. Principal P. N. Banerjee, M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law, M.L.A.*
		2. Mr. Sushilkumar Acharyya, M.Sc.*
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N.B.—The Chairman, Reception Committee, and the Local Secretaries were *ex-officio* members of all the Committees.

LIST J

Railway Concessions

The authorities of the Railway Board, New Delhi, and of the following Railways kindly allowed a special concession to the members of the Indian Historical Congress in their journey to Calcutta and back for the Session.—

1. Assam Bengal Railway—Chittagong.
2. Bengal and North-Western Railway—Gorakhpur.
3. Bengal Dooars Railway—
4. Bengal Nagpur Railway—Calcutta.
5. Bhavnagar State Railway—Bhavnagar.
6. Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway—Bombay.
7. Eastern Bengal Railway—Calcutta.
8. East Indian Railway—Calcutta.
9. Great Indian Peninsular Railway—Bombay.
10. Jodhpur Railway—Jodhpur.
11. Junagad State Railway—Junagad.
12. Mysore State Railway—Mysore.
13. Madras and South Mahratta Railway—Madras.
14. Nizam's State Railway—Secunderabad.

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15. North-Western Railway—Lahore.
16. Rohilkhund-Kumaon Railway—Gorakhpur.
17. South Indian Railway—Trichinopoly.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS,

THIRD SESSION.

CALCUTTA,

1939

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WELCOME ADDRESS

THE HON'BLE KHAN BAHADUR M. AZIZUL HUQUE,
C.I.E., B.L., M.L.A.

Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University and Chairman, Reception Committee

YOUR EXCELLENCY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

On behalf of the Reception Committee of the Third Session of the Indian History Congress and on behalf of the University of Calcutta, I extend our warm and cordial welcome to you all, and specially to the delegates, the eminent and distinguished scholars who have come from distant parts of India. The city of Calcutta where we have assembled this morning, cannot claim the antiquity of either the historic city on the banks of the Mula in the heart of the Maratha country where you had your first session, or of that ancient place where the waters of the Ganges flow down to meet the waters of the Jumna, the venue of your second session. Situated as we are in a deltaic region with mightiest rivers constantly shifting and changing their courses, forming alluvial accretions on one bank and diluviating every trace of landmarks on the other, rulers and dynasties have changed places, cities and cultures have had their ebb and flow with the shifting of our rivers and waterways, and the history of this province had perforce to follow from place to place—Tamluk and Tribeni, Bishnupur and Jessore, Mahasthan and Paharpur, Nabadwip and Bikrampur, Satgaon and Pandua, Gaur and Murshidabad, Dacca and Chittagong. Even in recent times the administrative boundaries of this province have been changed and re-changed, while the very city where we have met this morning ceased to be the capital of India after a period of about a century and a half.

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The antiquarian may, therefore, be disappointed if we fail to show him any spot within this city with a history of more than two hundred years old : the archæologist may be grieved to know that we cannot take him down to any layer in this city where only stones and bricks may tell their tales. Nevertheless, Calcutta since the days of Job Charnock has had an importance of its own which makes it a fitting place for the meeting of the eminent historians, archæologists and numismatists of India. For here within this city was laid the foundations of what we may term Modern India, and distinguished personages had their dreams, deliberations and decisions in building up the India of to-day. It was here that in 1784 the Asiatic Society, now the Royal Asiatic Society, was formed with Sir William Jones as the first President and it was here, just over a hundred years ago, that an eminent scholar, a Secretary to this Society, first succeeded in exploring the secrets of the Aśokan scripts. It was in this city in the year 1857, at a time when the political and economic life of India was suffering a great upheaval, that the foundations of a great University were laid, a University which in all humility can claim to have produced generations of men and women whose contributions to the renaissance of India are matters of history to-day, a University hallowed by the memory of the many intellectual giants who have been the cultural ambassadors of India to the farthest outposts of the world. It was here that the prophetic vision of a great man, whose name will always be associated with this University, encouraged by the scheme of reforms initiated by a great Viceroy, set upon himself, amidst many difficulties and often disappointments, the task of first organising systematized studies and researches into India's past. If to-day the subject of Indian History has gone far beyond the narrow limits of anecdotes and stories, of battles and victories, this University may justly claim to have laid the first foundations of the many

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varied studies and researches into the history of the East and of India in all its political, social and cultural phases. This University has recently taken up the work of exploration at various places in this province, has added a Museum and an Art Gallery as a part of the teaching of History in the widest sense of the term, and it is now in contemplation to have a full-fledged Department of Islamic Studies to embrace studies in the history and the cultural past and background of a great phase of world civilization. On political and administrative grounds, Calcutta may, therefore, have ceased to be the political capital of India for the last quarter of a century ; the Secretariat desks may have been taken to Delhi and Simla ; Imperial records may pass away from this place ; yet Calcutta will remain the metropolitan city of India and of the East and will always be able to give historians and scholars enough to look behind the pages of history.

Speaking before this gathering of eminent historians and distinguished scholars, it is needless on my part to emphasise the importance of studies and researches in the history of the East and of India. A distinguished writer, whose sympathy for India's culture and her past was as profound as it was sincere, observed in 1883: "Why do we want to know history ? Because all of us ought to know how we have come to be what we are, so that each generation need not start again from the same point and toil over the same ground, but profiting by the experience of those who came before may advance towards higher points and nobler aims." It is this striving towards "higher points and nobler aims" that this Congress hopes to promote, advance and foster. Valuable work has no doubt been done in the past by the great institutions of India, by the many learned societies and individuals in all the provinces. We have an Oriental Conference, a Historical Records Commission, a Numismatic Society and various academies and associations

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that meet at regular intervals. Nevertheless, there is a real need for an All-India organisation for the purpose of the students of History meeting together in a perspective that does not limit its horizon to one particular period or aspect. It was, therefore, a happy idea which led the authorities of the Modern History Congress that was inaugurated in 1935 to enlarge the scope of their organization and to institute this All-India organization of the historians and scholars whose investigations and enquiries extend to ancient, mediæval and modern periods of Indian History. All of us have reasons to be grateful to Dr. Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, the learned and indefatigable Secretary of the Indian History Congress, whose vision and foresight brought into being the Indian History Congress, and I have no doubt that posterity will gratefully remember him for bringing the historians of India together to exchange notes and thoughts.

I have no presumption of claiming to be a historian in any sense of the term ; but as a citizen of a great country, I have always felt within myself that, in the present political and social conditions of India, nothing is more necessary to-day than a study of the past of this land of ours. It must be realised that it is only a true and correct perspective of Indian History that can form the essential background of all our national feelings and sentiments. A great task still lies before the historians of India and they have yet to fully open up before the generations of to-day and the future a true and correct perspective of our glorious heritage and our magnificent past. We have to show to ourselves and to the world the gifts of India and thus inspire generations after generations in building up the future of this great land. I often feel that the interpretation of the history of the Orient and of India has often been based upon insufficient data, more often marred by incorrect deductions and not infrequently coloured by unnecessary

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emphasis on individual incidents, while distorted presentations of facts and figures have aggravated to blur the true vision of our history. Time has now come when everybody interested in the future of this country should do everything in his power to get a proper perspective of our history. I am yet to know that there is any country, any people, any culture in the world where individual incidents cannot be accumulated to blacken the pages of history; but the march of history is the march of times and whether one likes it or not, humanity tarries not to dig out such individual acts or that buried past which endangers the harmony among men and the blending of cultures. Far be it for me to say that, if anybody chooses to dig out such dismal past, he should not have the fullest freedom to do so ; let him do that in his wisdom. But I feel he does the greatest disservice to his country if he treats individual isolated whims and aberrations as a necessary chain in history. Let us hope that, with the growth and development of true historical research, broad-based on the recognition of the essential unity of men, the distrust between the different sections of our peoples will vanish, and India will look forward to a brighter day of cultural amity and harmony among men. In that task the Indian History Congress will have a great part to play, and I have no doubt that the many eminent scholars and research workers who have gathered here this morning will inspire all future work in this country in that noble spirit and ideal.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we meet to-day under the shadow of a grave international conflict. Each day the extent of its conflagration is widening and increasing and the Almighty alone knows how events are going to shape in the future. To my mind the present international situation is fundamentally traceable to the failure on the part of those who control the destinies of mankind to assimilate and profit by the lessons of history. Since the dawn of creation man

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in his elemental passions has tried to create conflict and war and to spread devastation and havoc in human society; yet behind the pages of history lies the eternal fact that each time man the angel has successfully come out in all his glory in evolving the fundamental unity of men and races in a commonwealth of amity and brotherhood. To-day once again arrogance and intolerance may play their part, but let us hope and have trust in the Almighty Providence that peace, amity and toleration will soon emerge out of the dark shadows.

Delegates of the Indian History Congress, on behalf of the Working Committee may I express my regret if we have anywhere failed to make the best of arrangements for your comfort and convenience during your stay in Calcutta. We have not been consciously guilty of anything that might in any way inconvenience you. I do not deny that there may have been omissions, but I trust that you will kindly realise the tremendous amount of work that we have had to put through within a short time. I am sure you will condone our shortcomings when I tell you that, day after day, a conscientious and honest band of workers and volunteers has worked with zeal and devotion and has given of their best. If inspite of this we have failed at any point, it is because at some point or other something happened which could not have been anticipated.

I must express our gratitude at the cordial co-operation we have received from many individuals and institutions who have helped us with funds and in collecting the antiquities and other objects of interest in connection with the Exhibition to be opened this afternoon. Among many others, may I acknowledge the generous contributions of Rs. 1,000 by Dr. Bimala Churn Law, Rs. 250 by National Sports Club, Rs. 150 by Rai Bahadur Radhakrishna Jalan, and Rs. 100 each by Sir James Reid-Kay, Sir Badridas Goenka and Mr. Atul Chandra Gupta. May I also express

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our gratitude to the Government of Bengal for the expected generous contribution which has so far been kept a State secret and will be announced by the Hon'ble the Chief Minister when he will open the Exhibition this afternoon. We are also grateful to Dr. Narendranath Law for his kindly undertaking to entertain the delegates to a dinner and to Dr. S. C. Law for his At Home to the delegates at his famous Aviary.

In conclusion, it is now my pleasant duty to request Your Excellency to inaugurate the Third Session of the Indian History Congress. We are deeply grateful that Your Excellency, in the midst of many onerous and exacting duties immediately after the assumption of your high office, and specially at the time of the present storm and stress, has been able to find time to open this Congress. Your Excellency has already shown your keen interest in the history of this country by bringing along with Your Excellency an important copper-plate which is bound to open up a dark corner of the history of this Presidency and which Your Excellency recently handed over to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Only a couple of days ago, Your Excellency inaugurated the proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission. Once again may I convey to Your Excellency, on behalf of the University of Calcutta and on behalf of the Reception Committee, our deepest sense of gratefulness. I now request Your Excellency to inaugurate the Third Session of the Indian History Congress.

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INAUGURAL ADDRESS

HIS EXCELLENCY SIR JOHN ARTHUR HERBERT, G.C.I.E.

Governor of Bengal and Chancellor, Calcutta University

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

It is my privilege this morning to inaugurate the Third Session of the Indian History Congress and in doing so I take this opportunity of re-affirming the welcome that has been so eloquently expressed by the Chairman of the Reception Committee The Congress is a comparatively recent body, but it represents a long and distinguished tradition of historical scholarship—a tradition which derives its greatness from one of the oldest civilizations in the world, and it is a happy arrangement that there should be established a Congress such as this which enables scholars and savants to meet periodically and discuss important aspects of their work.

The majority of you here to-day are distinguished scholars whilst I am a layman and cannot claim to have anything more than a superficial knowledge of the branch of learning in which you have specialised. In one respect, however, our paths do cross. Your work is largely bound up with a study of the past—with events that have already taken place, whether ten, a hundred, or a thousand years ago. My work is, and for several years has been, primarily concerned with history in the making—with events as they happen from day to day. Yet the more experience I gain of day-to-day events, the more I realise that they are not, and never can be, dissociated from the past; that in fact there is no such thing as a past which can be neatly and conveniently divorced from the present. History is

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a continuous growth, and for an explanation of our problems to-day we may have to go back many hundreds or even thousands of years. It is at this point that the layman—such as I am—has to rely on experts—such as you are. For, before we can understand and assess the value of beliefs, or political ideas, we must know just when and how they arose. It is in this way that the historian can be of inestimable help to people, such as myself, who are concerned primarily with day-to-day events.

A distinguished Professor of History once wrote : " The Historian is not only a story-teller but a witness, bound, according to the prescribed formula, to tell the whole truth—within the limits of his space—and nothing but the truth." This is perhaps a limitation on the functions of a historian which would not be acceptable to all, but it is a most important aspect and one which must, at any rate, be the foundation on which the historian, whose primary interest lies in interpretation or philosophy, bases his researches. It is not my place to enlarge on the functions of a historian —I leave that to more learned heads than mine—but what I have said I can at least claim to have been based on personal experience and personal appreciation of the historian's work.

There will, I realise, be much for you to discuss on this occasion and I do not intend to keep you longer from your deliberations except to say how very glad I am to see that your meeting includes projected trips to famous historical places such as Gaur and Pandua and Paharpur and Mahasthan—places which we in Bengal are proud to be able to show to visitors from other parts of India.

I will now close after thanking you for your kind welcome and wishing you a successful meeting.

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D.
Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I use no language of mere convention when I say that I feel greatly embarrassed in occupying the position in which I find myself to-day. When I was invited to preside over this august assembly, I was highly flattered by the conspicuous honour that was shown to me; indeed I regarded it as the highest honour to which a votary of the science of history in India could aspire. Knowing my own limitations I had no illusions in my own mind that the choice was due to one of those accidents or fortuitous combination of circumstances which seldom recur in the destiny of a man. In a moment of weakness I yielded to the temptation, though I was not unconscious of the fact that I thereby did a great disservice to the University of Calcutta, which I am proud to claim as my own *Alma Mater*. Of my unworthiness for the Presidentship of this Congress I need speak but little, for I am sure the proceedings of this Congress will supply ample evidence thereof—evidence which would be regarded as conclusive by all of you according to canons of historical criticism. But I am troubled by another aspect of the question. Last year, my predecessor referred to the clannishness of the Bengalis in respect of the selection of the contributors to the History of Bengal projected by the University of Dacca. I am afraid the choice of President this year will strengthen that conviction and the University of Calcutta will be accused of the same clannishness. In a later part of this Address I shall

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have to say something about the charge brought against the University which I have the honour to represent, leaving it to the stalwarts of the Calcutta University to defend themselves as best they can against the accusations of which I have forewarned them.

Before I proceed further, I think it necessary to discuss some general issues connected with the ideas and objects of this Congress. As is well-known, it was originally conceived as "All-India Modern History Congress" and in its second session the name was changed to "The Indian History Congress," implying thereby an extension in the scope of its activities. To one like me who has never been in the inner council of this institution and who is therefore unaware of its aims and inspirations, the question naturally arises whether the word 'Indian' does or should qualify the word 'History' or 'Congress.' The difference between the two is a fundamental one. In one case, the deliberations of this Congress are to be confined to Indian history alone. In the other case, the range of its activities is widened so as to embrace the history of the world. The Addresses of the Presidents of the first two sessions and the constitution of the Sections of the Congress prove that the former view has been tacitly accepted. But it is not necessarily the only view possible, as may be shown by reference to sister institutions such, for example, as "The Indian Philosophical Congress," the nearest parallel I can think of the Indian History Congress.

Apart from the constitutional standpoint, I would press upon the notice of the delegates assembled here the importance of the study of history, in the widest sense, even in India, and the necessity of a public forum in this country for discussing all historical problems, at least those which either vitally affect the modern world, of which India forms an integral part, or concern those aspects of the mediæval or ancient world on the background of which alone we can correctly estimate some of the important movements in

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Indian history and properly assay the value of her culture and civilisation. In the ancient period, Indian history and civilisation were vitally connected with the great civilisations which flourished in Western Asia and Africa, and later they were still more closely associated with practically the whole of Northern and Eastern Asia. In the mediæval period, India was a vital link in the great chain of Islamic civilisation which bound together a considerable part of the civilised world. Of the modern period I need say but little, as it is too patent to everybody how the events happening almost on the opposite side of the globe are shaping the political destiny of the country and seriously affecting her moral, material and economic conditions.

It is obvious to me that we cannot follow the currents of Indian history as a phenomenon isolated from the rest of the world. I also find it difficult to believe that a School of Indian History can really develop in India unless our historical studies are widened and placed on a broader basis.

Apart from its immediate or remote bearing upon the problems of Indian history, a critical study of the history of the world is needed to equip us properly for the study and comprehension of history as a science and give us an insight into those vital forces which are destined to shape the future course of human history.

The study of history with reference to these forces constitutes its living interest. It is now commonly agreed that all sciences must be harnessed to the service of mankind. It is well-known how sciences like Physics and Chemistry have contributed to the growth and progress of each nation as well as of human civilisation. Should not the science of history attempt, in its own way, to help the progress of each country as well as human civilisation as a whole? But if history is to play that role it must cast off its insularity and must take in its all-embracing view the affairs of the world unlimited by considerations of either time or space.

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Unfortunately this aspect of the study of history has been sadly neglected in our country. Apart from the history of India, there is hardly any centre of advanced study in the other branches of history either in our universities or outside them. European history no doubt forms a subject of study in our colleges, and a few universities and colleges have Professors in these branches; but it is difficult to name any individual scholar or any school of studies in India that has made any original investigation in, or given any new interpretation of, any period or aspect of the history of any country outside India. Whether it is a question of ancient, mediæval, or modern civilisation of the East or of the West, the contribution of India towards the study of their history may be regarded as almost nil. On the other hand, there is hardly any progressive country in the modern world that has not made important contributions to the study of Indian history and civilisation. Apart from the English, the French, the Germans, the Russians, the Italians and the Americans, even scholars belonging to smaller nationalities like the Czechs, the Poles, the Dutch and the Swedes have made important contributions towards the elucidation of Indian history, culture and civilisation. Nearly one thousand years ago the great Al-Biruni referred to the haughty isolation of the Hindus who seemed to believe "that there is no other country on earth but theirs and no other race of men but theirs." This spirit of exclusiveness seems to be a peculiarity of Indian soil. We have paid the penalty for it in the past and may have to pay a greater penalty in future, if we cannot rise above it and put ourselves in touch with the currents of human civilisation that flow around us.

I would not labour this point any more but would earnestly request this Congress to take up in earnest the task of removing the drawbacks in our study of history to which I have referred.

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If this Congress approves of a further extension of the scope of its activities on the lines indicated above, it would perhaps be of great advantage if the newly started Congress of Political Science were amalgamated with it, or, failing that, the two could hold their annual sessions jointly in the same place. The study of History and Political Science is so closely connected that the delegates of these two bodies must have a large common element, and the independent sessions of these two bodies at different times and places are opposed to all considerations of economy and efficiency.

After this brief reference to some of the general issues, I shall now pass on to the field of activity which this Congress has set before itself, *viz.*, the study of Indian history. It is a matter of gratification to us all that we have made a considerable headway in this line during the last fifty years and already Indian scholars have proved themselves ready and fit to take up the work which has been so worthily performed so long by a band of European and American scholars. I shall not appropriate to myself the task, which properly belongs to the Presidents of the different Sections, of reviewing at length the progress achieved by Indian scholars in the study of different periods of Indian history. I would, however, like to make a few observations of a general nature pertaining to this study.

Signs are not wanting that ere long study and research in Europe and America will cease to count as appreciable factors in the progress of Indology. Indian scholars should therefore be prepared to shoulder the main responsibility of maintaining the high level that this study has already reached and making it wider and richer in content with every passing year. Our period of apprenticeship must be regarded as over and we must not be satisfied any longer with any production which does not reach the highest quality.

It is, therefore, necessary to take note of the dangers and pitfalls that may affect or obstruct the proper development

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of the study of Indology in future. While cold neglect and almost utter indifference characterise our attitude towards the history of other countries, an ardent passion and zealous enthusiasm for the history of India is perceptibly growing in this country. This is, undoubtedly, a good sign and will be of immense help so long as it serves as a healthy stimulus to this study. But over-enthusiasm has also its dangers, inasmuch as it is likely to deflect our mind from that detached attitude and critical spirit which must always guide our studies. If we review the historical writings in India of recent years we may note that to a certain extent, unfortunately not very negligible though not yet very substantial, they are inspired by a desire to serve a cause other than that of truth. On a broad analysis these causes may be described as regional and denominational. In view of the importance of the subject I would like to say a few words on each of these, even at the risk of being misunderstood.

Recently I have come across a number of works the main object of which was, to use the words of the authors, to "defend the cause of South India." Among other things they sought to establish that the Aryan conquest of India is a fairy tale, that the Brahmins of India were not Aryans but Dravidians, that the caste system is a purely Dravidian institution, and, lastly, that modern Hinduism is purely Dravidian and could not be regarded as Aryan by any stretch of imagination. This is, of course, an extreme example, and I do not imply in any way that a considerable number of South Indian historians shares these views. But such books show the nature of the danger that exists and against which we must guard ourselves. It must be also admitted that they are but reactions against similar regional bias in favour of Northern India manifested in past historical writings.

This regional bias reveals itself in other forms, which are less extreme, but for that very reason more harmful; for as the absurdity does not lie on the very face, it is far more

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liable to lead us astray. One of the important underlying causes of the evil is that scholars seldom extend their special studies to the history of any province but their own. How far this evil has grown may be illustrated by a concrete example within my experience. As most of you are aware, the University of Dacca has recently undertaken to publish a History of Bengal, and I was appointed the editor of the first volume dealing with the period from the earliest times to 1200 A.D. When we set about to draw up a list of contributors of the different chapters, we naturally confined our selection to scholars who had already given evidence of their knowledge of the subject or subjects allotted to them. When the list was finally drawn up it comprised only people of this Presidency. This has drawn upon us the sarcasm of certain sections to which a pointed reference was made by the President of this Congress last year. "This History of Bengal," said he, "looks like History of Bengal by Bengalis and thus smacks, they say, of clannishness." But what are the real facts? Could anybody point out the name of a single scholar outside this Presidency alive to-day who has substantially contributed to our knowledge of the history of Bengal? A few concrete illustrations would bring home this point to everyone. More than fifty inscriptions have been discovered in Bengal and Bihar throwing light on the history of Bengal. Barring one or two very brief records, not one of these inscriptions has found an editor outside this Province. Hardly a single non-Bengali scholar alive to-day has ever written anything to elucidate the general history of Bengal of any particular period. Even the Pālas, whose empire at one time stretched from the Indus to the upper waters of the Brahmaputra, have evoked little interest in the heart of any Indian scholar outside Bengal. We have compiled a list of articles in various antiquarian journals relating to the history of Bengal. Though their number runs up to several hundreds, those written by Indian scholars

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outside Bengal would not exceed a dozen, and even these are mostly on isolated topics. Now, in view of the above circumstances, was it not almost inevitable that our list of writers should include Bengalis only ? This is regrettable, no doubt, and the state of affairs calls for remedy. In this connection, I am happy and proud to be able to say that my *Alma Mater*, the University of Calcutta, has set an example which others might follow. Thanks to the foresight and national outlook of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee of revered memory, provision has been made in this great seat of learning for the study of various branches of Indian History and the different Vernaculars of India. Even the subjects for the ordinary M.A. course include specialised and critical study of the inscriptions of almost all parts of India and subjects like the history of the Sikhs, Rajputs and Marathas. But, what is more important, the alumni of this University have made valuable contributions to the study of the history of different provinces of India. It would be difficult to name any important region or any notable dynasty in ancient India, except perhaps in the extreme South, on the history of which Bengali scholars have not thrown important light. I cite this only with a view to showing what an enlightened and liberal educational policy, like that initiated by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, might do for the rest of India. It should be our common aim and common endeavour to break down the barrier of provincialism in our historical studies. Even apart from undertaking original researches, it would be of great help if the historian of one province keeps himself abreast of the recent studies in the history of other provinces correlated to his own study. It would at least help him in getting a better perspective of history and save us from unhappy utterances calculated to foster provincial misunderstandings. It would be easy to cite instances where even a learned scholar, writing the history of his own province, has shown lamentable ignorance of, and betrayed unjustifiable prejudices against,

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the history of a neighbouring province, even though it is closely connected with his own study. As a matter of fact, the provincial outlook, in historical studies as in political and economic life, is a growing menace in India to-day, and we should make an earnest effort to remove it before it is too late.

In view of the risk of provincialism, one might desire that history should have a nationalist outlook. But that has also its own dangers. Indian history already shows signs of being affected by the passing currents of the national movement. Some have deliberately sought to use our ancient history as an element in our national fight and reconstrued it with a view to maintain that everything in our past was beyond cavil or criticism and that it contained almost all the elements of progress which we notice in the modern world. The same spirit manifests itself in a slightly modified form in what is known as communalism. This seeks to interpret history in terms of the deep-rooted beliefs and sentiments of community and is guided more by sentimentalism and prejudices than by sober reason.

The danger arising from these two sources may be likened to what is happening in Europe in totalitarian countries where history is being written to order with a view to suit particular theories and practices about society and government. The historians of India are in a much happier position, as their hands have not yet been tied by Government, and they are free to devise their own remedies. This statement is, however, subject to slight qualification, for tendencies of this nature can be perceived in the actions of certain local governments and in the scheme of education drawn up at Wardha. They have not as yet attracted the general notice of historians as they are confined to historical texts used in schools. But the tendency is unmistakable, and this assembled body of historians cannot afford to ignore the danger. The Wardha scheme demands that Indian history should be taught with a view to emphasising the

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superiority of non-violence in all its phases. This does not differ, in essential principles, from the direction given by certain local governments that text-books used in schools should not mention certain facts, not because they are untrue, but because they are calculated to rouse communal passions in the impressionable hearts of boys. It must be freely admitted that text-books should not deliberately disseminate cults of violence or arouse or inflame communal passions or hatred. It is not, however, quite so clear why one should avoid any reference either to the wars of great emperors in India or to the intolerant or immoral acts of a king belonging to any particular community, simply because the former might lessen the faith of the boys in the cult of non-violence and the latter might dispel the illusion of students that no king belonging to their community could do any wrong. For it may be argued that one of the objects of the study of history is to inculcate in the minds of boys love for truth, right and justice and an aversion towards untruth, wrong and injustice, and this can best be done by holding out before their eyes a true picture of the lives and careers of great historical figures. However, as this is a controversial point, I would not like to discuss it further, or pronounce any definite opinion on it beyond indicating the danger which in my opinion is real and serious. The scope of the evil is narrow yet, but there is no guarantee that it may not be widened in future. For if the tender minds of boys may be regarded as an excuse for perverting historical texts in schools, the impressionable age of youth and the potential power of doing evil in the case of adults may be offered as excuses in future for adopting the same attitude in respect of texts used in colleges and Universities or even of products of more advanced study and research, as is actually the case in some Indian states.

In this connection I would respectfully differ from an observation made by the first President of this Congress,

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viz., that in India we have not arrived at a stage when the differences of religion could be completely ignored in our treatment of controversial periods of Indian history. If this were true, the study of Indian history by the Indians would be of little worth and the hope of founding a school of Indian history would remain an idle dream. It is my firm conviction that whatever may be the case with average writers and politicians, there are historians, and their number is not negligible, who are in a position to rise above religious and communal prejudices, and it is for them to give the lead to others by insisting upon a study of history according to correct scientific principles.

The scientific study of history is based on two great principles, *viz.*, the critical spirit in the analysis and examination of data and a sincere quest for truth in a detached spirit, without prejudices, passions or preconceived notions of any kind. Those who uphold the cause of scientific study of history must rigidly and scrupulously follow these principles. But something more is needed to combat the evils I have referred to above. In order to ensure the study of history in a proper critical method, any deviation from it under the influence of nationalism, communalism, or racial or provincial bias must be ruthlessly exposed. This should be regarded as a bounden duty specially by those who already occupy an eminent position in this branch of study. In this task they should not be deterred or deflected in any way by any personal considerations or misconceived spirit of loyalty to any particular group or community. The historians should pay homage and allegiance only to truth and everything else must be sacrificed to this loyalty.

I may cite an instance to show how uncritical methods flourish, not only on account of the absence of such criticism, but even by a sort of tacit encouragement from well-known scholars. In 1938 appeared the first volume of a work on Ancient India which seeks to deal with the period 900 B.C. to

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100 A.D. in four volumes. The author describes it on the title-page " as a marvellous array of wholly new and eye-opening theories," and in a descriptive sketch, which accompanies the book, it is referred to as " full of bomb-shell-like and astounding theories." This book defies all canons of critical study and contains copious examples of almost every type of errors of commission and omission which have ever disfigured a book with any pretension to originality. Yet a distinguished historian has written its Foreword and we are told that a vernacular edition of the work has received the sanction of a local government and a local University. The writer of the Foreword has no doubt referred to its lack of critical spirit but has done so in very guarded language and almost in an apologetic tone. On the other hand, he has referred to the conscientious care and ability with which the great self-imposed task has been performed. Encouraged by all this the author has brought out the second volume which exhibits the same characteristics as the first. Now, it appears to me that such a publication discredits the fair name of Indian scholarship and instead of encouraging it in any way, the learned scholars should fearlessly point out its absolutely uncritical character. As the great Kauṭilya put it centuries ago, anarchy and confusion prevail if the *danda* is weakly wielded. This is as much true of political as of literary domains. The eminent historians of India should act as the *danda-dharas* and preserve the peace and purity of their domain by a proper exercise of their power and authority.

Criticism should thus play an important part in maintaining the high standard of historical studies. But such criticism, in order to be useful, must be healthy in spirit and fair in tone. It should not be a disguise for a thinly-veiled abuse, or a pretext for serving ignoble selfish ends. Above all, it must not degenerate into a personal squabble ending in mutual recriminations. We have regretfully to admit that

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our experiences in the past have not been very reassuring in this respect, but let us hope for a better state of things in future. Like the critical spirit of Western scholars, the charity, courtesy and generosity which characterise their utterances and relations with one another might well serve as our model.

I am afraid I have already overstepped the limits of your patience. But before I conclude I should like to make a few observations on the necessity of filling in some important gaps in our Indological studies.

I have already referred to the lack of arrangement and facility for some of the subsidiary studies which are necessary for a proper appreciation of Indian history. As to the study of Indian history itself, great progress has no doubt been made, but much yet remains to be done, in respect of collecting materials, interpreting and co-ordinating them. The first President of this Congress treated this subject in his Address with an elaborate survey and wealth of details worthy of his great scholarship. I do not wish to traverse the same ground but shall confine myself to the ancient period of Indian history ending in 1200 A.D. which was not dealt with by him.

One great shortcoming in Indian scholarship is the lack of first-hand knowledge about the Chinese, Tibetan and other foreign sources of Indian history. While studying the history of the Far East, I was struck by the amount of work done by French and Dutch savants by way of collecting all the important data contained in Chinese and other foreign literatures regarding the history of the Far East. They contain, only incidentally, valuable references to India which were otherwise unknown to me. I am convinced that a systematic exploration of Chinese and Tibetan literature would reveal new data for the history of ancient and mediæval India. The Tibetan evidence, in particular, is of inestimable value in regard to the history of Eastern India.

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Not only are important works in these languages still unexplored, but even those that are known from translations made long ago require a fresh study and revision in the light of recent discoveries in Indian history. No Indian scholar, except the late Saratchandra Das, has done any appreciable work in this line and it still remains a great desideratum in our Indological studies.

As regards Greek and Latin sources, Indian scholarship has taken but little part in these studies, but this drawback is not very keenly felt as we have excellent translations of all the important books made by competent classical scholars. Regarding Arabic and Persian sources also we have translations of many important books, mostly by European scholars, but these need revision, and the first President of the Congress has already drawn our attention to this subject.

In short it is now essential for further progress of Indological studies that all the important data contained in foreign literature should be critically studied in the original and made available in the English language. My esteemed friend, Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, the President of an important Section of this Congress, has shown the way in this direction in his recent book "Foreign Notices of South India." He had to base his work upon translations of foreign texts, but still it is a very valuable compilation and should be supplemented by other scholars in respect of different regions of India in whose history they are specially interested. But it ought to be the business of some Indian scholars to acquire knowledge of these various foreign languages so that they may critically study the original sources and supplement and correct the data compiled from translations in European languages.

Apart from this study of original foreign sources, there are certain important epochs or aspects of Indian history which require further attention.

Beginning with the most ancient period that is now revealing itself by the excavations in the lower Indus Valley

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and the adjoining regions, we must confess that Indian scholarship has not yet engaged itself in the task to any extent commensurate with its importance. In this connection I must pay my tribute of respect to the late Mr. Nanigopal Majumdar whose promising career in this field of study was cut short by a terrible tragedy. It is now necessary that younger scholars should take up the work in right earnest and begin by equipping themselves with the subsidiary branches of knowledge essential for the study. This can only be done by the co-operation of the Archæological Department with the Universities. Some brilliant young students of the Universities should be granted adequate scholarships for a fairly long term in order to work under the guidance of the Archæological Department which alone can provide all necessary facilities to them. May I appeal to the great Indologist, who now presides over the destiny of the Archæological Department, to bestow his serious thoughts on this important question? He may, with the co-operation of Universities if necessary, take adequate steps to bring into being, within a few years, a band of Indian scholars with a suitable training in this very important branch of Indological study.

The discovery of the Indus Valley civilisation has brought into prominence the wide gap in our knowledge in respect of the period intervening between two well-known epochs of civilisation, *viz.*, the Rigvedic and the Puranic. We have now to give up the current theory of a normal and somewhat simple process of evolution leading from the one to the other. The growth of art, religion and economic conceptions in India was evidently a much more complex process, and more than one independent factor must have contributed to it. The Vedic and the Indus Valley civilisations may be likened to the Ganges and the Jumna flowing parallel for a long distance before they united their waters to form the mighty river of Hindu civilisation which took definite shape

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during the first millennium B.C. We are now painfully conscious of our ignorance of the early courses of these two streams of influence. It is, therefore, necessary to devote our serious attention to the study of that period of Indian history which precedes the middle of the first millennium before Christ. The chief obstacle in this study is the absence of all kinds of evidence other than literary. But signs are not wanting that precious archæological materials would be available if a proper search is made for them. Here again, the Archæological Department must come to the aid of Indology. Up to the discoveries of Mohenjodaro the efforts of this Department were mostly confined to excavations of sites and strata which do not go far beyond the Maurya period. But now the chief energy and resources of the Department should be devoted towards the discovery and exploration of those sites which are likely to yield materials for the study of the history of the period preceding 500 B.C.

Coming down to a much later period, there is one important branch of study which requires particular mention. The problem of Greater India, *i.e.*, the study of Indian culture and civilisation in Central, Eastern and South-eastern Asia, has recently engaged the attention of scholars, and the Greater India Society in Calcutta is a visible sign of the growing interest in this subject. But this study is of such vital importance to Indian history that more Indian scholars should seriously take it up. The necessary equipments for this study are a working knowledge of Dutch and French, and an acquaintance with the old Khmer and Kawi languages. Adequate arrangements can easily be made by big Universities for training young and promising scholars in this line of study. The history of the Far East is also important for the mediæval period of Indian history. For not only was there a very constant and intimate intercourse between India and these regions throughout the mediæval period, but there

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are also very good grounds for the belief that it was a colony of Indian Muslims who ultimately established their faith over a vast area in Sumatra, Java and the Malay Peninsula, more by methods of peaceful penetration than by actual military campaigns. This is a very interesting phase of Indo-Muslim history which ought to be more carefully studied.

I would not multiply instances of wide gaps in our knowledge of Indian history and culture which require to be filled up. What is needed now is a systematic planning of our activities. Planning is now the order of the day all over the world and Indologists cannot do without it. We have now to co-ordinate our efforts in order to pursue a carefully planned scheme based on our needs and resources, so that duplication and waste of energy may be avoided and the study of Indology may achieve an all-round progress.

One of the first aims of our co-ordinated efforts should be the preparation of a comprehensive history of India. Need for this has long been felt and various schemes have been set on foot. It found a prominent place in last year's Presidential Address of this Congress, and I am sure the earnest appeal of Dr. Bhandarkar would meet with a ready response from many. This Congress ought to take up this question in right earnest and adopt practical measures to accomplish the object within a definite period of time.

In order to achieve this object and properly direct the course of Indological studies it is eminently desirable that the activities of this Congress should not be confined to an annual session but would embrace in its scope the formation of what may be regarded as a national academy of historical studies. The Indian Science Congress has already formed such a body. The Indian Oriental Conference is exploring the possibility of founding a similar institution on an ambi-

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tious scale, but the response obtained so far is anything but encouraging. Perhaps the chance of success would be greater if we confine our attention to a more restricted field like History in general or Indian History in particular, and I would commend this project to your serious consideration.

Fellow-delegates, I have tried to place before you some practical suggestions for the promotion of Indological studies in our country. I do not propose to discuss any intricate problem of history or abstract theories and principles relating to its study, as I have neither the time nor the capacity for it. I have already taken much of your time and I now thank you for the patience with which you have listened to my rambling discourse.

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SUMMARY OF A LANTERN LECTURE ON PRE-HISTORIC INDIA

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Director-General of Archæology

The history of India begins with the age of Buddha when the human interest of the religion and the acceptance of Buddha's teaching by the great Mauryan Emperors made it possible for certain records to be engraved in permanent material. Most of the work in the field of Indian archæology prior to 1923 concerned the unearthing and interpretation of relics pertaining to the periods subsequent to the rise of the Mauryan Empire and, although it cannot be said that our knowledge of every period and every part of the country since the 3rd century B.C. up to date is clear, we can reconstruct an almost connected account of India's history and culture during the last 2500 years. The story of human evolution in India begins, however, at a far distant date, and with the clear light on the material civilization in the Indus Valley in the 3rd millennium B.C. opened up by the discoveries of Harappa and Mohenjodaro, it is inevitable that interest should be aroused in the periods preceding and following that epoch. A great deal of material concerning the palæolithic and neolithic periods of human history has been collected mostly by the geologists, both in North and South India, but no systematic work has been done in this field by a student of prehistoric archæology. It is highly essential that this work be taken up in right earnest, particularly in South India, where there is immense scope for systematic work in collecting chipped and polished stone implements, determining their sequence by digging, and examining the

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megalithic monuments and necropolitan deposits generally associated with them. In several of the sites in Hyderabad and Mysore, the location of Aśoka's rock inscriptions in an area, abounding in rock shelters, stone implements and even painted pottery ware, gives the hope that investigations here may succeed in establishing links between the known historic and unknown prehistoric periods. In the plains of the Gangetic Valley the only hope of finding some material relating to the prehistoric period is centred in the lower levels of ancient city sites or in the find of copper age antiquities associated with regular settlements.

For the present, the areas, which have actually yielded vestiges of the prehistoric period, are the cities of Sind and the Punjab, of which Mohenjodaro and Harappa were by far the two biggest cities. It is clear that the state of their preservation is due to the fact that the course of the monsoon has deviated from the zone in which they are situated and that subsequently no attempts were made to rehabilitate these once prosperous towns. The high level of civic life and the amenities enjoyed by the citizens is shown by the remains of the well-planned streets and houses, wells and drains, baths and granaries. The inhabitants of these cities were far ahead of their contemporaries in Egypt and Sumer in respect of personal comforts and civic liberties. Ornaments and jewellery discovered at Mohenjodaro betoken a high degree of aesthetic sense. Scrupulous regard for personal cleanliness is shown by the multiplicity of wells and baths. The commodious and well-built houses, forming a majority of the dwellings brought to light, indicate a system of large families generally. A pictographic script, distinctive for India and unconnected with other contemporary methods of writing, prevailed in the Indus Valley, and it seems clear that most of the adult population had a knowledge of letters. Agriculture and commercial activities must have formed the mainstay of the population and high skill

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in small arts and handicrafts was a feature. The painted pottery designs of the Indus Valley people have been found to connect them with cultures widely prevalent over Baluchistan, Iran and Western Asia. Much more researches in the field are necessary before clear light can emerge on the origins and the subsequent history of the people responsible for this civilization. Very little idea can be formed about the religious practices of the people beyond that the worship of a Mother Goddess and of a God associated with phallic worship like the modern Śiva must have been prevalent among them. A limited idea of the way in which the disposal of the dead was effected can be had from the find of a cemetery at Harappa where dead bodies, interred with some vessels apparently belonging to the dead, and jars, with painted patterns containing skulls and a few other bones, were discovered. A large majority of people appear to have been cremated. A fine necropolitan pottery of a polychrome pattern has also been found at Nal in Baluchistan, due west of Mohenjodaro, but it is true that the main stream of Indus civilization is not yet clear although it is clear that the civilization of the so-called Aryans, who colonised Northern India in the second and the first half of the 1st millennium B.C., must undoubtedly have absorbed many useful elements from the Indus Valley culture. Its main trend seems to have been in a different direction and up to date no material object definitely assignable to the period between 2000 B.C. and 600 B.C. is available. It is to the filling up of this great gap in our knowledge that the efforts of archæologists will in future have to be directed.

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SECTION I

Archaic and Early Cultural History Section

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

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CAN WE RECONSTRUCT PRE-BHĀRATA WAR HISTORY ?

Fellow workers in the field of Indian History,

I feel it a great honour to be invited to preside over the Archaic Section of the third session of the Indian History Congress, and I am grateful for its being conferred upon me. I have no doubt that with your valuable co-operation and assistance the work of our section will be a complete success.

Ancient Indian History covers a period of several millennia and it was indeed a happy idea to divide it into two sections. By constituting the pre-Maurya period into a separate Archaic Section, the organisers of this session have drawn pointed attention to the great importance of this period and to the pressing necessity of carrying on our researches further and deeper into it with greater vigour and perseverance. It is a matter of great satisfaction that since an impetus was given to the study of Ancient Indian History and Culture by the founding of special chairs and departments for the subject, first at the Calcutta, then at the Benares and later at the Madras University, the history of the post-Maurya period has begun to be studied with great intensity and fruitful results. During the last 25 years valuable monographs have been published on several personalities and dynasties belonging to this period, and many more are ready and awaiting publication. The pre-Maurya period has been, however, comparati

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neglected. It has been drawing only a few votaries to its shrine. In a way this was natural. The epigraphic, numismatic and other material for the reconstruction of the post-Maurya history was so ample and promising that it naturally attracted a large number of scholars. For the pre-Maurya period, on the other hand, the original sources of history are undoubtedly very scanty and unattractive. The history of the period has been preserved mainly in the guise of tradition and legends. One naturally feels rather nervous and shaky while utilising them for reconstructing sober history. One has further to be well grounded in Vedic Sanskrit and its derived languages in order to do full justice to the original sources. Unfortunately we have not amongst us many Vedic scholars who are historians and historians who are Vedic scholars. During the last 15 years, numerous inscriptions and antiquities have become available to us for study from Mohenjo-daro and Harappa which appear to take back the history of our country to the 4th millennium B.C. Unfortunately these inscriptions are still a sealed book to us. It is then no wonder that scholars should not be feeling great enthusiasm for undertaking the history of a period the sources of which are so unpromising.

This apathy and neglect must, however, now come to an end. The constitution of the Archaic period as a separate section in the Indian History Congress will, I hope, give the needed impetus. There are so many problems in this field which are inviting our attention. There is, for instance, the great problem of the Indus Valley Civilisation which has been staring us in the face for more than a decade. Some scholars have been trying to decipher the Indus Valley Script, but their number must increase considerably. The Indus Script is a very formidable fort [illegible] capture, it looks like a veritable Maginot or Siegfried [illegible]—and a large number of costly and unsuccessful

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attacks, frontal and flank, will have to be made before we shall be able to win our objective. We must therefore feel very grateful to the few scholars who have been doing pioneers' work in the field. The efforts of none of them, however, appear to me to have been yet crowned with success. At any rate, no one among them has so far come forward with any intelligible key to the pictographs, symbols or alphabets of the Indus seals which could be used to decipher the inscriptions engraved on them.

The discovery of the Indus Valley Civilisation has shown that our ancient history during the third and fourth millennia before the Christian era was connected with that of the ancient civilisations in Iran and Mesopotamia. It is therefore high time that some of our workers should specialise themselves in the study of these civilisations. Unless this is done, there is not much prospect of our succeeding in unravelling the mystery of Mohenjo-daro. Unfortunately there are hardly any institutions or Universities in this country which have got up-to-date libraries necessary for the study of the different civilisations in the ancient Middle-East. This great handicap must be removed as early as possible in order to give the necessary impetus to research work. It is equally necessary for some of our research workers to specialise in Avestan studies, if we are to succeed in properly interpreting the history and culture of the Vedic period. One can never feel much confidence about conclusions based upon translations or opinions even of distinguished scholars, say, about the degree of similarity between the language of the Veda and of the Avesta. The problem of the locality of the Indo-European home, of the nature of the pre-Aryan Dravidian and Munda civilisations, and of the identity of the Asuras, Gandharvas and Kinnaras are only a few among many others which ought to engage serious attention of a large number of workers in our field.

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The religious, social, economical and cultural history of our country during the Vedic period has been fairly worked out ; but here also there is much scope for further intensive work. Problems connected with the Atharva-vedic religion and culture have not yet been adequately studied. The Brāhmaṇa works also require greater attention. The development of ritualism, Vedic, post-Vedic and non-Vedic, has curiously enough attracted few Hindu scholars. It is hoped that all these subjects will receive in the near future the proper amount of attention which they deserve.

The political history of the pre-Maurya period is in an unsatisfactory condition. The average student still thinks that it begins with Ajātaśatru, and that what precedes him is all myth and fable. The general reader does not even know that a few authoritative works written on the subject take it back to the accession of Parikshit II or describe the history and achievements of some of the kings mentioned in the vast Vedic and Pauranic literature. The earliest and the most daring attempt made to reconstruct the political history of the pre-Pāṇḍava period is no doubt that of Pargiter, who has tried to give us some landmarks in the political history of northern India during the second millennium B.C. He was followed by Dr. S. N. Pradhan, who, in his *Chronology of Ancient India*, has done valuable work in discussing the chronology of the post-Dāśarājña war period. Quite recently Prof. V. Rangacharya has, in his *Vedic India* [*Pre-Musalman India*, Vol. II, Part I] given us an account of early dynasties mentioned in the Vedic and Pauranic literature. Still, however, there is a general reluctance to utilise the Pauranic data for the reconstruction of the history of the pre-Bhārata war period, which is hindering intensive research work in that field. A careful examination of the available data will show that there is nothing unscientific or unhistorical in utilising the data of the Pauranic

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genealogies of the pre-Pāṇḍava period for reconstructing the contemporary history, of course after taking all due precautions necessitated by the nature of our original sources and the way in which they have been preserved.

I think that we shall be fully justified in holding, as Pargiter did, that the various dynasties like the Pūrus, Yadus, Druhyus, etc., that the Purāṇas unanimously declare to have ruled before the Bhārata war, were historic ruling families of the period, holding sway in territories indicated by them. There are many lacunæ in these genealogies,[1] and Purāṇas themselves are in many places conscious of them.[2] But we cannot merely on that account pronounce them to be unreal or fictitious. What motives can there be in preparing fictitious genealogies? They

[1] Dynastic lists would be a more correct expression to be used for these lists, for the Purāṇas themselves do not always say that each successor in the list was a son or relative of his predecessor. In many cases they only say that so and so came after so and so, without indicating any relationship between them. It is certain that in many cases the successor merely belonged to the tribe of the predecessor and not his family.

[2] One example may be given by way of illustration. According to the Purāṇas, Revatī, wife of Balarāma, was the daughter of king Raivata, who flourished only about 90 generations before his son-in-law. Ancient bards were quick to realise that this was an impossible marriage to narrate. They have, therefore, tried to explain this strange wedlock in an interesting and characteristic way. The *Vishṇu Purāṇa* (IV, i, 21) tells us that king Raivata went to heaven to consult Brahmadeva about the selection of a proper bridegroom for his daughter Revatī. He, however, soon forgot his mission, being enchanted by the celestial music in heaven, which he went on listening for ages. Eventually he recollected the purpose of his visit and began to discuss the relative merits of the bridegrooms, whom he had tentatively selected when on the earth. Brahmadeva said to him, 'Bewitched by the heavenly music, you do not seem to have realised that you have been here for ages. All your bridegrooms-elect died centuries ago. After your arrival here, demons attacked and destroyed your capital Dvārakā. Well, if you want my advice about your daughter's marriage, I would ask you to give her to Balarāma, who is now living on the earth.' This quaint story, historically interpreted, indicates that the wife of Balarā belonged to an old Yādava family, which claimed descent from Revata, a h hoary antiquity, but which had, owing to vicissitudes of fortune, failed its genealogy intact. Purāṇas give us the little fragment of the g knew and cloak their ignorance by the strange story of Raivata's pr in heaven and the overthrow of his family in his absence.

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are sometimes invented at the instance of a reigning dynasty in order to take its history to a hoary past. But this motive could not operate in the case of the pre-Bhārata war genealogies, for most of them were compiled and included in the original Purāṇa some time after the dynasties concerned had flourished and disappeared. There were at that time no descendants of theirs who were interested in claiming a fictitious antiquity for their ancestors.

One may naturally doubt the historicity of characters which figure as heroes and heroines in purely didactic stories. Satyavān and Sāvitrī, Ambarīsha and Durvāsas, Viśvāmitra and Hariśchandra, all belong to this category. They may or may not be historical personages. But such is surely not the case with most of the kings who figure in the Pauranic genealogies of the pre-Bhārata war period. They are not at all mentioned in connection with any didactic stories but in chapters which profess to deal with the history of purely human dynasties. A glance at the names of these rulers will show that it would have been very difficult for any Paurāṇika to compile these dynastic lists from pure imagination, either when the original Purāṇa was compiled, or when it was transformed into the present versions early in the Christian era. The names of the kings in these genealogies had long gone out of vogue even in the age of the Brāhmaṇas and the Upanishads. We hardly ever come across names like Pṛithu, Yuvanāśva, Haryaśva, Tridhanvā, Trayyaruṇa, Sagara, Dilīpa, Ahinagu, Vyushitāśva, Dhruvasandhi, Kṛitañjaya, Kūrcha, Satyaśravas, Marutta, Udāvasu, etc., among the rulers of the dynasties which have flourished in India subsequent to c. 600 B.C. How then would they have been thought of, if the genealogies were fictitious? Some of the Rajput genealogies, which establish the connection of the ruling families with the moon or some epic hero, betray their unhistorical the simple circumstance that many of the

names mentioned in them are such as became popular only in much later times. Such is not the case with a single pre-Bhārata war genealogy preserved in the Purāṇas.

The genealogies, it may be argued, may not be fictitious; but what reason is there to warrant the supposition that they were carefully preserved and transmitted? *Prima facie*, they all refer to the second millennium before the Christian era ; how could they have been preserved intact for two thousand years before they were incorporated in the present Purāṇas ? This is no doubt a legitimate question, but we can give a satisfactory answer to it.

Though most of the Purāṇas were given their present form at the beginning of the Gupta period, there is no doubt that the Purāṇa in its pristine *pañcha-lakshaṇa* form existed several centuries earlier. It is referred to not only in *Āpastamba* and *Gautama Dharma Sūtras*, but also in the *Chhāndogya Upanishad* (III, 4, 1.2), *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (XVI, 2, 27), *Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (X, 7) and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.[3] Nay, it is mentioned in the *Atharva-veda* itself.[4] This need not surprise us, for the Pauranic tradition asserts that the original Purāṇa was expounded by Dvaipāyana Vyāsa to Romaharshaṇa at the same time when he arranged the Vedic materials into four Saṁhitās.[5] The *Vāyupurāṇa* further enlightens us as to how this Purāṇa

[3] मध्वाहुतयो ह वा एता देवानां यदनुशासनानि विद्या वाकोवाक्यमितिहासपुराणं गाथा नाराशंस्यः। स य एवं विद्याननुशासनानि.....इतिहासपुराणं गाथा नाराशंसीरित्यहरहः स्वाध्याय-मधीते मध्वाहुतिभिरेव तद्देवांस्तर्पयति। XI. 5.6.8.

[4] इतिहासस्य च वै स पुराणस्य गाथानां नाराशंसीनां स प्रियं धाम भवति य एवं वेद।
XV.6.12

[5] अस्मिन्युगे क्रतौ व्यासः पाराशर्यः परंतपः।
ब्रह्मणा चोदितः सोऽस्मिन्वेदं व्यस्तुं प्रचक्रमे॥
अथ शिष्यान् स जग्राह चतुरो वेदकारणात्।
... ...॥
इतिहासपुराणस्य वक्तारं सम्यगेव हि।
मां चैव प्रतिजग्राह भगवानीश्वरः प्रभुः॥ 60. 11 ff.

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was compiled. It was not by drawing upon fables or imagination, but by putting together *Ākhyānas*, *Upākhyānas* and *Gāthās*, which were dealing with the history and achievements of the different dynasties, that the original Purāṇa was compiled.[6] It is therefore clear that historical material in the form of stories and ballads existed in society from the Vedic period; the fact that it is mentioned as a Veda by the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[7] shows that it must have been as highly revered as the hymns themselves. It is no wonder that society should have preserved this literature very carefully. Just as a section of society, the Brāhmaṇas, had addressed itself to the preservation of the hymnal literature, another section of it, the *sūtas*, had dedicated itself to the cultivation and transmission of the Purāṇa literature. We would not have been groping in the dark about the history of the pre-Bhārata war period if this class of scholars had continued to flourish like their *confrères*, the Brāhmaṇas, throughout the whole period of our ancient history, and the study of the Purāṇas had continued to be regarded as a *svādhyāya*, as obligatory as that of the Vedas.

The Itihāsa-Purāṇa literature of the Vedic period, referred to by the *Atharva-veda* and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, must obviously have consisted of the genealogies of the earlier and contemporary royal houses and stories about the exploits and achievements of the celebrities among them. If the Purāṇas composed at about the 4th century A.D. could preserve with sufficient accuracy the names of the dynasties and their rulers who had ruled during the preceding millennium, why should not the same feat be possible for the custodians of the Itihāsa-Purāṇa literature

आख्यानैश्चाप्युपाख्यानैर्गाथाभिः कुलकर्मभिः ।
पुराणसंहितां चक्रे पुराणार्थविशारदः ॥ *Ibid.*, 21.
पुराणं वेदः सोऽयमिति किंचित्पुराणमाचक्षीत । XIII. 4. 3.13.

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of the late Vedic period, especially since it was then held in as high a veneration as the Vedic literature itself ?

There can therefore be no doubt that in the late Vedic period there did exist a popular school of historians, which was carefully preserving the skeleton of ancient history. The achievements of famous heroes were often summed up in short pithy stanzas which used to be transmitted from generation to generation. Many of these have been incorporated in modern Purāṇas, but they can be easily detected. The present Purāṇas usually give us merely a string of names with reference to the pre-Bhārata war dynasties, but when a famous personage comes in, they invariably quote the *nārāśaṃsī-gāthās* about him, which still lived in popular memory. Thus when in the case of the Ikshvāku dynasty, the name of the famous king Māndhātā is mentioned, the *Vāyupurāṇa* stops its prosaic enumeration and says, ' Here are two verses about this ruler, which have been preserved by the Paurāṇika Brāhmaṇas.'[8] The same procedure is followed when later on other celebrated persons of the dynasty like Triśaṅku, Hariśchandra and Dilīpa are mentioned. Similar *nārāśaṃsī-gāthās* about the renowned rulers of other pre-Bhārata war dynasties like Alarka, Jyāmegha, Babhru, Bharata, Arjuna Kārtavīrya etc. were quite well-known in the bardic circles and have been incorporated in the present Purāṇas.

There are also indications to show that some of the custodians of the pre-Bhārata war genealogies were fairly careful students of history, and that the names of kings, which they had preserved, had a real significance for them.

[8] अत्राप्युदाहरन्तीमौ श्लोकौ पौराणिका द्विजाः ।
यावत्सूर्य उदयति यावच्च प्रतितिष्ठति ॥
सर्वं तद्यौवनाश्वस्य मांधातुः क्षेत्रमुच्यते ।
अत्राप्युदाहरन्तीमं श्लोकं वंशविदो जनाः ॥
यौवनाश्वं महात्मानं यज्ञानमभितोऽमम । 88.67.

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Thus when there is an occasion to mention the name of king Nala in the Ikshvāku genealogy, the *Vāyu* and *Matsya Purāṇas* stop their prosaic enumeration and add 'There were two Nalas famous in the Purāṇas. One of them was the son of Vīrasena, and the other was a scion of the Ikshvāku family.'[9] In the Pūru family there were several kings bearing the names Ṛiksha, Bhīma, Parīkshit and Janamejaya; lest there should be a confusion about their number, the *Brahmapurāṇa* observes, 'In this Soma family, there were two Ṛikṣhas and only two Parīkshits; Bhīmasenas were three and Janamejayas two.'[10] When, while narrating the Turvaśa genealogy, the *Vāyupurāṇa* has an occasion to mention the name of king Marutta, it stops to add, 'The king Marutta, son of Avikshit, who was mentioned before, was quite a different personage from this ruler.'[11]

The above quotations will show that the ancient royal genealogies were carefully studied, analysed and preserved by their custodians. We have also seen that they were incorporated in the original Purāṇa as early as the time of Dvaipāyana Vyāsa, that is to say, about fifty years before the Bhārata war. Are we not then fully justified in assuming that the royal houses they refer to were historic ruling families, holding sway in different parts of Northern India during the second millennium before the Christian era?

A study of these genealogies makes it further clear that they cannot be referred to any pre-Aryan Dravidian ruling families. All the kings mentioned in them were Aryans and the followers of the Vedic religion. The Aryans were well known for their horsemanship and a number of these kings bore names showing their skill in or liking for that line.

9 नलौ द्वाविति विख्यातौ पुराणेषु दृढव्रतौ।
वीरसेनात्मजश्चैव यश्चेक्ष्वाकुकुलोद्वहः॥ *Vāyu*, 88. 174. *Matsya*, 12. 56.

10 द्वावेवौ सोमवंशेऽस्मिन्द्वावेव च परीक्षितौ।
भीमसेनास्त्रयो विप्रा द्वौ चापि जनमेजयौ॥ 13, 112.

11 अन्यस्त्वविक्षितो राजा मरुत्तः कथितः पुरा। 99. 2. *Brahma*, 13. 143.

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Bṛihadaśva, Dṛiḍhāśva, Haryaśva, Yuvanāśva are only some of the names of this class. The incidental references to contemporary religious conditions and practices make it quite clear that the Vedic sacrificial religion then ruled supreme in society. That even among Kshatriyas, proper names like Kūrcha, Kuśa, Suhotra, Veṇuhotra, Vītihotra, Somaśravas, Sutapā, Mīḍhvā, Divodāsa, Marutta, Somadatta, Devarāta, etc., should occur with fair frequency will show quite clearly that the Vedic sacrificial religion was then in ascendancy. You will be surprised to learn that Dhūminī, 'the smoky one,' was the unromantic name of one of the beloved queens of king Ajamīḍha of the Paurava dynasty. Your surprise will, however, vanish on learning that this worthy queen had acquired this proud name because she was accustomed to perform a number of sacrifices when she would sleep in the sacrificial pandal on the Kuśa grass. This practice of hers had really made her smoky in colour and given her the curious title, 'the Smoky One.'[12] The names of kings and queens thus make it quite clear that, during the time of the ascendancy of the pre-Bhārata war dynasties, the Vedic religion was in vogue. The structure of the caste system, as disclosed by these genealogies, also shows that they must be referring to very ancient days, when the translation of a person of a lower caste into a higher one caused no surprise whatsoever. Later orthodox works were very reluctant to record and admit the elevation of Viśvāmitra to the Brāhmaṇa caste; they seek to explain it away by various possible and impossible ways and theories. The genealogies of the pre-Bhārata war period, however, narrate in a matter of fact way, without showing the least concern or surprise, how the descendants of a number of Kshatriya kings like Māndhātā,

[12] हुत्वाग्निं विधिवत्सा तु पत्विजा मितभोजना।
अग्निहोत्रकृशेष्वेव सुप्वाप सुनिसत्तमाः॥
तस्यां वै धूमवर्णायामजमीढः समेयिवान्॥ *Matsya*, 50. 19-20.

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Jātūkarṇya, Rathītara, Śaunaka, Ārshṭiṣheṇa, Ajamīḍha, Mudgala, etc., became Brāhmaṇas and founded celebrated priestly families.[13] That such elevations of Kshatriyas to Brāhmaṇa status should have been recorded as ordinary events, calling forth no comment or explanation whatever, would show that they really refer to the Hindu society of the Vedic period, when a priest could confess without feeling any awkwardness that his father was a physician and maternal grandfather a stone-cutter.[14] That these inconvenient facts, so inconsistent with the beliefs of the later age, should have been preserved in Purāṇas even after their transformation into the present form would raise a strong presumption in favour of the hypothesis that the old genealogies were incorporated in the present Purāṇas precisely in the form in which they were handed down without any effort being made to modernise or change them.

The strongest evidence, however, in favour of the view that the pre-Bhārata war dynasties mentioned in the Purāṇas flourished before the time of the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas is the circumstance that the Pauranic data about many of the royal houses, kings and sages is confirmed by the Vedic literature to a surprising extent. The prevailing impression, largely based upon Pargiter's oft-repeated emphasis on the Brahmanical lack of historic sense, is that there are hardly any points of contact between the Pauranic and Vedic

[13] About Ambarīsha, Yuvanāśva and Hārīta, who were descendants of Māndhātā from one of his younger sons, the *Vāyupurāṇa*, 88. 73, says :—

एते ह्यांगिरसः पुत्राः चत्वोपेता द्विजातयः। *Vāyu*, 88. 73.

About the descendants of king Jātūkarṇya, the *Bhāgavata* says :—

ततो ब्रह्मकुलं जातमभिवैश्यायनं नृप। *Bhāgavata*, IX. 2. 22.

About the Paurava family, the *Vāyupurāṇa*, 99, 278, says :—

ब्रह्मक्षत्रस्य यो योनिर्वंशो देवर्षिसत्कृतः।
चैमकं प्राप्य राजानं संस्थां प्राप्स्यति वै कलौ॥ *Vāyu*, 99. 278.

[14] कारुरहं भिषक् पिता उपलप्रक्षिणी नना। *Rigveda*, IX. 112. 3.

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tradition about the ancient history of our country. But such is not really the case. Many of the pre-Bhārata war Pauranic kings and sages reappear in the Vedic literature and it is possible to identify them. The number of such kings is fairly large, especially when we remember that the Vedic literature had really few occasions to refer to contemporary political events.

Some Pauranic kings like Ambarīsha, Ṛituparṇa, Pṛishadhra, Bṛihaduktha, Purumīḷha, Devātithi and Vātāpi appear in the Vedic literature also. But they may be or may not be the same, as we have no conclusive data to prove their identity. There are, however, quite a large number of cases where there can be no reasonable doubt that the Pauranic genealogies are really referring to kings who figure in the Vedic literature also. I shall now mention some such typical cases.

(1) In the Ikshvāku dynasty, Māndhātā Yauvanāśva figures as a well-known emperor, famous as a great sacrificer. Ancient bards had preserved two traditional verses about him which have been included in a number of Purāṇas (*ante p.* 41, n. 8). The *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* refers to a Brāhmaṇa named Vichāri Kabandha going to the sacrifice of a paramount king named Māndhātā Yauvanāśva, and asking him some questions there.[15] It is obvious that the Brāhmaṇa work is referring to the same king who figures as a great emperor and sacrificer in the Purāṇas.

(2) In the same royal family there later flourished a king named Trayyaruṇa, son of Tridhanvā, who was well known for his strict regard for justice and fair play. Purāṇas narrate how he expelled even his crown prince for abducting a princess who was being married to another king (*Vāyu*, 88. 78 ff). The *Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* tells us that there

[15] स मांधातुर्यौवनाश्वस्य सार्वभौमस्य राज्ञः सोमं प्रसूतमाजगाम। स सदोऽनुप्रविश्य ऋत्विजं च यजमानं चाभ्यवदयामास। II. 9.

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was a king named Trayyaruṇa, son of Tridhātu, belonging to the Ikshvāku dynasty, who did not mind incurring the wrath of his Purohita by expelling him for running his chariot over a child in the street.[16] It is quite clear that Trayyaruṇa of the Purāṇas is identical with the king of that name occurring in the *Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* as both belonged to the same dynasty and had fathers of the same name, *Traidhātva* of the Vedic text being a mistake for Traidhanva.

(3) King Hiraṇyanābha of the same dynasty is described in the Purāṇas as a great *yogeśvara* and a keen student of Vedic ritual.[17] Yājñavalkya is stated to have studied Yoga under him. Hiraṇyanābha Kauśalya, mentioned in the *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (XVI. 9. 13) as the Hotā of king Aṭṇāra, and in the *Praśna Upanishad* as the proposer of some mystic questions to Sukeśā Bhāradvāja,[18] would appear to be the same personage.

(4) In the Vaiśāli dynasty Marutta, son of Avikshit, figures as a powerful emperor and a famous sacrificer. Traditional verses have been preserved about him, averring that no one could possibly equal this ruler in the grandeur of sacrifice or the generosity to priests. His name is still sung every morning and evening at the time of *mantra-pushpa* in every orthodox Hindu family and temple. Purāṇas further state that Saṃvarta was his priest.[19] Now the

[16] ह्यथो वै राजन्यस्य वय्यरुणस्य त्रैधातवस्यैक्ष्वाकस्य पुरोहित आस। XII. 3. 12.

As a consequence of the wrath of the expelled Purohita, Fire declined to ignite. The king managed to get over the difficult situation by inducing the Purohita to return. The Purohita then recited *Rigveda*, V. 2. 9 and lo! the fire ignited once more. *Bṛihaddaivata*, V. 14-23.

[17] हिरण्यनाभो महायोगीश्वरो जैमिनिशिष्यः। यतो याज्ञवल्क्यो योगमवाप। *Vishṇu*, IV.4. 48.

[18] भगवन्, हिरण्यनाभः कौशल्यो राजपुत्रो मामुपेत्यैतं प्रश्नमपृच्छत्।
षोडशकलं भारद्वाज पुरुषं वेत्थ। VI. 1.

[19] मरुत्तो नाम धर्मात्मा चक्रवर्तिसमो नृपः।
संवर्तेन दिवं नीतः ससुहृत्सहबांधवैः॥ *Vāyu*, 86. 9.

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Aitareya Brāhmaṇa also refers to king Marutta, who was son of Avikshit, whose priest was Saṃvarta, and who was very famous as an emperor and sacrificer. [20] It is absolutely clear that the Vedic and the Pauranic traditions are referring to the same king.

(5) According to the *Mahābhārata* (XIII, 30, 29-30) king Pratardana of Benares, who had been driven out of his capital by the Haihayas of Chedi country, could succeed in regaining his kingdom by enlisting the help of the sage Bharadvāja. The *Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā* states that the Apratiratha ritual enables one to conquer his enemies and adds that it enabled Bharadvāja to win back the kingdom for king Pratardana. [21] It is obvious that the *Saṃhitā* is referring to the incident in Benares history, mentioned in the great epic.

(6) There flourished in the Narishyanta dynasty just before the Bhārata war a king named Jātukarṇya, who, according to the Purāṇas, founded a *Brahmakula*. [22] In the *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka* (26.5) he figures as a venerable sage and a great authority on points of dispute in rituals and philosophy.

(7) In the midst of its prose narrative, the *Vishṇupurāṇa* quotes a verse about king Babhru, son of Devavṛidha, of the main Yādava dynasty, extolling his greatness and exploits. [23] King Babhru, son of Devavṛidha, who became

मरुत्तस्य यथा यज्ञस्तथा कस्याभवद्भुवि ।
सर्वं हिरण्मयं यस्य यज्ञवस्त्वतिशोभनम् ॥
अमाद्यदिन्द्रः सोमेन दक्षिणाभिर्द्विजातयः ।
मरुतः परिवेष्टारः सदस्याश्च दिवौकसः ॥ *Vishṇu*, IV. 1. 17.

20 एतेन ह वै ऐन्द्रेण महाभिषेकेण संवर्त आंगिरसो मरुत्तमाविक्षितमभिषिषेच । VIII. 21.

21 अथैतदप्रतिरथम् । एतेन ह स्म वै भरद्वाजः प्रतर्दनं सन्नह्यन्नभेति ततो ह स वै राष्ट्रमभवत् । *Pañch. Br.*, XV. 3. 7 also refers to this incident.

22 ततो ब्रह्मकुलं जातमग्निवेश्यायनं नृप । *Bhāgavata*, IX. 2. 22.

23 यथैव शृणुमो दूरादपश्याम तथान्तिकात् ।
बभ्रुः श्रेष्ठो मनुष्याणां देवैर्देवव्रधः समः ॥ IV. 13. 4.

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a great king by virtue of the mysterious efficacy of a certain ritual described in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VII. 34), must be identical with him.

(8-10) The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* supports the Pauranic account of the birth of king Bharata from Śakuntalā, [24] as also the story of the love affair of Pururavas and Urvaśī. [25] It also confirms the statement of Purāṇas [26] that Pañchāla was a new name given to the country some generations before the Bhārata war.[27]

(11) The *Matsya* [28] *Purāṇa* tells us that prince Devāpi of the Paurava line could not ascend the throne because he was suffering from some skin disease. He eventually became a priest and sacrificed for his brother Śantanu, who succeeded to the throne, and thereby secured rain for the country. Ṛigveda, X. 98.5 tells us how Devāpi officiated at Śantanu's sacrifice and brought down rain from the sky. The circumstance that the Ṛigveda describes Devāpi as Ārshṭiṣheṇa need not go against this identification, for Ṛishṭiṣheṇa could well have been an epithet of Dilīpa, who was Devāpi's father according to the Purāṇas. This would not be a gratuitous assumption, for the Vedic tradition as recorded in the *Bṛihaddaivata* (VII. 155, VIII. 5) expressly declares that Devāpi Ārshṭiṣheṇa was a brother of Śantanu Kauravya.

[24] शकुंतलाऽप्सरसा भरतं दधे। XIII. 5. 4. 3. Like the Purāṇas this *Brāhmaṇa* also describes him as a great conqueror and performer of several Aśvamedhas.

[25] XI. 5. 4. There is a remarkable agreement about several details of this story.

[26] About his five sons, one of whom was Krimilāśva, king Ṛiksha says :-

पञ्चानां विद्धि पञ्चेलान् स्फीता जनपदा युताः।
अलं संरक्षणे तेषां पञ्चाला इति विश्रुताः॥ *Vayu*, 99. 198.

[27] क्रिवय इति ह पुरा पञ्चालानाचक्षते। XIII. 5. 4. 7. Krivis seem to be connected with the Prince Krimilāśva of the Purāṇas.

[28] देवापिस्तु ह्यपध्मातः प्रजाभिरभवन्मुनिः।
.....
किलासीद्राजपुत्रस्तु कुष्ठी तं नाभ्यपूजयन्॥ 50. 39 and 41.

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(12) Dhṛitarāshṭra, son of Vichitravīrya, who is mentioned as a king in the Kurupañchāla country in the *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā* (X. 6) must obviously be identical with the father of Duryodhana, who was a son of Vichitravīrya.

(13) According to the Purāṇas, an early king of Benares named Śunahotra had a younger son named Gṛitsamada, who became a great Vedic sage along with his son Śaunaka. [29] The Vedic tradition confirms this Pauranic account, for it assigns the second Maṇḍala of the Ṛigveda to Gṛitsamada, and internal evidence shows unmistakably that Śunahotra was his father or ancestor. [30]

(14) The *Brahmapurāṇa* credits the sage Atri with the feat of restoring light to the universe by killing the demon Svarbhānu who had overpowered the sun. [31] This legend, which seems to owe its origin to Atri's astronomical skill in anticipating the occurrence and duration of a solar eclipse, finds confirmation in the *Kauśītaki Brāhmaṇa* in all its important particulars. [32]

(15) The Ṛigvedic evidence shows that the Atris were probably closely connected with the Kaṇvas; [33] this is confirmed by the Pauranic account about the Paurava genealogy. Atri was a son-in-law of Ṛicheyu, an early king in the dynasty, and the Kaṇvas are represented as descendants of a later king Ajamīḍha through his wife Keśinī. [34] It is interesting

29 काश्यः कुशी वीरमद इति गृत्समदादभूत्।
शुनकः शौनको यस्य बह्वृचप्रवरो मुनिः॥ *Bhāgavata*, IX. 17. 3.

30 अयं हि ते शुनहोत्रेषु सोम इन्द्र त्वाया परिषिक्तो मदाय॥ 11. 41. 14.

31 स्वर्भानुना हते सूर्ये पतमाने दिवो महीम्।
तमोऽभिभूते लोके च प्रभा येन प्रवर्तिता॥ 13. 9.

32 स्वर्भानुर्वासुर आदित्यं तमसाऽविध्यत्।
तस्यात्रयस्तमोऽपजिघांसंत। 24. 3.

33 प्रियमेधवदत्रिवज्जातवेदो विरूपवत्।
अंगिरस्वन्महीव्रत प्रस्कण्वस्य श्रुधी हवम्। 1. 45. 3.

34 अजमीढस्य कैशिन्यां कण्वः समभवत् किल।
मेधातिथिः सुतस्तस्य तस्मात् काण्वायना द्विजाः॥ *Matsya*, 49. 16.

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to add that the Ṛigveda, IV. 44. 6 also represents descendants of Ajamīḍha as priests and singers.

(16) According to the *Vaṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, Vibhāṇḍaka was a pupil of Ṛishyaśṛiṅga. According to the *Matsya Purāṇa* Vibhāṇḍaka officiated as a priest of king Haryaṅga of the Ānava dynasty, who was two generations junior to Ṛishyaśṛinga (48. 98). The two sources thus confirm each other about the relative chronology of Ṛishyaśṛinga, Vibhāṇḍaka and Haryaṅga.

(17) It is well known that the Vedic evidence shows that the Bharatas rose into prominence after the decline of the Purus and were themselves later eclipsed by the Kurupāñchālas. From the Purāṇas we learn that Pūru was the founder of the Paurava family and kings Bharata and Kuru flourished later about 40 and 70 generations respectively. The Pāñchāla dynasty also was founded about 10 generations later than the time of Bharata. It will be thus seen that the Vedic and the Pauranic evidence confirm each other.

(18) The Purāṇas inform us that king Janamejaya II, son of Parikshit, had become guilty of *Brahmahatyā*, his chariot having run over and killed a son of the sage Gālava. His people then abandoned him and he could regain his position only when sage Indrota Daivāpa Śaunaka agreed to cleanse him of his guilt by performing an Aśavamedha for him.[35] The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[36] confirms this episode in every particular.

[35] गार्गस्य हि सुतं बालं स राजा जनमेजयः।
दुर्बुद्धिर्हिंसयामास लोहगंधो नराधिपः॥
पौरजानपदैस्त्यक्तो न लेभे शर्म कर्हिचित्।
इन्द्रतो नाम विख्यातो योऽसौ मुनिरुदारधीः।
याजयामास चेन्द्रोतः शौनको जनमेजयम्॥
अश्वमेधेन राजानं पावनार्थं द्विजोत्तमः॥ *Vāyu*, 93. 22-25.

[36] एतेन ह वै इन्द्रोतो दैवापः शौनको जनमेजयं पारिक्षितं याजयाञ्चकार। तेनह सर्वां पापकृत्यां सर्वां ब्रह्महत्यामपाजघान। XIII. 5. 4. 1.

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(19) Rohita figures as a son of Hariśchandra in the Ikshvāku genealogy of the Purāṇas and the *Bhāgavata* also describes the sacrifice of Śunaḥśepha (IX. 7. 22-5). There is a substantial agreement between the Pauranic and Vedic tradition about the different functions discharged by different priests on the occasion.[37]

(20) King Sudāsa, who was the hero of the famous Dāśarājña war of the Ṛigveda, figures in the North Pāñchāla dynasty of the Purāṇas, along with other members of his family like Vadhryaśva, Sṛiñjaya, Divodāsa, Sahadeva, Somaka, etc. The precise relationship between some of these persons is not clear both in the Pauranic genealogies and Vedic hymns. I think that we can detect a reference to the Dāśarājña war in the *Mahābhārata* also in the description it gives of the sad lot of the Paurava family at the time of king Saṃvaraṇa. 'When this king was ruling,' says the great epic, 'we hear that there was a great slaughter of people and the Pūrus suffered in various ways. The whole nation was shattered. The Bharatas were attacked by their enemies in immense numbers. The Pāñchāla king invaded the country with a great force, and the Kuru king had to fly to the west with his ministers, family and allies.' Ultimately the Pūrus found an asylum somewhere on the bank of the Indus, where they lived for some time. They then requested sage Vasishṭha to become their Purohita and bless and help their effort to regain their dominions. Vasishṭha agreed, gave the Pūru king *sāmrājyābhisheka* and the Pūrus eventually became successful in regaining their kingdom.[38]

[37] *Cf. Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, 15. 17 with *Bhāgavata* IX. 7. 22-3 and *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VII. 16.

[38] *Mbh.*, I. 101. 23 ff. (Kumbhakonam edition) :—

आर्चे संवरणे राजन् प्रशासति वसुन्धराम् ।
संचयः सुमहानासीत् प्रजानामिति नः श्रुतम् ॥
व्यशीर्यत ततो राष्ट्रं चयैर्नानाविधैस्सदा ।
अभ्यघ्नन् भारतांश्चैव सपञ्चानां बलानि च ॥

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The genealogies show that the Pāñchāla contemporary of king Saṃvaraṇa who had shattered his power was king Sudāsa. It is precisely this ruler who is the hero of the Dāśarājña war. The Vedic data show that the Pūrus were among the opponents of Sudāsa and that they were completely overthrown in the critical battle fought on the bank of the Parushṇī. Marching from the east Sudāsa succeeded in shattering the power of the big confederacy and driving his opponents to the west across the river. This is confirmed by the *Mahābhārata* when it states that the Pūrus eventually found a safe asylum on the Indus. The Vedic tradition makes it quite clear that both Viśvāmitra and Vasishṭha had served Sudāsa as his Purohita, and that one of them was later discarded in favour of the other, which led to the long-standing enmity between the two priestly families. The statement of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VIII. 21) that Sudāsa was coronated by Vasishṭha would show that Vasishṭha was the original priest of the family, who was later superseded in favour of Viśvāmitra. The epic account supports this view and indicates how Vasishṭha wreaked his vengeance. He championed the cause of the Pūrus, who were among his old patron's erstwhile enemies, worked hard for them and eventually enabled them to regain their ancestral kingdom from the descendants of Sudāsa. It will be thus seen that there is a remarkable agreement

चालयन् वसुधां चेमां बलेन चतुरंगिणा।
अभ्ययात्तं च पांचाल्यो विजित्य तरसा महीम् ॥
अक्षौहिणीभिर्दशभिः स एनं समरेऽजयत्।
ततः सदारः सामात्यः सपुत्रः ससुहृज्जनः ॥
राजा संवरणस्तस्मादपलायत महाभयात्।
ते प्रतीचीं पराभूताः प्रपन्ना भारता दिशम् ॥
सिन्धोर्नदस्य महति निकुंजे न्यवसंस्तदा।
अथाभ्यगच्छद्भरतान् वसिष्ठो भगवानृषिः ॥
तमासने चोपविष्टं राजा वव्रे स्वयं तदा।
पुरोहितो भवान्नोऽस्तु राज्याय प्रयतेमहि ॥
आमित्येव वसिष्ठोऽपि भरतान् प्रत्यपद्यत।

in the accounts of this war as they have been preserved in the Ṛigveda and the *Mahābhārata*.

I have discussed above some twenty typical and clear cases, where we find the Vedic literature confirming the Pauranic accounts about the kings, sages and incidents of the pre-Bhārata war period. There are some other clear cases, equally convincing, which I cannot mention here for want of time. I feel sure, however, that the cases discussed above will dispel the usual impression that the pre-Bhārata war genealogies of the Purāṇas are altogether unrelated to the fragments of contemporary and early history as preserved in the Vedic literature. This literature deals with ritualistic, religious and philosophical matters, and we hardly expect it to refer to secular or political history and events. *And yet its close study shows that it confirms to a surprising degree the information to be gathered from the scanty Pauranic accounts of pre-Bhārata war dynasties on several important points. The conclusion thus becomes irresistible that the various pre-Bhārata war dynasties mentioned in the Purāṇas are as real and historical as the Śaisunāgas, or the Mauryas or the Andhras, which are later described by them, and that we can be fully justified in reconstructing the political and literary history of the period with their help.*

I shall now proceed to do so very briefly. It will be first necessary, however, to determine the date of the Bhārata war. This I have done in Appendix A to this address, where I have shown that the most probable date of this war is c. 1400 B.C. Let me now assume that date and proceed with the immediate work in hand. On pp. 144-49 of his valuable book, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, Pargiter has given us a very important table of the contemporary Pauranic dynasties of the pre-Bhārata war period, giving the approximate position of each ruler in his family. To save time and space, I shall be referring

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here to this table for determining the position of any particular king or event that may be under discussion.

Purāṇas do not supply us with the reign periods of any of the pre-Bhārata war rulers, as they do in the case of almost every king of the post-Śiśunāga period. If they had been inclined to give us a fictitious history, they could have done so with great ease. This regard for the truth which they have shown is indeed admirable. It of course places us under peculiar difficulties in determining the chronology of the period, but we shall have to wade our way as best as we can. We can only determine the chronology of a particular king or event as being so many generations before the Bhārata war. We can get a more approximate idea of the time by fixing a probable average for one reign. We have to deal with very long genealogies, extending over 50 to 90 generations, and so the averages taken from the Maurya or the Mughul dynasty would not be useful. In the case of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty, we have a definitely historical genealogy extending over a very long period and preserved with a care and accuracy which may well excite the envy of any modern record office. We find that the reigns of 40 kings who belonged to this dynasty, covered 656 years. This gives us an average of about $16\frac{1}{2}$ years per reign. We would be therefore erring on the side of caution if we assume that the average reign period in the case of the pre-Bhārata war genealogies was 15 years.

It is now possible to date every one of the incidents and kings mentioned in the 20 cases that I have discussed above, as being so many generations and therefore years before the Bhārata war, *i.e.*, before 1400 B.C. It is not however possible to do so to-day for want of time. I would here content myself by pointing out that some of the synchronisms established by the Pauranic data get surprising confirmation from the Vedic evidence also. After describing the miraculous efficacy of the Nārāśaṁsa Soma drink, the

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Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII. 34) informs us that in ancient times it was administered by Parvata and Nārada to kings Somaka son of Sahadeva, Sahadeva son of Sṛiñjaya, Babhru son of Devavṛidha, and Bhīma and Nagnajit of Vidarbha and Gandhāra countries respectively. It is clear from the above statement that these kings were contemporaries and the Pauranic evidence supports this conclusion. The North Pañchāla genealogy contains kings Sṛiñjaya, Sahadeva and Somaka. The Pauranic tradition agrees with the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* in stating that Somaka was the son of Sahadeva, but differs in observing that Sṛiñjaya was the grandfather of Sahadeva. King Babhru, son of Devavṛidha, does not figure in Pargiter's table. He belonged to a junior Yādava branch and was a grandson of king Satvata of the main line through his second son Devavṛidha. This Satvata was a contemporary of Sṛiñjaya, and so the contemporaneity presupposed by the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* is supported by the Purāṇas in this case also. Bhīma of Vidarbha was also a contemporary of these rulers, as Pargiter's tables show (p. 143). Nagnajit of Gandhāra does not figure in the Pauranic lists and so we cannot test his contemporaneity. The above discussion shows that four out of the five kings mentioned as contemporaries by the Vedic tradition are shown to be so by the Pauranic evidence also. Now the Pauranic genealogies show that these kings flourished about 30 generations, *i.e.*, 450 years, before the Bhārata war. We can then confidently place them somewhere in the 19th century B.C. King Sṛiñjaya, mentioned above, was four generations junior to king Sudāsa who was the hero of the Dāśarājña war. This would show that this famous war took place about 60 years earlier ; *c.* 1900 B.C. may then be tentatively fixed as the time of that event. The time of other kings like Māndhātā, Trayyaruṇa, Hariśchandra, Pratardana, etc., whom I have mentioned in this address, can also be similarly determined.

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It is interesting to note that the Pauranic tradition enables us to determine the date of many of the Vedic sages and therefore of the hymns that were composed in their families. It is now high time that we should try to tackle the problem of Vedic chronology by this new method. Vedic scholars are agreed that the so-called family books of the Ṛigveda constitute its earliest nucleus and the Pauranic evidence supports this conclusion. We have shown above (p. 49, No. 13) that Gṛitsamada, the founder of the family whose hymns are included in the IInd Book of the Ṛigveda, was a junior member of the Benares ruling family. He flourished about 85 generations or 1275 years before the Bhārata war and so his time would be *c.* 2700 B.C. The majority of the hymns of this Maṇḍala must have been composed during 2700-2500 B.C.

The Pauranic tradition would show that the Vth Maṇḍala would rank next to the IInd Maṇḍala in antiquity. We have already shown above (p. 49, No. 14) how its traditional author Atri and his apparent success in predicting a solar eclipse are referred to both in the Ṛigveda and the Purāṇas. According to the latter, Atri was a son-in-law of king Ṛicheyu, of the Paurava dynasty, who flourished about five generation later than Gṛitsamada. His time therefore would be about 2600 B.C. and we should place the early hymns of this book between 2600 B.C. and 2400 B.C.

The IVth Maṇḍala of the Ṛigveda informs [39] us that two Aryan chiefs, Arṇa and Chitraratha, were overthrown by Indra on the bank of the Sarayū in favour of a devotee of his. Some Vedic scholars are inclined to think that the Sarayū, referred to here, may be some river other than the well-known one in Oudh. The Pauranic evidence shows that this gratuitous assumption is altogether unwarranted.

[39] उत त्या सद्य आर्या सरयोरिन्द्र पारतः। अर्णाचित्ररथा वधीः। IV. 31. 18.

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Among the kings of the Anu dynasty ruling in Aṅgadeśa, the Purāṇas mention a king named Chitraratha. About his father Dharmaratha we are told that he had drunk Soma in the company of Indra on the Vishṇupāda hill near Gayā and the Kālañjara mountain in Banda district in the south-eastern U.P.[40] It is therefore crystal clear that Dharmaratha and his son Chitraratha were holding sway over the eastern U.P. and Bihar, and that the river Sarayū was flowing in their dominion. The Ṛigveda expressly describes them as Aryans and the Purāṇas show that the family of at least one of them was following Vedic religion and performing Vedic sacrifices. The IVth Maṇḍala of the Ṛigveda can therefore well refer to Aryan chiefs ruling in Kośala and fighting with each other and invoking Indra's help in their wars. The Sarayū mentioned in it is therefore clearly the well-known river of that name in Oudh. According to the Purāṇas, king Chitraratha flourished about 40 generations, *i.e.*, 600 years before the Bhārata war. His time then would be *c.* 2000 B.C. Ṛigveda, IV. 31. 8 which refers to his death, cannot be earlier than this date. The IVth Maṇḍala would thus be later than Maṇḍalas II and V. It continued to receive further additions for at least two centuries more, for in IV. 15. 4 it describes the generosity of kings Sṛiñjaya and Sahadeva who flourished three or four generations after the Dāśarājña war. We may therefore determine its time as being *c.* 2000-1800 B.C.

According to the Purāṇas, Viśvāmitra, the author of the IIIrd Maṇḍala, was the last member of the Kānyakubja royal house. He renounced his Kshatriya status in order to found a Brāhmana family. He flourished about 60 generations or 900 years before the Bhārata war. His time

[40] स वै धर्मरथः श्रीमान् येन विष्णुपदे गिरौ। सोमः शक्रेण सह वै यज्ञे पीतो महात्मना॥
—*Vāyu*, 99. 102.

तेन धर्मरथेनाथ तदा कालञ्जरे गिरौ। यजता सह शक्रेण सोमः पीतो महात्मना॥
—*Brahma*, 13. 39.

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therefore would be c. 2300 B.C. and the IIIrd Maṇḍala of the Ṛigveda would then not be earlier than that time. Viśvāmitra's descendants continued to compose hymns for several generations and many of them were admitted into the IIIrd Maṇḍala when the canon was finally closed by Vedavyāsa in c. 1500 B.C. Some of these later hymns like III. 33, for instance, are as late as 1900 B.C. The hymn above referred to contains a dialogue, between a descendant of Viśvāmitra and the rivers Vipāś and Śatudru, which dramatises a critical incident in connection with the Dāśarājña war. So it cannot be earlier than c. 1900 B C. We can therefore place the IIIrd Maṇḍala between 2300 B.C. and 1900 B.C. The Purāṇas throw no light on the probable time of the Vasishṭha family ; it is however well known that the Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra families were contemporaneous and so we can place the VIIth Maṇḍala also during the above period.

There is a general agreement among Vedic scholars that the VIIIth Maṇḍala is on the whole later than the family books. The Pauranic evidence supports this conclusion. Vedic hymns describe Kaṇva, the traditional author of this book, as a descendant of Ajamīlha. Purāṇas confirm the Vedic evidence, for they state that the Kaṇva priestly family was founded by one of the younger sons of king Ajamīḍha of the Paurava dynasty, who flourished about 40 generations before the Bhārata war.[41] The Kanva family therefore began to flourish sometime after 2000 B.C. and was thus junior to that of Gṛitsamada, Atri and Viśvāmitra. It was more or less contemporary with that of Vāmadeva. We may therefore place the early hymns of this book between 2000 B.C. and 1800 B.C. It is possible to draw similar

41 अजमीढस्य कैशिन्यां कण्वः समभवत् किल ।
मेधातिथिः सुतस्तस्य तस्मात् काण्वायना द्विजाः ॥
Matsya, 49. 46.

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inferences about the time of some of the other groups in the Ṛigveda, but it cannot be done to-day for want of time.

The Pauranic evidence thus shows that the hymnal activity of the Vedic period started sometime at about 2700 B.C. and continued for more than a thousand years till the canon was finally closed by the compilations of the Saṁhitās by Vedavyāsa about four generations before the Bhārata war. This event may therefore be placed in c. 1500 B.C. Some late hymns composed just about this time like those referring to Śantanu and Devāpi were also included in the collection as the central figures therein belonged to the royal family with which Vedavyāsa was closely connected. The later theory that the Vedic hymns ought to be preserved without the change of a single letter or accent did not exist in this age: the language and vocabulary of the archaic hymns were to some extent assimilated to those of the later times. This linguistic assimilation is suggested by the Pauranic tradition when it declares *that principal Vedic Śākhās arose primarily on account of a difference of reading.*[42] After an exhaustive study of Vedic repetitions, Bloomfield also has come to the conclusion that *the Vedic collection of hymns depends upon a long antecedent activity and that it represents the mixed final precipitate of a later time.*[43] In Vedic hymns therefore we do not find that amount of linguistic variety which we would expect in a collection, consisting of hymns separated from each other by more than a thousand years. We can also understand why there should be such a close similarity between the language of the Veda and that of the Avesta, in spite of the late date of the latter's text. Though the antiquity of the Vedic age goes back to about 2700 B.C., and some of the hymns in the present collection go back to that date, still they do not

[42] सर्वासां हि चतुष्पादाः सर्वासां छन्दवाचिका:।
पाठान्तरे पृथग्भूता वेदशाखा यथा तथा ॥ *Vāyu*, 61. 59

[43] Bloomfield, *Vedic Repetitions*, p. 646.

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show that amount of archaicness which we expect them to exhibit, because they were to some extent being assimilated to the later forms of language and grammar.

The Pauranic tradition shows that the age of the *Brāhmaṇas* would be *c.* 1600 B.C. to *c.* 1000 B.C. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* is usually regarded as one of the latest, and the joint evidence of Vedic and Pauranic tradition shows that it belonged to the latter half of this period. The internal evidence shows that Tura Kāvasheya was the founder of certain ritualistic practices and doctrines which are discussed in books VII-X of this work. In the *guruparamparā* list given at the end of the 10th book, he figures as the first human teacher and is followed by 12 others. (See Appendix B.) This *Brāhmaṇa* was thus receiving additions for about 250 years when its canon was finally closed in the time of Sāñjīvīputra. Now Tura Kāvasheya, who figures as a very ancient sage in the above list of teachers, was a Purohita of king Janamejaya, the great-grandson of Arjuna, according to the joint testimony of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*,[44] and the *Bhāgavata*.[45] His time therefore would be *c.* 1350 B.C. The time of the composition of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* would thus be *c.* 1350 B.C. to *c.*1100 B. C. The sage Aruṇa, the father of Uddālaka, was four generations or about 100 years junior to Tura Kāvasheya. His son Uddālaka and the latter's pupil Yājñavalkya play a very prominent part in the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad*. The philosophical theories of this Upanishad therefore go back to *c.* 1200 B.C., though it was no doubt given its present form about 40 generations later. What is true of the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka* would be true of the *Chhāndogya* also. The Upanishadic thought activity would therefore have to be

[44] एतेन ह वै ऐन्द्रेण महाभिषेकेण तुरः कावषेयः पारिचितं जनमेजयमभिषिषेच। तस्माद् जनमेजयः पारिचितः समन्तः सर्वतः पृथिवीं जयन् परीयाय अश्वेन च मेधेन ईजे। VIII. 21.
Compare also VII. 34 & IV. 27.

[45] कावषेयं पुरोधाय तुरं तुरगमेधराट्। IX. 22. 37.

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placed between c. 1200 B.C. and 600 B.C.[46] Students of philosophy will readily concede that the philosophical diversity presupposed by Buddhism and Jainism would require at least five hundred years to come into existence.

The above outlines of the Vedic chronology do not come into conflict with any other data. We have seen that, if we place the Mahābhārata war in *c.* 1400 B.C., the beginning of the Vedic age cannot be taken back to earlier than *c.* 2700 B.C. The relics of the Indus Valley civilisations show that the Aryans must very probably have come to India after that civilisation disappeared sometimes at about this very time. The evidence of this civilisation, as far as we are able to understand it at present, thus seems to confirm our Vedic and political chronology, as outlined above on the Pauranic evidence. We can also understand how the Aryan gods appear in the Mittani inscriptions of the 14th century B.C. As Pargiter has already pointed out, the Aryan emigration to Mesopotamia is suggested by the Pauranic tradition which states that the Druhyu dynasty disappeared from India *because its members migrated to the north and became rulers over territories inhabited by the Mlechchhas.*[47] This would support the view that some of them went into Mesopotamia with their Aryan gods and founded their own principalities there.

We shall have to revise very considerably our current ideas about the time of the Aryanisation of Northern India in the light of what we have seen above. The usual view that the Aryans had not spread much beyond the Kuru-pañchāla country in the Brāhmaṇa period will have to be

[46] It is interesting to note that Sir S. Radhakrishnan places the beginning of the Upanishadic age in *c.* 1000 B.C. (*Indian Philosophy*, I, p. 142) and Prof. Ranade in c. 1200 B.C. (*Constructive Survey of Upanishadic Philosophy*, p. 13)

[47] प्रचेतसः पुत्रशतं राजानः सर्व एव ते।
म्लेच्छराष्ट्राधिपाः सर्वे ह्युदीचीं दिशमाश्रिताः॥ *Vāyu*, 99. 12.

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completely abandoned. It was in the first place based upon a fundamental misconception. The Kurupañchāla country was no doubt the centre of the Vedic and Aryan culture in the Brāhmaṇa period. But that need not show that the Aryans had not spread much beyond it at that time. The cultural centre also need not always be the geographical centre of a people or country. Calcutta and Poona are no doubt the centres of modern Bengali and Marathi culture, but they are situated in far off southern corners of Bengal and Mahārāshṭra respectively. Owing to the presence of the traditional holy rivers like the Sarasvatī, the Dṛishadvatī, the Gangā and the Yamunā, the Kurupañchāla country remained the centre of the Aryan religion and culture for several centuries, even when the Aryans had penetrated to Oudh, Central India and Northern Deccan. This penetration will have now to be placed even earlier than 2000 B.C.

It has been already shown above that the internecine war among the Aryans in which king Chitraratha lost his life on the bank of the Sarayū in Oudh took place at *c.* 2000 B.C. (*ante*, p. 57). Chitraratha's father had offered several sacrifices to Indra on the hills of Vishṇupāda and Kālañjara. It is therefore clear that the Aryan chiefs, who fought on the bank of the Sarayū, must have penetrated into the eastern U. P., Oudh, and Bihar sometime before 2000 B.C. The Chedi country, *i.e.*, the territory round Jubbulpore, was colonised about ten generations earlier, as the Yādava genealogy shows. This event may then be placed not later than *c.* 2150 B.C. The generosity of a Chaidya king named Kaśu has been praised in the VIIIth Maṇḍala[48] of the Ṛigveda, the nucleus of which was started in *c.* 2000 B.C. as shown already (*ante*, p. 58). According to the Pauranic tradition, this territory was first colonised by king Chedi belonging to a junior branch of the Yādava family about

[48] यथा चिच्चैद्यः कशुः शतसुष्ठ्वां ददत् सहस्रा दश गोनाम्। VIII. 5. 37.

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fifty generations or 750 years before the Bhārata war. We have therefore to place this event in *c.* 2150 B.C. We can therefore well understand how Vedic priests flourishing after 2000 B.C. eulogise the generosity of a later descendant of the founder of the house.

The genealogy of the Benares royal family would show that this famous city was occupied even earlier than *c.* 2600 B.C. It would however appear, from the legend of the demon Kshemaka devastating it for a long time soon after the reign of king Divodāsa, that the Aryans lost their hold over this city for a considerable time. We have seen already (*ante*, p. 55) that according to the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* king Bhīma of Vidarbha was a contemporary of king Sahadeva, who flourished about four generations after the Dāśarājña war, *i.e.*, in *c.* 1850 B.C., as shown already (*ante*, p. 55). The Northern Deccan must therefore have been occupied by the Aryans sometime before the time of Bhīma. The Pauranic tradition places this event about 25 generations earlier, *i.e.* sometime in the 22nd century B.C.

The joint testimony of the Vedic and Pauranic traditions thus shows that the whole of the Gangetic plain up to Bihar, Central India and Northern Deccan were already Aryanised at least a century before *c.* 2000 B.C. And this need not cause any surprise, for we have already seen that the Aryans had penetrated into India sometime before 2700 B.C.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am fully conscious that I have already taken too much of your time, but my only excuse is the importance and the neglect of the subject. I would very respectfully submit that the unexpected confirmation of the Pauranic tradition by the Vedic data about numerous kings, sages and incidents connected with the pre-Bhārata war history, to which I have drawn pointed attention this evening, shows beyond the shadow of any doubt that *we can well proceed to reconstruct the political and literary history of our country with the help of pre-Bhārata war genealogies. The*

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dynasties of these genealogies are as real and historical as the Mauryas, the Cholas or the Mughuls. They flourished in what is known as the Vedic period and many of the Vedic sages were their proteges. They had succeeded in occupying the whole of the Gangetic plain, Central India and the Northern Deccan sometime before 2000 B.C. Some of them had sent colonies to Mesopotamia. The reconstruction of the history of this period is a very difficult, hazardous and slippery task; but it has got to be attempted, as it refers to a very important period of our culture. The details of the above picture have to be filled, and perhaps even its outlines to be changed, by further patient research, and I wholeheartedly invite you to this vast and interesting field and wish you better and greater success in it.

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APPENDIX A

The Date of the Bhārata War

I propose to discuss here only very briefly the problem of the date of the Bhārata war.

The astronomical tradition places the beginning of the Kaliyuga in 3101 B.C. In the Mahābhārata it is stated in different places that the Kaliyuga would begin either at the time of the war, or at the time of the accession of Yudhishṭhira or after the death of Śrīkṛishna. Some persons therefore are inclined to place the Bhārata war about 3,000 years before the Christian era. It has to be noted in this connection that the theory that the Kaliyuga started in 3101 B.C. was first propounded about 3500 years after that time, and that the astronomers before the time of Āryabhaṭa were unaware of it. We can therefore hardly attach much importance to it.

Attempt is sometimes made to determine the time of the war by utilising the astronomical data given in the epic about the position of the Nakshatras and planets at the time of the war or some other events connected with that. The data in the present text of the epic in this connection are very divergent and we can arrive at some conclusion only by rejecting some statements or their implications as later interpolations or pure exaggerations. This is hardly a satisfactory way of arriving at an acceptable result.

The data supplied by the *Vaṁśāvali* lists of teachers in the Vedic literature and the information about the number of kings that flourished after the Bhārata war and before the rise of the Śiśunāga dynasty give us further clues to determine the date of the war. By utilising the former evidence a distinguished scholar has come to the conclusion that the

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Bhārata war may be placed in the middle of the 9th century B.C.[49] I beg to submit that this conclusion is based upon rather shaky foundations. The arguments advanced to support this view are the following :—

(1) Among the contemporaries of the Buddha, were the authors of the *Āśvalāyana Gṛihya Sūtra* and the *Śāṅkhāyana Gṛihya Sūtra*. Their time is therefore *c.* 550 B.C.

(2) Śāṅkhāyana, the author of the Gṛihya Sūtra, is probably identical with Guṇākhya Śāṅkhāyana, the author of *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka*, who was a pupil of Kahola Kaushītaki. So his time also would be *c.* 550 B.C.

(3) Even if the two authors are not identical, Guṇākhya could not have flourished earlier than the 6th century B.C., for in his Āraṇyaka he mentions Lauhitya and Paushkarasādi who were the Buddha's contemporaries.

(4) The *Vaṁśa* list in the *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka* shows that Kahola Kaushītaki, the teacher of Guṇākhya, was a pupil of Uddālaka Āruṇi, who was eight or nine generations junior to Tura Kāvasheya, a priest of Janamejaya, as shown by the *Vaṁśa* list in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. Parīkshit was thus only about nine generations earlier than the time of the Buddha. The time of the war therefore would be the middle of the 9th century B.C.

The above conclusion would have been unassailable, if the hypotheses in arguments Nos. 2 and 3 were beyond dispute. I do not think that the identity of the author of the Āraṇyaka with that of the Gṛihya Sūtra can be satisfactorily proved. Guṇākhya seems to have been the name of the one and Suyajña of the other. Nor can the identity of the Buddha's contemporaries Lauhitya and Paushkarasādi, with the authors of those names mentioned in the Āraṇyaka be conclusively established. These were not personal names but surnames and may have been borne by indivi-

[49] H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th Edition, pp. 27-29.

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duals separated from each other by centuries. The *Vaṃśa* list in the *Jaimini Upanishad Brāhmaṇa* shows that the surname Lauhitya was borne by as many as twelve different teachers (III. 40-2). More substantial evidence would therefore be necessary in order to establish the conclusion that the Bhārata war was fought as late as the ninth century B.C.

Pargiter places the Bhārata war in the 10th century B.C., relying upon the Pauranic tradition about the numbers of kings in the different dynasties that are stated to have ruled between the accession of king Nanda and that of king Adhisīmakṛishna, who was a great-grandson of Janamejaya II. He thinks that 26 reigns intervened between these two events, and allowing an average of 18 years per reign, he concludes that Adhisīma-kṛishna flourished *c.* 850 B.C. and the Pāṇḍavas about a century earlier.[50]

This line of argument would have been conclusive if the Pauranic data were quite unambiguous. But such is not the case. It is not clear whether the Purāṇas really intended to aver that the early contemporary dynasties mentioned by them covered the entire period between Adhisīmakṛishṇa and Nanda. They say :—

शतानि त्रीणि वर्षाणि षष्टिवर्षशतानि तु ।
शिशुनागा भविष्यन्ति राजानः क्षत्रबन्धवः ॥
एतैः सार्द्धं भविष्यन्ति तावत्कालं नृपाः परे ।
तुल्यकालं भविष्यन्ति सर्वे ह्येते महौक्षितः ॥

Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 22-23.

It is quite clear from the context that the terms *etaissārdhaṁ* has to be taken with the Śiśunāgas, who are mentioned in the previous verse. *Prima facie* then, the various dynasties to be mentioned thereafter would be contemporary only with the Śiśunāgas, and their reign periods would not then cover the entire period between Adhisīmakṛishṇa and Nanda.

50 *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 182.

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But we cannot be sure of this conclusion either, for among the contemporary dynasties are mentioned the 24 Pūru successors of Adhisīmakṛishṇa also, some of whom must have preceded the Śiśunāgas. The Pauranic tradition thus seems to be somewhat confused about the post-Bhārata war dynasties and the number of reigns included in them. We cannot therefore arrive at any accurate conclusion about the date of the Bhārata war on their basis.[51]

Though the bards could not preserve accurate information about the duration of the numerous dynasties that came into existence after the Bhārata war, they do not seem to have forgotten the time of that event itself. I think that the tradition recorded in the Purāṇas that one thousand and fifty years elapsed between the birth of Parīkshit and the coronation of king Nanda is probably a fairly reliable tradition. It is true that what the Purāṇas immediately afterwards say about the interval between king Nanda and king Pulomā of the Andhra dynasty is seen to be incorrect. But in this connection we should not forget that tradition can be correct about a famous incident and inaccurate about a less known one. In distant Canton the Chinese could preserve an approximately correct date of the *Nirvāṇa* of the Buddha for more than 975 years; why then should not Indian bards be capable of preserving a fairly accurate tradition about the time of the great war for about a millennium?

The *Vaṁśa* lists of teachers and pupils preserved in the Vedic literature make it almost certain that the Bhārata war did really take place in *c.* 1400 B.C., as maintained by the Pauranic tradition. These lists formed part of the

51 महापद्माभिषेकात्तु यावज्जन्म परीक्षितः।
एवं वर्षसहस्रं तु ज्ञेयं पञ्चाशदुत्तरम्॥
पुलोमास्तु तथान्ध्रस्तु महापद्मान्तरे पुनः।
अन्तरं तच्छतान्यष्टौ षट्त्रिंशत्तु समास्तथा॥

Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 58.

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Brāhmaṇas and the *Upanishads*, which being regarded as revealed literature, were naturally preserved with great care and accuracy. That the names of teachers mentioned in them are not fictitious is also proved by the circumstance that a number of them is elsewhere referred to in the Brāhmaṇa, Araṇyaka, Upanishad and Sūtra literature. Thus out of the 13 human teachers mentioned at the end of the 10th book of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, seven are actually mentioned in that work several times and an 8th one figures in the *Maitrāyaṇīya Saṁhitā*.[52] Most of the names of teachers that flourished between the time of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad* are preserved both in the Mādhyandina and Kāṇva recensions with only minor variations.[52] The *Vaṁśa Brāhmaṇa* mentions 53 human teachers; out of these, the names or patronymics of about 20 occur in other works like the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, the *Pañchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, and the *Jaimini Upanishad Brāhmaṇa*, the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, the *Chhāndogya* and *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishads* and the *Sāṅkhāyana* and *Lāṭyāyana Śrauta Sūtras*.[53] We cannot therefore but conclude that these lists are substantially correct and reliable. If there had been any desire to take back the antiquity of these lists to a still more hoary past, it would have been satisfied rather by putting the names of a few more deities at the beginning than by inserting a few more fictitious names in the middle. Nor is it possible to argue that these lists may have been considerably augmented by the inclusion of contemporaries as successive teachers. Such a confusion may have sometimes happened, but these occasions could not have been many. For care was taken not to mention contemporaries as successors, as would be quite clear from Appendix B, 37th generation and Appendix C, 26th and 33rd generations, in each of which place we find co-pupils being bracketed

[52] See Appendix B for the whole list.

[53] See Appendix C for the whole of the annotated list.

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together. The conclusion therefore becomes irresistible that these lists of teachers and pupils are on the whole genuine and reliable, with the only exception of a few deities mentioned at their head.

Now in the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad* list preserved at the end of the book, there are 47 teachers out of whom the first two are deities (see Appendix B). The first human teacher, the third in the list, is Tura Kāvasheya. He is thus 45 or to put it in round numbers, at least 40 generations earlier than the time of the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad*, which is universally regarded as pre-Buddhist, and must be therefore not later than c. 550 B.C. Now one generation in the *guruśishyaparamparā* normally extends over about 20 years ; so Tura Kāvasheya must have lived about 800 years, before 550 B.C., *i.e*, by the middle of the 14th century B.C. There is only one Tura Kāvasheya known to the Vedic and Pauranic tradition, and the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* concurs with the *Bhāgavata* in stating that he was one of the priests of Janamejaya, the great-grandson of Arjuna (*ante*, p. 60, n. 44 and 45). If, therefore, the middle of the 14th century B.C. is the time of Janamejaya and his priest Tura Kāvasheya, that of the Bhārata war would be c. 1400 B.C., as indicated also by the Pauranic tradition.

Indrota Śaunaka was another priest of Janamejaya according to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* XIII. 5.3.5, and his son Dṛiti Aindrota Śaunaka that of Janamejaya's nephew Abhipratārin Kākshaseni.[54] Now both these teachers figure in the *Vaṁśa* lists of the *Vaṁśa Brāhmaṇa* (see Appendix C) and *Jaimini-Upanishad-Brāhmaṇa* (III, 40-42). and both these authorities place them about 40 or 41 generations earlier than their own time, which cannot be later than c. 550 B.C. This also would show that the time of Janamejaya II was c. 1350 B.C. and that of the Bhārata war c. 1400 B.C.

[54] *Pañchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, XIV. 1. 12. 15.

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If then three independent *Vaṁśa* lists occurring in revealed literature, and therefore *prima facie* well preserved, tend to show that the Bhārata war took place in *c.* 1400 B.C., why then should we not accept the precise statement of the Pauranic tradition that a thousand and fifty years had elapsed between the accession of Nanda and the birth of Parikshit? To me therefore 1400 B.C. appears to be the most probable time of the Bhārata war.

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APPENDIX B

Annotated List of Teachers and Pupils in the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad*

N.B.—The first thirteen persons figure in the *vaṁśa* list at the end of the 10th book of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.

1. Brahmā Śvayambhū. This is a deity.
2. Prajāpati. This is a deity.
3. Tura Kāvasheya. He is the first human teacher *and was a priest of Janamejaya* according to the *Śat. Br.* and the *Bhāgavata* ; see *ante*, p. 60, n. 44 & 45.
4. Yajñavachas Rājastambāyana. He is mentioned in the *Mai. Saṁ.*, III. 10.3 and IV. 8.2.
5. Kuśri.
6. Vātsya. Hs is mentioned in the *Śat. Br.*, IX. 5.1.62 also.
7. Śāṇḍilya. He is mentioned several times in the *Śat. Br.*
8. Vāmakakshāyaṇa. He is referred to in the *Śat. Br.*, VII. 2.1.11.
9. Māhitthi. He is mentioned several times in the *Śat. Br.*
10. Kautsa.
11. Māṇḍavya. He figures in the Brahmayajña lists of the *Āś. Gr. S.*, III. 4.4. and the *Ś. Gr. S.*, IV. 10.
12. Māṇḍakāyani.
13. Sāñjīvīputra. Here the *Śat. Br.* list ends.
14. Prāchīnayogīputra.
15. Kārśakeyīputra. According to the Mādhyandina version, he was a pupil of Prāśnīputra, another pupil of Sāñjīvīputra, No. 13 above.

Vaidabhṛitīputra.

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17. Krauñchikīputra.
18. Bhālukīputra. He was a pupil of No. 14 above according to the Mādhyandina version.
19. Rāthītarīputra. He was a pupil of No. 17 according to the Mādhyandina version.
20. Śāṇḍalīputra.
21. Māṇḍukīputra.
22. Māṇḍukāyanīputra.
23. Jayantīputra.
24. Ālambīputra.
25. Ālambāyanīputra. The Mādhyandina version reverses the relation between 24 and 25.
26. Sāṅkṛitīputra.
27. Śauṅgīputra.
28. Ārtabhāgīputra. Ārtabhāga is a patronymic of Jaratkārava mentioned in the *Br. Up.*, III. 2.1.13.
29. Vārkāraṇīputra.
30. Vārkāraṇīputra. The Mādhyandina version mentions only one teacher of this name.
31. Pārāśarīputra I.
32. Vātsīputra. His name in Vātsīmāṇḍavīputra according to the Mādhyandina version.
33. Pārāśarīputra II.
34. Bhāradvājīputra I. According to the Mādhyandina version he was a teacher of No. 32 above.
35. Gautamīputra I.
36. Ātreyīputra.
37. Kānvīputra and Kāpīputra. Note that contemporaries are not mentioned as successors.
38. Vaiyāghrapādīputra and Ālambīputra. Note that contemporaries are not mentioned as successors.
39. Kauśikīputra.
40. Kātyāyanīputra I.
41. Pārāśarīputra III.

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42. Opasvatīputra. He is omitted in the Mādhyandina version.
43. Pārāśarīputra IV.
44. Bhāradvājīputra II.
45. Gautamīputra II.
46. Kātyāyanīputra II. Jātukarṇya Kātyāyanīputra figures in the *Śāṃkhāyana Āraṇyaka*, VIII. 10.
47. Pautimāshīputra. He is omitted in the Mādhyandina version.

It will be seen from the above list that Tura Kāvasheya, the priest of Janamejaya, was about 45 generations earlier than the time of the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad*.

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APPENDIX C

ANNOTATED LIST OF TEACHERS AND PUPILS IN THE *Vaṃśa Brāhmaṇa*

1-6. Deities; Brahmā, Prajāpati, Mṛityu, Vāyu, Indra, Agni.

7. Kāśyapa.

8. Ṛishyaśṛinga Kāśyapa; son of No. 7. He figures in the *Jai. Up. Br.*, III. 40. 1.

9. Vibhāṇḍaka Kāśyapa.

10. Mitrabhūḥ Kāśyapa ; son of No. 9.

11. Indrabhūḥ Kāśyapa.

12. Agnibhūḥ Kāśyapa.

13. Śavas.

14. Devataras Śavasāyana ; son of No. 13. In the *Jai. Up. Br.*, he is a pupil of Vibhāṇḍaka Kāśyapa, No. 9 above.

15. Pratithi Devataratha; son of No. 14.

16. Nikothaka Bhāyajātya.

17. Vṛishashushṇa Vātāvata. Vṛishashushṇa is mentioned in the *Ait. Br.*, V. 29.1 and *Kau. Br.*, 2.9.

18. Indrota Śaunaka; *he was Janamejaya's priest according to the Śat. Br.*, XIII. 5.3.5 & 4.1 and *Śāṃkh. Śr. Sū.*, XVI. 7.7 and 8.27. In the *Jai. Up. Br.* he is a pupil of Śruta.

19. Dṛiti Aindrota Śaunaka; son of No. 18. *He is mentioned as a contemporary of Abhipratārin Kākṣhaseni, a nephew of Janamejaya, in Pañ. Br.*, XIV. 1.12.15. In the *Jai. Up. Br.*, he is a pupil of Indrota Daivāpa.

20. Arāla Dātreya Śaunaka.

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21. Sūsha Vāhneya Bhāradvāja.
22. Sumantra Bābhrava Gautama.
23. Vasishṭha Araihaṇya Rājanya; obviously a Kshatriya teacher.
24. Vasishṭha Chaikitāneya. This patronymic is given to Dālbhya in *Chhān. Up.*, I. 8.1.
25. Sthiraka Gārgya. Gārgya is the patronymic of Balākī in the *Bṛ. Up.*, II. 1.1. It also figures in *Tai. Ār.*, I. 7.3, *Nirukta*, 1.3. 12, IV. 4.13.
26. Atidhanvan Śaunaka and Maśaka Gārgya. The former figures in *Chhān. Up.*, I. 9.3., also as a teacher of No. 27 below. Contemporaries are not confounded as successors.
27. Udara Śāṇḍilya. See above. Father of 29 below.
28. Gardabhīmukha Śāṇḍilyāyana.
29. Vichakshaṇa Tāṇḍya. Tāṇḍya is mentioned in the *Śat. Br.*, VI. 1.2.25.
30. Śākadāsa Bhāṇḍityāyana.
31. Saṁvargajit Lāmakāyana. Saṁvargajit figures in the *Lāṭ. Śr. Sū.*, IV. 7.15 and Lāmakāyana in *ibid.*, IV. 9.22.
32. Gātā Gautama.
33. Amāvāsya Śāṇḍilyāyana and Rādha Gautama. Contemporaries are not confounded as successors.
34. Ashu Dhānañjaya. He figures in the *Lāṭ. Śr. Sū.*, I, 1.25 & II. 1.2-10.
35. Sutemanas Śāṇḍilyāyana. This patronymic is specially connected with Sāmaveda.
36. Sunītha Kāpaṭava.
37. Mitravida Kauhala.
38. Ketu Vājya.
39. Prātarahṇa Kauhala.
40. Suśravas Vārshagaṇya. Asita Vārshagaṇya figures in the *Śat. Br.*; XIV. 9.4.33.
41. Śāti Aushṭrākshi.

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42. Madragāra Śauṅgāyani. Śauṅgīputra figures in the *Br. Up.* list.
43. Śambha Śārkarāksha and Kamboja Aupamanyava. The patronymic Śārkarākshya figures in the *Chh. Up.*, V. 11.1 ; 15.1 and *Ait. Ar.*, II, 1.4.
44. Ānandaja Chāndrāyaṇa.
45. Bhānumān Aupamanyava.
46. Urjayan Aupamanyava.
47. Suśarada Śālaṁkyāyana ; the patronymic appears in the *Āś. Śr. Sū.*, XII. 10.14.
48. Śravāṇadatta Kauhala.
49. Kastuka Śārkarākshya. See No. 43 above.
50. Bhavajāta Syāyasti.
51. Bṛihaspatigupta Syāyasti.
52. Supravīta Auluṇḍya.
53. Mitravarchas Sthairakāyana.
54. Brahmavṛiddhi Chhandogamāhaki.
55. Giriśarmā Kāṇṭheviddhi.
56. Nigada Pārṇavalki.
57. Trātā Aishumata.
58. Rudrabhūti Drāhyāyaṇi.
59. Śarvadatta Gārgya.

Nos. 18 and 19 of this list, who were the contemporaries of Janamejaya and his nephew, are seen to have flourished about 40 generations before the time of this *Brāhmaṇa*, which is *c.* 550 B.C.

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1

THE ANTIQUITY OF THE PĀÑCHARĀTRA

This forms the introduction to the work PARAMA SAMHITĀ, which is almost ready for publication in the GAEKWAR SANSKRIT SERIES.

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Pāñcharātra Āgama :—

What is called the Pāñcharātra is one section of the Āgama literature of the Vaishṇavas. The term *āgama*, as it is used generally, is applied to a class of works of a general character which incorporate the established, accepted practice in regard to any subject which has an *āgama* of its own. In its religious signification, responsible commentators among the Vaishṇavas regard *āgama* as the synonym of what logicians call *āpta-vākya*. Literally this would mean the words or commands of those interested in our welfare. This would correspond to what is generally called *śishṭāchāra*, or the practice of the disciplined Having regard to these shades of meaning, we may define an *āgama* generally to be that which is the accepted practice of the disciplined in respect of worship.

The Āgamas and their number :—

The *āgamas* presume the existence of God as the "Sole Supreme," whether the name actually given to that Supreme Being be Śiva or Vishṇu, or any other. The most efficient method of attaining salvation is by devoted service to that Supreme, whatever be the form chosen. These *āgamas* fall into different classes according to the nature of the deity

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chosen. But three classes stand out, Vaishṇava, Śaiva and Śākta. Votaries of other religions and institutions also have their *āgamas*; but we are not concerned with them at present. Among the Hindu systems of *āgamaic* religion, these three take a prominent place. *Āgama* teaching generally falls into four sections, (1) conduct (*charyā*), (2) service (*kṛiyā*), (3) knowledge (*jñāna*), (4) devotion (*yōga*). These features are common both to the Śaiva and Vaishṇava *āgamas*. Leaving aside the Śākta for the moment, the Vaishṇava and Śaiva *āgamas* are generally said to be 108 and 28 in number, respectively. Some among these are held to be the most prominent and others are regarded as minor, being devoted more or less to particular forms of the deity worshipped.

Pāñcharātra and Vaikhānasa :—

The Vaishṇava *āgamas* are sometimes spoken of as of two classes, the Pāñcharātra and the Vaikhānasa. The difference between the two schools seems to be in the details of the ritual of worship; but otherwise there seems to be no recognised difference in the matter or the meaning of these. The 108 Vaishṇava *āgamas* are taken to be all of them Pāñcharātra, and the list does not include the well known Vaikhānasa texts. For a full list of these 108 and what are printed and available, and what not, reference may be made to the introductory volume of Prof. Schrader's Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā published by the Aḍaiyar Theosophical Society in three volumes. An article on the Pāñcharātra in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland for 1911 by A. Govindacharya may also be referred to.

Pāñcharātra worship common in South Indian temples :—

Pāñcharātra and Pāñcharātra-worship seem to obtain in the great majority of cases of the Vishṇu temples of South India, and must have had a large general following, perhaps almost from the beginning. Some of the Pāñcharātra works

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themselves contain the list of the 108. They sometimes also contain a select list of those which are the most important, or held in the highest esteem. The numbers given of these latter are 9, 6, 5 and 3. This work Parama Saṃhitā is included in these select lists also, excepting the last one, the three last being Sātvata, Paushkara and Jaya, which stand out most prominently. Each one of these three is provided with another work which is an elaboration and a detailed exposition of the ritual. These three guide the practice of worship in the three great Vishṇu shrines of South India, Mēlkottai (Tirunārāyaṇapuram) in Mysore, Śrīraṅgam and Kāñchīpuram (Conjivaram).

Explanation of the name Pāñcharātra :—

The name Pāñcharātra is explained in a variety of ways. It is taken to have reference to the plainest meaning of the words that it contains, meaning five nights. This is accounted for as being due to the fact that the Pāñcharātra had been explained by the original expounder in five successive nights.[1] This is so stated in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa as having been narrated in five nights of a *Satra.*[2] The Parama Saṃhitā text itself gives its own definition, which is characteristic of the work. The name is said to be due to the five qualities of the *mahābhūta*, namely, the five gross elements (*bhūta*), the five subtle elements (*tanmātra*), egoistry or individuation (*ahaṃkāra*), thought (*buddhi*), and the formless original matter (*avyakta*). These five constitute the *rātris* or gifts of Puruṣha.[3] Hence the *Tantra* or the *Śāstra* which treats of these gets to be called Pāñcharātra. The treatment of these in Pāñcharātra or the Yogatantra[4] may be regarded as distinct from, and, we may say even peculiar to, the Pāñcharātra as distinguished from the

1 Parama Saṃhitā, XXXI. 19.
2 XIII. 6. 1.
3 Parama Saṃhitā, I. 39-40.
4 *Ibid*, 33.

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Sāṅkhyas so-called. Hence the name Pāñcharātra for this class of works.

The Bhāgavata religion of the Pāñcharātras :—

What is called the Pāñcharātra is generally regarded as the Bhāgavata religion of Bhakti or devotion to God, capable of being propitiated by devoted service and of granting in consequence ultimate salvation (*niśśrēyas*). The question of the antiquity of the Bhāgavata religion, and of the Bhāgavatas as a sect, has received considerable attention in recent times. It is regarded as a school of thought, and a body of people practising a mode of worship in conformity thereto, and goes back to times anterior to the Buddhist and Jain history.[5] We are enabled by recent research to trace the growth of this sect of teachers and teaching from now backwards regularly to Vedic times. The teaching of the Bhāgavatas likewise has been receiving much attention, and the conclusion has recently been reached that the Bhagavadgītā itself is a manual of the Bhāgavata religion.[6] We shall consider these positions briefly.

The Bhāgavata religion coeval with Jainism and Buddhism :—

The Bhāgavata religion and the Bhāgavatas are under reference in literature which takes us back to the early literature of the Jaina, as some of their earliest classics make mention of the holy ones of the Bhāgavatas.[7] The inclusion of the names Vāsudēva and Baladēva among the Salāka Purushas of the Jains, and their reference to the relationship between Arishṭanēmi and Vāsudēva among the Bhāgavatas, would make the idea of Vāsudēva-worship contem

5 Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's History of Vaishnavism, etc., and H. C. Raychaudhuri's Early History of the Vaishnava Sect.

6 The Legacy of India : Professor Dasgupta's Chapter.

7 Uttarādhyayana, XXII.

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porary with the earliest stages of Jainism. The idea of the Vāsudēvas and the Baladēvas being regarded as among the great personages of the Jains in the present day would certainly attest for an equal antiquity to the Bhāgavata religion. Equally early references to the Bhāgavatas could be traced in Buddhist literature. The Ghata Jātaka [8] seems to be reminiscent of the Vaishṇava tradition; Ghata, the brother of Vāsudēva, is identified with the Buddha in a previous birth, and Vāsudēva is identified with Sāriputra. Other early Buddhistic texts contain references to the sect of the Bhāgavatas among the innumerable religious sects who were contemporary with the Buddha himself, as has been pointed out long ago by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar.[9] It is thus clear that the Bhāgavata religion as such is at least as old as Jainism and Buddhism.

The Bhāgavata cult prevalent all over India at the beginning of the Christian era :—

That this religion had a considerable following is in evidence in the number of references to the worship of Vāsudēva and Baladēva, or Vāsudēva and Saṅkarshaṇa, and Kṛishṇa and Baladēva, and in a number of other forms. The Besnagar Pillar inscription of the 2nd century before Christ bears evidence to the worship of Vāsudēva in temples. The inscription records the erection of a Garuḍa Pillar in the temple of Vāsudēva and indicates thereby that that worship had been accepted by a foreign Greek ambassador from Taxila.[10] This definitely establishes the practice of the Bhāgavata religion in the period of the Śuṅgas. Another inscription in Ghāsuṇḍi [11] of the same Vaishṇava character takes us back somewhat earlier. A similar reference has

8 Cowell and Rouse—Buddha Jātakas, IV, p. 57.
9 *Op. cit.*, p. 3,
10 Epi. Indica, X, App., p. 63.
11 *Ibid*, p. 3.

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come to notice recently in Muttra[12] in regard to similar worship. That is so far as India north of the Vindhyas is concerned. In the inscription of the Sātavāhana queen Nāganikā[13] found in the heart of the Sātavāhana country, the record begins with an invocation to Vāsudēva and Saṅkarshaṇa. Proceeding further south, we come upon references to the worship of Kṛishṇa and Baladēva in Tamil literature, and a number of instances could be quoted from the Tamil classics. For a precise reference, the poem 58 in the Puṛanānūṛu collection ascribed to Nakkīrar, contemporary of the famous Pāṇḍyan, victor at Talaiyālaṅkānam, solemnly includes Kṛishṇa and Baladēva, along with Śiva and Subrahmaṇya, as the four controlling deities of the universe. This irrefutable evidence that, among the Gods commanding worship as Supreme deities, this pair takes rank along with the Śaiva pair, Śiva and his son, Subrahmaṇya or Skanda, is indeed of great significance. Numbers of references could be quoted from the Śilapadhikāram for temples to these two deities in the Chola capital at Kāveripaṭṭinam, and in the Pāṇḍyan capital at Madura alike.[14] One of the early shrines in the far south is Tirumāl Iṛum Śolai which finds mention in the Śilapadhikāram[15] along with Śrīraṅgam and Tirupati as places peculiarly holy to Vishṇu. This place is said to have installed in it Kṛishṇa and Baladēva as the chief deities in the temple. In times later than these, we have not merely undoubted references, but elaborate description of devotion to the worship of Kṛishṇa and Baladēva. These references establish beyond doubt the prevalence of the worship of Kṛishṇa and Baladēva all over the country, so that we would not be wrong if we state it categorically that the Bhāgavata cult, of which these form

12 D. R. Bhandarkar—List of Inscriptions.
13 Epi. Indica, X, App , p. 121.
14 Book V. 11.169-73 and XIV. 11. 7-10.
15 Bk. XI. 11.35-55 and 11. 90 ff.

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the principal features, was prevalent over the whole of the country.

Poems included in the collection Paripāḍal expound the Pāñcharātra :—

Apart from these stray references, the Tamil classic Paripāḍal, which is a collection of poems of a particular kind of composition, of which 70 poems of what was probably a larger collection, have been recovered and published, contains five poems in description of Vishṇu. These are intended to describe the character of Vishṇu as a deity, and have no more definite object of describing the Bhāgavata or any other cult as such. Even so, the description of Vishṇu as given in poems 3 and 4 by one Kaḍuvan Iḷa-Eyinan follows closely the description of Vishṇu as the Supreme in the Pāñcharātra text-books and the Nārāyaṇīya of the Mahābhārata as well. The inference would be possible that this description is based directly upon some of the Pāñcharātra texts which have come down to us, although this need not be considered absolutely necessary as the whole of the Nārāyaṇīya of the Mahābhārata before us was probably known at the time in the Tamil country. Whether the Nārāyaṇīya or any Pāñcharātra text-book was the source from which the inspiration was drawn by the Tamil poet, it is clear beyond doubt that the description of Tirumāl, the familiar name for Vishṇu, is closely analogous to the description that we get of the Supreme Vāsudēva-Vishṇu in the Pāñcharātra text-books. It therefore becomes obvious that in the distant Tamil country, it was not merely the detail of worship, or mere mention of the names of Vāsudēva and Saṅkarshaṇa, that are under reference, but something very much more than that, the *āgamaic* idea of the supreme character of Vishṇu. The description goes into all the details of the creation as given in the earlier chapters of the Paramasaṃhitā, and definitely refers to the four *vyūhas* and

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the *vibhavas*. There is the further statement of the character of immanence (*antaryāmitva*) clearly made in the poem. Another poem in the same collection, No. 15, makes a specific reference that Kṛishṇa and Baladēva are the deities installed in Tirumāl Iruṁ Śolai, and that poem is again by an author by name Iḷam-Peruvaludi. The names of these two authors are clearly those of castes other than that of the Brahman. The affix to the first name would indicate the hunter caste, and that of the second some association with the Pāṇḍyan family ruling over Madura. This poem 15 gives in circumstantial detail the features of Vāsudēva-Saṅkarshaṇa so fully that it leaves us in little doubt that this worship had established itself in the remote south much earlier than the period to which the poem actually refers.

The Pāñcharātra and the Tamil Ālvārs :—

If there had been such a detailed knowledge of the teachings of the Bhāgavata and the Pāñcharātra in the distant south, as is indicated in these references, it would naturally be expected that further references could be found in the later literature of the south. As a matter of fact, the *Bhakti* movement seems to have been in full blast in South India during the first millennium of the Christian era, the *Bhakti* of the Śaivas as well as of the Vaishṇavas. But we are concerned only with the Bhāgavatas and their *Bhakti*, and we have a number of indirect and direct references to this school of the *Tantra* or the *Śāstra* upon which this teaching had been based. The Ālvārs were twelve in number, and were undoubtedly devotees of Vishṇu. Their devotion finds vent in poems of artistic merit and their unallayed devotion is exhibited to the full. References to *nūl* which is the literal Tamil equivalent of the Sanskrit *tantra* not only lie scattered through the works of the early Ālvārs, but we get some elaborate references to what this actually stood for in the works of Tirumaliśai Ālvār, whose

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two poems included in the Prabandham expound the teaching with greater elaboration than his three predecessors or contemporaries of this school. The whole of the teaching of the Ālvārs, all of them, is suffused with the teaching of this school of *Bhakti*, which is, as we find it set forth in the *āgamaic* text-books, the *āgama* with which we are directly concerned, namely, the Paramasaṃhitā. Even the first Ālvārs have direct references to the general principle inculcated in the work that unalloyed and single-minded devotion to Vishṇu in the simplest form possible is the most efficient for the attainment of salvation.[16] In fact they state it that the more elaborate forms of worship in the manner of the Veda and Vedic learning is all good for those that have equipment for doing it; but, for actual attainment of salvation, that is not at all necessary for those who do not have the equipment. A far simpler method of devotion, the mere recitation of the names of God, is enough, provided only that that devotion is absolutely single-minded.[17] We have an explicit statement in Tirumaṅgai Ālvār that, what the others perhaps speak of in general terms as *nūl* and *aṛam* alternatively, sometimes as *aṛanūl*, stands actually for *āgama* works, which are believed generally to have been the teaching of Vishṇu directly. The first stanza of the 6th section of the tenth ten of the Periyatirumoḷi, his major work in the Prabandham, does contain the statement "Our Lord who expounded elaborately to the world the Dharma Śāstra (*Aṛanūl*) in the form of Nara-Nārāyaṇa." This has reference certainly to the *āgama* works, which were originally expounded by Vishṇu to various people on various occasions, but primarily to Nārada, and were published to the world as they were, through Nara and Nārāyaṇa, described as the sons of Vishṇu, two among his four sons, who reside

16 2nd Tiruvandādi, St. 38

17 *Ibid*, St. 39 and similar passages in the works of the others.

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habitually in an *āśrama* at Badari, and are regarded as having taught these to the world. The term *Aṛanūl* as such could be literally translated into Dharma Śāstra, or simply the *tantra* or treatise dealing with *dharma*. The Pāñcharātra that was taught by the Supreme Vāsudēva is certainly a way of life, a Dharma Śāstra, and, among the first that received the teaching from the Sun to whom the Supreme One taught it, were the seven *Prajāpatis* as they are called, the *Sapta-ṛishis*, and the eighth one who learnt it of the Sun was Svāyambhava-Manu. This Svāyambhava-Manu is said to have given the teaching to the world in the Śāstra that he taught as the original Mānava Dharma Śāstra.[18] It therefore becomes clear that, while the early Ālvārs have more or less indirect references to this, their teaching taken as a whole exhibits close similarity to the teaching of the Pāñcharātra. Among the later Ālvārs, Rammālvār is much more elaborate and much more literary and artistic ; but the essence of his teaching is almost exactly the same as that of the first Ālvārs. The works of the other Ālvārs including Āṇḍāl are of the same general character, so that we may say definitely that the teaching of the Ālvārs is Bhāgavata or āgamaic, or Pāñcharātraic in character. Tirumaṅgai Ālvār lived in the 8th century after Christ, and the other Ālvārs go backward from him through five or six centuries in point of time—a period coeval with that of the Śaiva Aḍiyārs, the Nāyanmārs of the Śaiva school of *bhakti*. This direct statement from Tirumangai Ālvār only confirms the general position and gives us a precisely pointed statement in regard to it.

The Mahābhārata in the Tamil Country in the Saṅgam Age :—

Whence did the general knowledge come into the Tamil country to be so generally and elaborately incorporated in the

[18] M. Bh., Book XIII, Ch. 343, Śl. 31 and 45 (Kumbhakoṇam Edn.).

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literature of the school of Bhakti ? One source, and that is literary, is the Mahābhārata. The Śāntiparva of the Mahābhārata has remained suspect as a later addition to the great epic. It is now generally admitted that the whole of the Mahābhārata in its present form consisting of a lakh of *śloḳas* (*Śata-Sāhasrikā*) was known by the 6th century A.D. This does not depend merely upon literary evidence, but is found in an inscription of the Gupta period (the Khoh copper plate inscription).[19] On this counting, it would be impossible to exclude the Śāntiparva as a whole from the scope of the *Śata-Sāhasrikā*, the Mahābhārata. In the Tamil land itself, one of the earliest achievements of the Tamil Pāṇḍyas, who established the Śaṅgam in Madura, was the doing of the Mahābhārata into Tamil. A tenth century charter[20] referring to the early Pāṇḍyas, the Pāṇḍyas who lived and passed away with distinction, in the centuries anterior to the advent of a new dynasty of Pāṇḍyas in the 6th century, makes references to a distinguished Pāṇḍyan victor over the enemies at a place called Talaiyālaṅkānam. The story is that he destroyed the armies of his enemies, the Cholas and the Cheras, at a place called Talaiyālaṅkānam, and that that was the prime achievement that made him famous. Along with this happens to be mentioned two other achievements of his of a civil, and not warlike, character, and they are said to be the establishment of the Śaṅgam in Madura and the doing of the Mahābhārata into Tamil.[21] This last statement means that he got the Mahābhārāta translated into Tamil, as the verb is in the causative without a doubt. We have the name of a well-known author of the Śaṅgam age who goes by the name Perumdēva, and he is distinguished in this class of literature by being referred to

19 Fleet—C. I. I., Gupta Inscriptions.

20 The large Sinnamanūr plates : S. I. I., Vol. III, Part IV.

21 Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. IX, pp. 63 ff.

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as the Perumdēvan *who sang the Mahābhārata*, that is, who made a versified translation of the Mahābhārata, *Pāratam Pāḍiya* Purumdēvan. We may therefore take it safely that the Bhārata was done into Tamil as a whole, and what is really material to our discussion is that this Tamil version included in all probability the Śāntiparva of the Mahābhārata and included in it the *Mokshadharma* particularly and the *Nārāyaṇīya*. If we could therefore take it that the doing of the Mahābhārata into Tamil in fact included the *Nārāyaṇīya* portion, we could easily understand the Tamils of the age of the Ālvārs having a fairly full knowledge of the teaching of the Bhāgavatas.

The Sātvata Movement and Bhāgavata Worship :—

There is another explanation for the prevalence of Bhāgavata worship so far out as distant South India. This form of worship, there are good reasons to believe, prevailed as the form of worship among the people who came to be known from very early historical times as the Sātvatas.[22] Their general adoption of this form of worship and their carrying it over with them wherever they went seems to have been one of the potent causes of the outspread of this form of worship over this vast extent of country. The Sātvatas were associated with the Purus, one of the Vedic tribes, whose name occurs in conjunction with those of the Bharatas. When they moved out from the region of the Śūrasēnas owing to the war of extinction the Śūrasēna ruler and his ally, the ruler of Magadha, Jarāsandha, waged against them, they are said to have betaken themselves to the western frontier, or rather south-western frontier of the Kuru-Pāñchāla region finally. In the course of this migration various sections of these people seem to have settled down in the region of Mālava and the further south, and

[22] Proceedings of the 2nd Oriental Conference, Calcutta, pp. 351 ff.

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therefrom spread over the whole of northern Dakhan and the region of the Konkan. Some of these seem to have moved further southward also, as among the early peoples of South India we find classes bearing names Āyar, Aṇḍar, Iḍaiyar, all of them communities of cattle-rearers, corresponding more or less to the later Āhīrs, the Ābhīras of Sanskrit literature. This movement of the Sātvatas dates back to earlier than the days of the Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa, which refers to the *abhishēka* of Indra in the southern region of the Sātvatas with the title Bhoja. These titles, Bhoja and Mahābhoja, are found to be common in historical times in the region of Berar extending down the Maratha country to as far south as the northern part of the present-day Mysore territory.[23] We also have evidence among the southern dynasties of the *Agnikūla* and of the solar race traditions associated with the ruling dynasties of Rajputana in later times. A Tamil chieftain, Iruṅgōvēḷ, ruling over North-western Mysore, claims descent in the 49th generation from Kṛishṇa of Dvārakā. There is a story related in connection with this chieftain that the poet Kapilar attempted negotiating the marriage of this chieftain with the daughters of his friend Pāri of Parambunāḍu after the father's death. In that connection, the position of the family comes into reference, and the details are stated there. Kapilar's poems in connection with this incident are included in the Puṟanānūṟu collection.[24] In a poem of another collection relating to the Pallavas of Kāñchī, the statement is made that these Pallavas were descended from one of the younger sections of the ruling family of Ayodhyā, the Ikshvāku family, and they are supposed to have descended from the scions of the family younger than Rāma.[25] This is stated in terms in the Perumbāṇāṟṟuppaḍai celebrating the Toṇḍamān Iḷaṁ

23 A. S. W. I., IV, 98 ff.; J. B. R. A. S., 407 ff.

24 Puṟanānūṟu, 201.

25 Pattupāṭṭu, III, ll. 29-37.

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Tiraiyan of Kāñchi. There is an important class of people constituting the population of South India even now who are called Vanniyars. They now-a-days call themselves Vannikula Kshatriyas. This may be interpreted as Agnikula as the word *Vanni* means fire. But then *vanni* is also the name of a tree, and it may be that the name is taken from the tree totem. Whether these people belong to the Agnikula or not, the fact of a chieftain claiming Sātvata association with Dvārakā, and the prevalence of this and other similar traditions in respect of the Toṇḍamān chieftain of Kāñchi possibly through the Cholas, the Chola king having been the father of this Toṇḍamān, are indications of the spread of the tradition to the south and presumably of the people intimately associated with these traditions. If the Sātvatas, or people associated with these ethnically, moved into the south and occupied important regions of the peninsula, they must have carried their religious traditions with them, and that might account for the prevalence of the Bhāgavata worship in the south. The Sātvata movement therefore would account for this cultural movement. Probably the actual prevalence of the Bhāgavata worship in the south may have actually to be accounted for as the combined result of the movement of the Sātvata people and the traditions incorporated in the Śāntiparva of the Mahābhārata.

The tradition of Agastya's emigration confirmatory :—

It is clear from what has been stated above that the teaching of the Bhāgavata religion had early got formulated perhaps in the region of Kurukshētra and carried over the country to the extreme south by the Sātvata emigration which must have begun somewhat earlier than the great war of the Mahābhārata. The tradition of the emigration of Agastya to the south contains points in it which would confirm this. When it was resolved that Agastya should

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move southward across the Vindhya mountains, it is said that he went to various places and obtained various items of equipment for his journey south. For one thing, he carried the waters of the Ganges in his *kamaṇḍalu* (water pot) and went to Kṛishṇa and obtained 18 leaders and 18,000 cultivators, and with more equipment he went forward towards the south.[26] These traditions are certainly reminiscent of the southward movement of a people from the north carrying with them the culture that had already got into vogue in the north. When the body thus emigrated and settled down in the south, there started a new development which combined the culture of these immigrants and of that of all the people whom perhaps they found there. The whole course of this development included in it the Bhakti cult which we find in full efflorescence by the beginning of the Christian era, showing a further exuberance of growth in the centuries following, up to the time of Rāmānuja. Rāmānuja had ample material in the latter half of the 11th century and the earlier half of the 12th to formulate the system of worship and religion which goes by the name Vaishṇavism. His teaching was carried to the north in the generations immediately following and developed in various branches with charasteristic differences suitable to the localities where it developed further, in the somewhat sensuous Rādhākṛishṇa cult of Bengal on the one side, and somewhat severer cult of the Sikhs on the other. We are not concerned to deal with that topic further here.

The Bhagavad-Gītā and the Pāñcharātra :—

The next point for consideration is the position that the Gītā occupies in the development of this school. The Gītā has been long the subject of study both in the East and in the West, and has received much attention at the hands

[26] Tolkāppiyam : Pāyiram and Kacchinārkkiniyar's Commentary thereon.

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of critical scholars. Various theories had been advanced in regard to its character and its position in the Mahābhārata as a whole. It is hardly necessary for us to traverse the whole ground here. Now that we have a handbook of the Pāñcharātra of the general character of the Paramasaṃhitā, we are in a far better position to compare the Gītā as a whole with the Bhāgavata-Pāñcharātraic teaching incorporated in this work and arrive at important conclusions. Even a very cursory reading would show similarity of teaching between the two too close to be neglected and regarded as accidental. The nature of the teaching as well as the details point to the affiliation of the one with the other. The interesting question would arise as to which of the two might be regarded as the original, the general Pāñcharātraic teaching, or the Bhagavad-Gītā. By general Pāñcharātraic teaching we do not mean what is actually stated in any text-book of the Pāñcharātra, but the actual general principles underlying the teaching. As in the case of most departments of Indian literature, there must have been a body of Pāñcharātraic teaching probably handed down from teacher to pupil and practised more or less generally by the people before the teaching gets to be formulated in handbooks for the teaching of this system. So whether the Pāñcharātra books which have become available to us be later or earlier will not affect the antiquity of the Pāñcharātraic teaching. What is material to our purpose is the antiquity of the Pāñcharātra in general, and not the actual age of any particular text-book. The question then reduces itself to determining whether the Gītā follows the Pāñcharātra teaching, or the Pāñcharātra follows the Gītā teaching.

The Pāñcharātra and Vaidika ritualistic teaching :—

The problem of an original Gītā, subsequently inflated by additions and interpolations, does not concern us for the present. The problem whether there was an epic Gītā elaborat-

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ed by additions of doctrinal teaching of various kinds into the present form of the work is a problem which has to be considered separately. We are concerned here with the whole of the Gītā as it is, and its teaching as a whole, which would naturally involve consideration of the form of the Gītā and its authorship and antiquity. It is often assumed that the Gītā text, as it is, was a teaching original to the work itself and was taught for the first time in the work by Kṛishṇa of Dvārakā, the Mahābhārata hero. This assumption would naturally fix the date of origin of the Gītā to the Mahābhārata In a discussion of the Pāñcharātraic teaching and its relation to the Gītā, we have certainly to consider how far this position that the Gītā teaching was originated by Kṛishṇa is in consonance with what we know of the Pāñcharātra teaching. By all accounts, in the large variety in which they have come down to us, the teaching of the Pāñcharātra is ascribed to the Supreme deity of the Bhāgavatas, Vāsudēva, later on identified with Vāsudēva-Kṛishṇa leading to very important conclusions in regard to the nature of the Pāñcharātra itself. It has been regarded in consequence that the Pāñcharātra was non-Brahmanic in point of character and Kshatriya in its origin, and therefore a Protestant school of teaching to Brahmanism, as in fact Buddhism and Jainism are. While we do not feel that it is necessary we should discuss that problem here, we may just remark in passing that while the Pāñcharātra, as it has come down to us, distinctly does make provision for the religious needs of the four *varṇas*, at any rate specifically and distinctly, it would be hard to postulate from the texts themselves anything anti-Brahmanical in point of character. Even the much-objected Vedic rituals, which certainly were exclusively the monopoly of the Brahmans, notwithstanding the fact that the actual purpose of these rituals and the merit accruing therefrom had always been for the benefit of the community as a

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whole, were never regarded as of benefit only to the Brahman community. Therefore the ascription of anything anti-Brahmanical to the Pāñcharātra seems on the face of it unwarranted. Leaving that question aside, there is still left the question how far the ritualistic performances of the Veda could be regarded as efficacious for achieving the ultimate ends of man. The ritualistic side of the Veda seems obviously intended to propitiate various deities, and it may ultimately be the Deity, with a view to the attainment of benefits of a limited character and not the ultimate benefit of what the Sanskritists call *niśśrēyas*, the ultimate salvation. It is there that the Pāñcharātraic teaching might be held to come into conflict with the Vedic ritualistic teaching. We find this difference noted with a certain amount of emphasis at the very outset of the Gītā, thus lending colour to the conclusion that it was a Kshatriya protest against the Brahmanical claims.

Kṛishṇa-Devakīputra, a student of the Pāñcharātra :—

Leaving that aside we come to the question that Kṛishṇa of the Mahābhārata is referred to even in an early work such as the Chhāndōgya Upanishad as Kṛishṇa-Dēvakīputra, which would imply Kṛishṇas other than this Dēvakīputra, as perhaps well known persons; the compound name Kṛishṇa-Vāsudēva, Kṛishṇa the son of Vasudēva, would similarly imply other Kṛishṇas besides this particular one. The Chhāndōgya Upanishad itself recognises that this Kṛishṇa-Dēvakīputra took his religious teaching from a certain *Ṛishi*, Ghōra Āṅgirasa. This *Ṛishi* Ghōra of the Āngirasa *gōtra*, which is what the title would mean, was a descendant of the *Ṛishi* Aṅgiras, the most distinguished member of the Āngirasas being Bṛihaspati, and, as such, came into the hereditary line of teachers begining with Bṛihaspati, the Āngirasa, to whom the Pāñcharātra teaching was given in charge at one stage. Presumably there-

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fore Kṛishṇa-Dēvakīputra had learnt this Bhāgavata teaching, whatever that be, from Ghōra Āṅgirasa of the school of the Pāñcharātras. This at once establishes that he was certainly not the originator of the teaching, however distinguished he might have become as the expounder of that teaching later on.

Para-Vāsudeva, the teacher of the Pāñcharātra in the Gītā itself :—

The references to the name Vāsudēva in the *sūtras* of Paṇini (IV. 3. 95 and 98), and Patañjali's interpretation likewise, both of them make it clear that these had some conception of a divine Vāsudēva and Vāsudēva-worship apart from Kṛishṇa-Vāsudēva. Therefore the acceptance of a Para-Vāsudēva as the originator of the Pāñcharātraic teaching, as writers of old believed, seems to be a fairly correct position. This is borne out by a statement made by Kṛishṇa himself in the Bhagavad-Gītā at the begining of Chapter IV, where he makes the reference that he taught this " Yōga of Pāñcharātra " to Vivasvān, the Sun, and that the Sun taught it to Manu and Manu to Ikshvāku ; and then the statement follows that this in course of time had been forgotten. He takes it up in the third *śloka* that " I am He who now imparts to you that old teaching." Though the question here is made clear that the person who taught the Sun was an old entity, and that Kṛishna now teaches Arjuna the same teaching, Arjuna does raise the point how it could happen that Kṛishṇa living in his time could teach this to the Sun who taught Ikshvāku. This would imply a comparatively large number of generations anterior to Arjuna, and hence the question. Then Kṛishṇa gives the explanation, or rather, he is driven to the explanation, that " unborn though he be, he does generally come many times into the world according to need." That should be held to be decisive that Kṛishṇa-Dēvakīputra, the friend of Arjuna

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and the teacher of the Gītā to him, was a person quite different from the Para-Vāsudēva, the originator of the Bhāgavata and the Pāñcharātraic teaching. This idea of a supreme Vāsudēva seems inculcated by Kṛishṇa in VII. 18 as well. So the evidence of the Gītā itself is to recognise a separate entity, Para-Vāsudēva, as distinct from Kṛishṇa-Vāsudēva often spoken of as Vāsudēva as he was an *Avatāra* of the original Para-Vāsudēva. All the literature of the Pāñcharātra, direct and indirect, speak of the Supreme in the one form or the other, particularly the class of writings more general than the set Pāñcharātraic texts. This position of the Gītā therefore seems confirmatory of what is said in the Nārāyanīya section of the Mahābhārata in regard to the Pāñcharātra itself, its origin and the general tenor of its teaching.

Gītā, a manual of Pāñcharātra teaching :—

In regard to the Gītā itself, it is hardly necessary to take up the question of an original Gītā and its subsequent growth. This investigation initiated by Professor Jacobi and taken up later on by Professor Garbe has been continued in a recent treatise by Professor Otto, the author of 'Mysticism, Eastern and Western.' He starts with the thesis that there was an original epic Gītā forming an integral part of the Mahābhārata, and not intended to teach anything religious. The religious teaching in it is in consequence relegated as interpolations, and therefore later accretions to the original text. That hardly concerns us, as we are primarily concerned here with the Gītā as a religious manual, and as such we have to take the Gītā in its entirety. No explanation therefore is required for passing over this aspect of the question here. We are more directly concerned with the Gītā as a manual of religious teaching, and are primarily concerned with its position as a text-book of a particular school of Vaishṇavism, whether it should be called

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Pāñcharātra as such, or by any other name such as the Bhāgavata. Considered as such, it would be quite clear that the Gītā is a whole manual teaching *Bhakti* as the most efficacious method of attaining to salvation, and as such, and as inculcating Vishṇu *Bhakti* specifically, it could be regarded, and has been so regarded, as a manual of the Pāñcharātra school. As such and taken as a whole, the similarity between the Pāñcharātra teaching and the teaching of the Bhagavad-Gītā from the doctrinal point of view is so close that one cannot resist the conclusion that it was intended to be a manual of the Pāñcharātras. It is hardly necessary in this context to go into an elaborate investigation to prove this, as it would be quite obvious to even the most ordinary reader. In the *Bhakti* school of South Indian Vaishṇavism, it is actually taken as such, and wherever we find references, these merely go to establish the truth of this statement. This is in a way confirmed by the statement of Śrī Kṛishṇa in Chapter IV of the Gītā quoted above, which seems almost a repetition of the statement contained in the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Śāntiparva of the Mahābhārata, where the Pāñcharātraic teaching is referred to as "Hari-gītaṃ Purātanam," sung of old by Hari, which would mean that the teaching was actually given to the world by Hari himself in times primeval.[27] A full study of the Pāñcharātra teaching therefore would involve a study of the text of the Pāñcharātra as in the Paramasaṃhitā, as perhaps a good example of a full manual, in comparision with the Gītā on the one side, and the Mokshadharma of the Mahābhārata leading ultimately to the Nārayaṇīya. Such a study may involve chronological incompatibilities in the present state of opinion regarding the chronology of the Mahābhārata itself and the Gītā. But without a study like that, it is hardly possible to arrive

[27] M. Bh., XII. 348, śl. 31-34; 156-60.

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at any definite conclusions. The Pāñcharātra is a growing tradition, and without a thoroughgoing study of this tradition as incorporated in the Mokshadharma of the Mahābhārata involving a study of the Sāṅkhya, Yōga and the modifications that they underwent as well as the relations between the position of Yājñavalkya as innovator and his teachers before him, no definite conclusion in regard to the doctrinal position would be possible.

Pāñcharātra is Vaidika in character :—

The general account of the Pāñcharātra as given in the Mokshadharma chapter gives the impression that the Pāñcharātra as a system is presented there as meeting the general needs of humanity at large, and is intended to explain the general position of the relation of man to God. It starts from a study of the Sāṅkhya and the Yōga, and proceeds therefrom to the teaching of other systems reaching ultimately to that of the Pāñcharātra. The term Sāṅkhya receives the explanation that it is nothing more than a careful or critical examination, rather than anything more technical, as it is generally understood. One often comes upon statements that there is no difference between the Sāṅkhya and Yōga, as is too often assumed in recent critical discussions. We are led on gradually through a series of discussions to the view that there really is no contrariety or opposition between the orthodox Vaidic teaching as a whole and the Pāñcharātra except the differences due to human capacity and achievement in this department of human activity. The Mahābhārata expounds the differences and arrives at last to the conclusion, in its own characteristic way, that the Pāñcharātra marks the head and crown of the God-given teaching of the Veda itself. Unfortunately, however, modern discussions, Indian and European, have attempted to trace not merely a distinction, but even a contrariety between the Vaidic teaching and the Pāñcharātra as such. There is a

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school even of Indian opinion which regards the Pāñcharātra as outside the fold of the Veda. In regard to this, we need say no more than to refer to the passages of the Śrī Bhāshya where Rāmānuja refutes the opinion expressed by Śaṅkara in his Bhāshya [28] Rāmānuja here makes quotations from the Pāñcharātra text-books, of which he mentions three, the Paushkara Saṃhitā, the Sātvata Saṃhitā and the Parama Saṃhitā. The two passages that he quotes from this last work have reference to the fundamental position of the Pāñcharātra as such, and perhaps exhibit the importance of this work in the estimation of Rāmānuja himself. In this particular, Rāmānuja is not the first of the Āchāryas. The Parama Saṃhitā is referred to, and quoted with approval, by Yāmunāchārya before him in his Āgama Prāmānya, and that receives of course further support from Vedānta Deśika later. It is hardly necessary to labour the point further here so far as that particular part is concerned. The actual claim of the Pāñcharātra works themselves, it must be pointed out, is that it is based on the Veda itself, and the claim is made that it is based entirely upon a particular Śākhā of the Veda called *Ekāyana* based upon one of the redactions of the Yajur Veda. Ekāyana is sometimes described as at the head of the Veda itself as a whole. This Ekāyana is under reference in the passage of the Chhāndōgya Upanishad where Nārada tells Sanatkumāra that that is among the literature that he had already studied. Later writers beginning with Madhvāchārya have no doubt that the Ekāyana is Pāñcharātra, and that statement finds support in the Mahābhārata. The Chhāndōgya Upanishad itself seems to make the position more or less clear.

Pāñcharātra, God-given and not of human origin :—

The claim is made in the Mahābhārata that the Pāñcharātra is of equal authority with the Veda as being *apaurusheya*

[28] II. 2. 42.

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(God-given and not man-made) unlike the other systems with which it is brought into comparison. Whatever interpretation the modern critic may put upon this superhuman character of the teaching, the teaching goes back undoubtedly to the times of the Upanishads, the oldest among them, and therefore anterior to Buddhism certainly and Jainism as well. The teaching of *ahiṃsā* of the Pāñcharātrins is much more emphatic than that of the Buddha, although in origin both perhaps sprang from a natural objection to the immolation of victims in sacrifices conducted in the name of religion. While Buddhism perhaps remained content with prohibiting it only so far, Jainism and Pāñcharātraism prohibit killing absolutely. The antiquity of the Pāñcharātra therefore gets established as beyond a doubt on traditional Indian evidence. Whatever the actual form of the teaching, it had established itself in vogue, perhaps in the days of the Brāhmaṇas, and is clearly in evidence in the Upanishads; and perhaps it got to be formulated in text-books, it may be, in the age of the Sūtras. Hence the name Bhakti Sūtras given to the teachings of Nārada and Śāṇḍilya, the two principal exponents of this school of religious thought.

Coming to the Parama Saṃhitā itself, we stated already that, unlike the other treatises on the subject, it is a general handbook on the principles of the Pāñcharātra, and so far as the text of it goes, it does not seem to have reference particularly to any one temple. The context as well as the import of the quotations made by Rāmānuja seem to imply that this is really a general work on the Pāñcharātra principles. We may therefore have to refer it to comparatively early times. Vishṇu-worship of the Pāñcharātra kind and Vaishṇava temples were known in the 2nd and perhaps 3rd century B. C. Although we have not come upon any direct reference of an indubitable character for temple worship in earlier times, there is nothing whatsoever of a definite character against such an assumption. The

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work therefore seems to be referable to about the same early time, if not earlier. This may find support in the fact that the Dharma Śāstra of Manu—it may be the original Dharma Śāstra—is a handbook of the Pāñcharātra type, as being more or less a handbook which lays down the way of life of an individual going through life with a view to the achievement of the ultimate end of human existence, *niśśrēyas*, by freeing oneself from the cycle of births and attaining to the position of similarity and proximity to God Himself. The close similarity between the Parama Saṃhitā as a Pāñcharātra handbook and the Bhagavad-Gītā as it has come down to us as a manual of the Pāñcharātra Vaishṇavism, would only go to confirm this in a general way notwithstanding the detailed modern criticism, which would ascribe the Gītā to various dates. Of course, the determination of this question with precision would involve a discussion of the position of the Śāntiparva in the Mahābhārata and of the chronology of the Mahābhārata itself. That question is too large for discussion here. We leave that subject there therefore till the larger question of the Mahābhārata could take definite shape. A reference to the *tattvas* as detailed in the Parama Saṃhitā will show that the Parama Saṃhitā makes a total of only 25 of these, while in the Śāntiparva of the Mahābhārata this is the actual number of the *tattvas* recounted till we come to Yājñavalkya's enunciation of these in the Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva, Chapters XXIII-XXIV (see S. N. Das Gupta's History of Indian Philosophy, Vol. II, pp. 471 ff). It will be found that Yājñavalkya is led on, in the course of a discussion, to postulate a 26th *tattva*, making the Purusha into two, the Kēvala Purusha or the Supreme Purusha, and the Purusha contaminated by association with the Kshētra or Prakṛiti. We do not find anything analogous to it in the Parama Saṃhitā of the Pāñcharātra. Reference may here be made to Pāṇini (IV. 3. 105) regarding the later character

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of Yājñavalkya as compared with others whose names have come down to us as originators or writers of the Brāhmaṇas.[29] Whether we would be warranted in actually regarding the Parama Saṃhitā older on this ground alone may well be left over for further investigation. The antiquity of the Pāñcharātra nevertheless is clear from this. Throughout the discussions regarding these, the terms Bhāgavata and Pāñcharātra are used as synonyms, the one for the other.

In many of the references made above to earlier literature, the Bhāgavatas appear as one group of people. It seems likely that, under that general name, a number of groups of people of kindred thought and practice in religion was included. Bühler held the Ājīvikas as a sect of the Bhāgavatas. But in South India the Ājīvikas are grouped along with the Nirgranthas, who are regarded as a section of the Jainas. The Ājīvikas seem to have constituted a sufficiently important and respected group, as we come upon references in inscriptions to a special levy called *Āśuviḳal ḳāśu*, revenue raised in cash for the benefit of the Ājīvikas. The association of the name in inscriptions would perhaps indicate some kind of Jain affiliation, though there is absolutely nothing to debar their having been other than Jain in point of religion. But we have a clear statement in the Harshacharita[30] of Bāṇa, who certainly must be given credit for knowing what he actually states in the work. Among the large group of forest livers—not all of them necessarily ascetical—we find the Bhāgavatas and the Pāñcharātrins mentioned separately. Not only that. But the groups are divided by a certain number of other names coming in between. The commentator Śaṅkarārya renders the Bhāgavatas as Vishṇu-Bhakta and explains the Pāñcharātraka as Vaishṇavabhēda. Perhaps therefore the Bhāgavata sects referred to in Jain, Buddhist and Hindu authorities have reference to

[29] H. C. Raychaudhuri—Early History of the Vaishṇava Sect, pp. 15 ff.

[30] P. 265, Nirṇay Sāgar Edn., and p. 236, Cowell and Thomas' Translation.

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a number of groups of Bhaktas or devotees of Vishṇu, and, if they were so, whether the Ājīvikas could be brought under this grouping as a sect of the Bhāgavatas becomes doubtful. Whatever that be, early in the 7th century, Bāṇa had knowledge of a large number of sects of forest-dwellers ; among them two important groups are clearly distinguishable, namely, the Bhāgavatas and the Pāñcharātrikas, both worshippers of Vishṇu, among the innumerable groups of forest-dwellers in the glades of the Vindhyan forests, following their own teaching and adopting, all of them, a comparatively similar mode of life. In his days, therefore, we would be warranted in inferring that the Bhāgavata cult prevailed in more than one form with the usual division of teachers and followers. Naturally therefore it would not be difficult to imagine that this was a comparatively large sect in civil society, apart from forest-dwellers, and therefore that the doctrine or teaching of the Pāñcharātra exercised considerable influence and had a large following. Such an inference would be in keeping with the importance attached to this group of people and their opinions from the days of Śaṅkara onwards. What is really to our purpose is that about this time their teaching should have received a certain amount of formulation and codification ; and there must therefore have been text books to make the teaching popular among the large number of followers of the creed. Very many of the Pāñcharātra handbooks, or Saṃhitās, that we know of, may have come into existence, and might have had considerable vogue at this time, though some of the larger treatises may have been written later. But the essential point for us is the possibility of an early text-book like that of the Parama Saṃhitā, and that seems warranted by the general light that these details throw upon the position of the Bhāgavatas and Pāñcharātrins as Vishṇu worshippers. While therefore we are not in a position definitely to ascribe a precise date to the Parama Saṃhitā, it is fairly clear that it is a very early handbook of

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a general character, and therefore of high authority to be quoted in discussions on the general character of the teaching of Pāñcharātra.

It will be seen from the above discussion that the Bhakti school of the Vaishṇavas goes back to great antiquity, and that it is a school of thought which exercised very considerable influence over other sects which had attained to historical fame, among them prominently Jainism and Buddhism. This position is certainly in keeping with what obtains in the Tamil country where in the earliest extant Tamil literature we find clear references not only to the worship of Kṛishṇa and Baladēva, but more or less to the general tenets of the *Āgamaic* teaching, as in the Paripāḍal. A detailed analysis of the poems bearing on Vishṇu would indicate considerable affiliation to the Parama Saṃhitā in respect of details, although it is possible, as we have stated already, that the detailed knowledge of the Pāñcharātra possessed by the Tamils may have been got from the Śāntiparva of the Mahābhārata which had, in all probability, been done into Tamil pretty early. The Āḻvārs whose time ranges from the 3rd to the 8th century have clear and unmistakable and detailed references to the teaching of the Pāñcharātra as such, culminating in the specific statement of the Pāñcharātra having been taught through "Nara and Nārāyaṇa," and being of the character of a general way of life, Dharmaśāstra, as it is called in Sanskrit. It must have had a continuous history in the Tamil land already, enabling Rāmānuja to quote authoritative text-books, and among them Parama Saṃhitā for one, for refuting a contrary opinion. It is the teaching of these *Āgamas* generally that contributed largely to widening the sphere of the Vedic religion, giving it a popular form and making it much less technical than the ritualistic *Vaidik* teaching of the Brāhmaṇa literature. No extraneous influences or copying from outside is needed to explain this popular character, and there is hardly justifica-

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tion for regarding the Pāñcharātra in particular as non-Brahmanical teaching, sometimes even described as anti-Brahmanical. It is this particular way of popularising that has given to modern Vaishṇavism wide scope and continuity of practice. This teaching that had received already form and shape, got to be popularised by the writings of the Āḻvārs and more regularly formulated and incorporated in the Vaishṇava teaching by the work of Rāmānuja and carried to the north and spread out into the various regions of Northern India, modifying itself to have effective appeal as in the introductory statement in the Padma Purāṇa and the general statement in the Śrī Bhāgavata. It has thus become a living fountain from which all kinds of people could draw to quench their thirst for the consolations of religion, and it prevails in one form or another across the whole width of the continent from the Himalayas southwards, throughout the whole country. In certain regions of the south, its popularity is shared by the kindred cult of the Śaiva *Āgamas*, which certainly is no less a Bhakti cult than the Pāñcharātra.

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2

THE CULTURAL HISTORY OF INDIA—AN APOLOGY

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Study of History in Indian Universities

No subject is perhaps studied in Indian universities of the present day with the same assiduity as the history of India. All the universities have chairs of Indian History, some of them more than one chair. The eminent professors who hold these chairs and their pupils have been giving the results of their researches in a series of valuable publications, the number of which is already considerable. The help of a number of accessory sciences has been invoked in this research work,—archaeology, epigraphy, numismatics, iconography, anthropology, etc. The ancient literature of India in all languages as well as the literature of countries which have come into contact with India have been explored with painstaking care and made to yield the smallest grain of historical evidence they may contain. Traveller's tales, folk tales and folk songs have not escaped the yoke. The result has been no less bewildering than the abundance and variety of materials collected. We have histories written from a variety of different standpoints, constitutional histories, diplomatic histories, economic histories, histories of religion, histories of literature, histories of arts and crafts, histories of town planning, etc., and etc., and etc. The species of history however which has attracted

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the greatest attention and commands the largest number of publications is the political history of the country. The history of the ruling dynasties in the remotest and smallest corners of the country is being reconstructed bit by bit, fragment by fragment, grain by grain, and it may be expected that in course of time there will be no part of the country and no period of time the authentic political history of which will not be available.

The vision of the historian has extended beyond the geographical limits of the country and we are having histories of the colonial expansion of India and of the spread of Indian civilisation to other countries. This was an expansion of India which was a peaceful process principally carried on by religious teachers, scholars, merchants and by the migration of that most precious possession of ancient India, her literature, the store-house of ancient wisdom.

The Different Standpoints of Historical Study—Political

This expansion of the horizon of history is one of the most welcome signs of historical research in modern times. It is primarily an expansion of culture. We may here pause and consider from what different standpoints the history of our country can be studied. First, there is the standpoint of the orthodox political historian who is concerned with the story of the rulers of the country, their governments and fortunes, foreign invasions and conquests. The story is fascinating and picturesque, and as it is only a narration of facts and events, requires nothing but the piecing together of evidence and powers of narration. Since however our country has seldom, if ever, been unified under a strong central government and there were at various times various dynasties and rulers in different parts of the country, the story is somewhat disjointed and lacks that continuity of interest that the history of countries like England and France possesses.

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Constitutional

Second, there is the standpoint of the historian of peoples, as Green has related the history of the English people. He has narrated how the English people in their continental home before they came to England formed certain political institutions which they brought to England and how these institutions were changed, adapted and developed into the political institutions of modern England. The political events and the personages who took part in these events appear only as instruments who aided in shaping those institutions under the stress of various circumstances. The application of this method in the treatment of the history of India is however very difficult, one might say, almost impossible. The number of different peoples, who have come to India and even at the present moment inhabit the country is very large. Many of them have preserved no record of their life or movements and have no literature or even written language. Even in the case of those who have written languages and literatures of their own, such records begin only after they have already absorbed the civilisation of the Aryans and become an integral part of Aryan society. Thus it is well-nigh impossible to make out what their original religion or society was and what kind of political machinery they had set up for the preservation of that society. Neither have we got any record of their kings (if kingship they had) or their achievements in the olden days before they received the influence of the Aryans. The only people in whose case such a study is possible is the Indo-Aryan people.

Cultural

This brings us to the third standpoint from which it is possible to study the history of India. The Indo-Aryan people, when they settled in India and made this country

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their home, had brought with them and developed in this country such a high degree of civilisation and such a fine culture that the pre-Aryan civilisations and cultures all succumbed to it. This process was accelerated by the wonderful power of absorption and assimilation which the Aryan culture in India displayed. It is a sign of growing life and vitality that it gathers nourishment from whatever it takes, builds it up into its living substance whatever it can assimilate and rejects whatever it cannot. The Indo-Aryan culture in India has displayed this characteristic in a remarkable degree as no other culture has done. It made room for the ancient inhabitants of India in its social structure and assimilated them into an integral part of Aryan society. We shall realise how wonderful this power was when we contrast it with the utter inability displayed by the Christian civilisation of Europe when it met with the primitive though remarkable civilisations of America, New Zealand and Australia. This assimilation and absorption has given a cultural unity to the whole of this sub-continent which is astonishing when we remember what a large number of different peoples of different origin and different intellectual and spiritual equipment inhabits the country and in what different economic and political environments they have grown up. None of these groups of people have regretted their merging into the Aryan society because instead of their losing anything they felt themselves highly enriched by the absorption. By admission to the cultural heritage of the Indo-Aryans their life became more refined, their mental horizon was widened and as their admission did not involve any fetter or compulsion on their modes of living, they continued to enjoy all the liberty they had before.

The only intelligible and rational history of our country that can be really studied is the history of the beginning, development, expansion and evolution of Indo-Aryan

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culture, and it is a story as full of interest and fascination as the story of the glittering courts and gorgeous military pageants of conquerors.

The importance of a study of cultural history has been dimly felt by historians of all times. Formerly historians who devoted all their energies to the narration of political events satisfied themselves by devoting a chapter at the end to what they called the state of the country. Hallam has appended such a chapter to his history of Europe during the Middle Ages and Macaulay began his famous history of England with a chapter on the state of England. Some modern historians vary the method a little and devote a few paragraphs to the literature and learning, religious movements and inventions taking place in the reign of a monarch whose achievements they describe. This left-handed homage paid to what they vaguely consider to be cultural history reveals a want of clear conception of what the history of culture really is. Political historians are naturally baffled by what appears to them as something abstract and intangible, not susceptible of solid treatment which the positive facts of political life lend themselves to.

What is Cultural History

It will perhaps help us to understand what the history of culture is, if we try to settle first what it is not and distinguish it from other aspects of history with which it is often confounded. The history of culture is not the history of arts and crafts, or science and literature, or of trade and commerce, or of religion and philosophy. The study of all these aspects of history gains considerably in clearness and illumination by the study of the history of culture, but they are all distinct from it. Cultural history is like the glorious sun-light and circumambient air which infuse life and colour and beauty to the whole creation.

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It is perhaps as difficult of a precise definition as it is difficult to state in what the influence of light and air consists. Generally speaking cultural history is the story of the unfolding of the life of the people, of the expression of its personality and of its evolution in space and time. There are obscure forces, hidden and unknown elements in the subconscious depths of a people's mind which direct the genius of a people and which manifest themselves as potent and powerful in crises of its life. Cultural history seeks to trace these elements in the depths of the cultural consciousness of a people, these forces and their manifestation in different walks of a people's life—in politics, literature, art and the manifold and varied activities of life. Cultural history treats the story of the life of a people as an organic whole and not as different and mutually exclusive facts of a life like the composite eye of a butterfly. It seems to tell us what the contents of the mind of a people were in the beginning, what accretions it has received in course of time and how it has reacted to the stimulus of contact with different cultures and different environments and adapted itself to them. In the ultimate analysis a cultural history is the history of thought and ideas clothed in positive achievements and perhaps also in failures. It tells us what ideas filled the minds of a people, into what ideals these were built up and how the people realised these ideals in practical life.

Evolution of Ideas

It will help us to understand this if we try to trace the course followed by ideas in their evolution in the life of a people. The germ of ideas can perhaps be traced to what is called the genius of a people, the sum-total of inherent tendencies which distinguishes one people from another. When a group of men, of the same blood and speaking the

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same tongue or tongues of the same stock easily understood by one another, lives amidst the same physical surroundings, lead the same economic life under the same political and social organisation, certain ideas come to be formed in their minds. At first they float vaguely in the minds of the people, but they gather coherence and shape in course of time, as the common life develops. They assume coherence and shape in the minds of the thinkers and philosophers of the race as abstract conceptions. When refined and arranged methodically we meet with them as systems of philosophy, as political theories or as theories of law. The ideas which constitute the mental equipment of a people, while they move upward into subtler regions as philosophy, have also a life downward into a grosser existence. The ideas are caught up by artists, poets and imaginative authors who impart to them life and colour and form, bring them down from the cloud-land of theory to the solid earth of practical reality. They then travel to the common people who weave them into songs and sagas and mythologies and all sorts of folk literature. If these ideas have the divine spark of truth and beauty in them they grip the popular mind and they saturate the popular mind. They come to possess the mind of the people so entirely that the people build these up into ideals which they want to realise in life. The people begin to dream of a better earth and a brighter life if these ideals can be realised in life; they begin to lose the taste and savour of the old order in which they have grown up, the older institutions under which they lived; an unpleasant sense of futility distresses them, while their imagination fires up with the glories of a new order of things. Ultimately life appears to them unbearable till they can embody into physical life these ideals and live in a better earth and under a brighter heaven.

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Importance of the Study of Ideas Illustrated—French Revolution

France of the eighteenth century furnishes a ready illustration to the point. Voltaire, Rousseau, Montesquieu and the encyclopaedists were examining the foundations of religion, society, laws and political institutions in the light of pure reason and preaching maxims of equality and liberty which came to form part of the intellectual stock of the French people. These ideas floated as it were in the intellectual atmosphere of the country and were absorbed by different ranks of society, according to their capacity. The worse the economic condition of the people grew, the greater grew the fascination for the new ideas. The people dreamt of a world of plenty and freedom and ease, while their very bread was being taken away from their mouths by taxation, and they were being silently conveyed to the royal prisons by royal *lettre-de-cachet* without even the formality of justice or to the battle-fields in far off lands to be fodder for cannon.

The storm that was brewing in the horizon burst with the French Revolution. The first task that the representatives of the people set themselves to perform was the drawing up of a Declaration of the Rights of Man. Every single article of the Declaration was inspired by and can be traced to the teachings of the French thinkers and philosophers and was a challenge to the old order of things. The flood carried away everything in its onward rush—the monarchy, the nobility, the clergy, the old privileges of towns and provinces ; it burst the geographical bounds of France and shattered the combined opposition of the crowned monarchs of Europe. A historian who is not familiar with the writings of the French thinkers of the eighteenth century, who does not understand the working of the French mind of the period and is not conversant with the ideas which

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saturated that mind, will get no insight into the principles which animated the Revolution or the trend of the political events of the period. A political history of the revolution, a mere narrative of the events, however minute and picturesque, will give little insight indeed.

The Great Wars of 1914 and 1939

The matter will be further elucidated by an examination of the Great War of 1914 and of its revival in 1939. Only a part of the diplomatic correspondence which passed before the outbreak of the war, or of the secret treaties and pacts and understandings, has seen the light of day, but the memoirs published by some of the principal actors in the Drama of 1914 and Hitler's confessions in *Mein Kampf* leave no doubt about the ideas which animate them. These ideas can be traced to the German thinkers and political philosophers of the later nineteenth century, to Nietzsche (1844-1900) and his followers, to their cult of strength, of the superman, the heaven appointed blonde Nordic brute. This curious Nordic philosophy, which has been taken up by the ruling classes of Germany, is in striking contrast with the Latin philosphy or the French Revolution and much of the mendacity, atrocity and barbarity that is characteristic of these wars can be accounted for by the clash of these two systems of thought. These wars thus appear as the concrete realisation of the ideas preached by the German thinkers and adopted by the German politicians and leaders, echoed by the literary men and artists and fostered by the men of science. These ideas saturate the German mind to such a point that the whole nation is possessed by them and intensely longs to realise them in life.

The Russian Revolution

A drama on a large scale was being played in Russia and it had the novelty of an attempt to actualise an ideal

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state of society. The whole of the Russian Revolution of 1917-19 with its strange mixture of callousness and tenderness, harshness and generosity will remain inexplicable unless the key to it is furnished by the ideas preached by the socialistic and communistic writers of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century—Owen, Fourier, Karl Marx, Engels and others. The hatred of the old order of things generated by generations brought up in extreme misery and suffering added the drop of venom to the intellectual dish served up by the political thinkers and the absolute lack of experience of the Russian people in the art of government accounts for much of its agony. The theories of the communists are undergoing modification in the furnace of practical life and we have yet to wait to see the final shape they will assume. In Russia the political history of the last quarter of a century is but the concrete form in which the Russian mind sought to incarnate its ideas of life and society and government.

It will thus be evident that the study of the evolution of ideas, of the gradual unfolding of the mind of a people, is absolutely necessary for the proper understanding even of that limited aspect of history called political history. How much more important is it for the proper study of the life of the people in all its aspects, in all the activities in which it seeks to realise itself !

The Historian of Culture

The historian of culture has thus got to possess a deep sympathetic understanding of all the expressions of the mind of a people from speculative philosophy, religion and literature to the humble folk-songs and folk-lore. He has got to bring to his task a deep and extensive knowledge, a liberal and broad sympathy, a penetrating insight and sensitive appreciation. The wealth of material through which a historian of culture has to look for the leading thoughts

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and guiding ideas is immense and there is always the danger of going on a false track. His rewards in this arduous task are also great. While he feels invigorated by breathing the rarefied atmosphere of pure reason in the dizzy heights of speculative thought and listens to the thunders of clashing of opinions, he is beguiled by the iridescent beauty of literary creations and cheered by the manly vigour of popular and folk literature.

Cultural History of India

The study of cultural history is a particularly fascinating study in the case of India. Nowhere perhaps in the world have the people left such varied and abundant materials as the ancient Indo-Aryans have done. We know what their lives were more intimately than perhaps we know the lives of our contemporaries. We know what stuff they wore, what food they ate, what occupations they followed, what sort of society they lived in, what religious ceremonies they observed, what was their ambition in this life and their aspiration in the next. All these we find not as the mere shells of a dead culture as in Egypt and Babylon, but palpitating with life as expressions of the vitality of a highly cultivated and self-reliant people. We touch the very ideas round which the entire life of the people gathered and flourished, from which they drew inspiration and which they sought to realise in life.

Cycles in the Evolution of Ideas

It will be evident to a historian of Aryan culture in India that there are distinct cycles in the evolution of ideas. For a certain period certain ideas on religion and society, morality and justice, peace and purity saturate the mind of a people, and are cherished by them, and the people embody these ideas in the machinery of government, in the structure of society,

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in their social and religious ceremonies, in their arts and crafts, in their literature and poetry and music and painting, in their aspirations in this life and in the life beyond. These ideas form as it were a nucleus round which the life of the people develops and flourishes, a sort of centre round which the life-stream of the people forms an eddy and revolves for a certain period ; they animate all the political and social institutions of the people, direct all their activities and give the tone and colour to their artistic and spiritual life.

Periods of Transition between Cycles

Ideas like all other human things have got a limited life. In course of time these ideas lose their hold upon the mind of the people, their *élan vital* is spent out,—and the institutions and laws and art and poetry and music which embodied these ideas lose their vitality, sicken and die ; decay sets in and the life of the people seems to disintegrate. At such periods the slightest jar,—a foreign invasion or the rise of a heretical preacher,—suffices to bring down the whole order in a mass of ruin. For some years the life stream of the people flows on sluggish, in dull, uneventful, monotonous placidity,—till we find again certain new ideas of society and religion and duty and morality germinate, take shape, gather force and captivate the mind of the people, who set about forming a new system of government, a new structure of society, a new system of laws, a new code of ethics and religion; a new art and new poetry and new philosophy spring up and we call this a Renaissance.

Renaissance

The people have remained the same or nearly the same, but their mind has undergone a stage of evolution. This is why the evolution of culture is said to proceed in spirals, progressing and seeming to recede, but always mounting

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up higher and higher. In the history of Indo-Aryan culture in India these periods of stagnation and decay followed by renaissance are very clearly visible.

Vedic Cycle

In the cultural history of India the mighty Vedic Age forms a distinct cycle. The reproach is levelled at India that she lacks the historical sense, she has neglected authentic history. The reproach, we must admit, is well merited, if history is taken in the narrow sense of the political history of the country, the lists of dynasties and kings and the narration of wars and conquests and invasions. But India has always regarded political history as the mere frame in which the picture of the life of the people is set. For the Vedic period this frame-work is almost wanting. The name of a few kings, the mention of a few events have been preserved, but we do not know exactly which part of the picture they enclosed, we do not know their chronological setting. But if we take history in the true sense of the story of the evolution of the mind of the people cast in the mould of positive achievements, a picture of the life of the people, what they thought and what they dreamt, what they achieved and where they failed, no country can furnish such rich, varied and abundant materials as the literature of the Vedic Age. As we peruse this literature which was not written for the gain of money or cheap fame, we seem to live with them and share their joys and sorrows. We may thus say that ancient India did not lack the historical sense, but possessed historical sense of a higher order than modern historians.

Buddhist Cycle

After the Vedic Age, a period of decadence begins and the old order crumbles and disintegrates. The Vedic sacri-

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fices are neglected, the social order is broken and thoughts on the purpose of life and the mystery of the universe no longer attract people. But behind the ruins of the life of the Vedic Age new ideas gather, coalesce, take shape and loom into life at the touch of an inspired personality and we have the Buddhist Age. A new eddy is formed round which the life stream of the people revolves for another period, new arts grow, new customs are formed, new institutions arise and a new conception of life begins. Indo-Aryan culture of the Buddhist Age overflows the geographical bounds of India, spreads over Central and Western Asia to the borders of the Greek and Egyptian world and inundate Insul-India and even the distant shores of Japan. It assimilated and incorporated what was best in the pre-Aryan native cultures in the different regions and swept away the lumber.

Pauranic Cycle (*Hindu Renaissance*)

Time flows on, the wave recedes, leaving stagnant pools outside India, some of which are being explored now-a-days in the Central Asian and colonial researches. In India the Buddhist ideas lose their grip, the ideals lose lustre, the society disintegrates till from the ashes of the old order Phoenix-like a new Hindu culture, a renaissance,—gorgeous, many-headed, poetic, luxuriant,—springs up, which is called the Pauranic culture. Sanskrit poetry flourishes as it never did before; even emperors record their achievements in high-flown poems; beautiful temples, long and gorgeous pilgrimages, images of gods and goddesses bedecked with costly jewels, an elaborate mythology—all these distinguish this culture. Much that is strange and bewildering in this culture still awaits explanation. We vaguely feel that foreign blood had mixed with the blue blood of the Aryans, foreign cultures had mingled their narrow streams in the broad current of Indo Aryan

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culture ; in the darkness which enshrouds this period we can dimly descry the strange forms of non-Aryan deities slowly creeping into the Hindu pantheon, enriching and corrupting it at the same time. The soil over which the life-stream of the Aryan people in India has flowed has varied, the banks have sometimes receded and the stream has spread out slow-moving over ripening fields of corn and green bamboo groves, sometimes the stream has narrowed into deep ravines with beetling crags frowning on both sides, but it has always flown on strong, continuous, fertilising and abundant. The Age of the Hindu Renaissance closes about the eleventh century, a little before the Mahomedan invasion of India. The Hindu ideas and ideals had gradually lost their grip on the people, their institutions were decaying, mutual jealousies and quarrels and treacheries had corrupted the minds of the people and vitiated their lives, and the pulse of the nation was throbbing slow and intermittent. At this moment of weakness Mahomedan invasion gave the shock which crumbled the fabric.

Long Interregnum (12 cent.-19th cent.)

For seven long centuries from the 12th to the 19th there is a period of decay and disaster. The Aryan mind achieved almost nothing new, if we except the Navya Nyāya of Bengal. All its efforts were directed to the preservation of its integrity and individuality.

Contemporary Cycle

The Aryan genius was however not dead, as one might suspect. The giant was only asleep. At the magic touch of the virile culture of Europe, the seals of the opiate slumber of ages are breaking and early in the 20th century we find her again shaking her mighty locks and filling

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the world with her deep sonorous voice. The voice of India's mighty seers speaking through Vivekananda, in the message of Ramakrishna, is echoing from the farthest corners of the world. The appeal of earnest Europe has penetrated the soul of India, she is peeling off the tinsel materialistic culture of Europe, faster than we imagine and ere long the Aryan mind will resume its accustomed march in the stern quest of the pure, the true and the absolute.

We are assisting at the dawn a New Age in the history of Aryan culture in India, as yet we can hardly fully realise the forms and shapes of the ideas which dominate the Indian mind, but every attentive student of contemporary history who has watched the birth of modern literature, painting, education, political aspirations, etc., must realise that these ideas are fast emerging strong and radiant, with the Promethean spark of life in them and that the Aryan culture in India is still living with intense vitality.

Features of Contemporary Renaissance

There is one distinct feature of the present renaissance of the Aryan culture in India which cannot escape attention. At the first contact with the West there was a little temporary intoxication and imitation of things European with heedless rejection of everything Indian. But the Aryan mind in India was not long in getting back its equilibrium and has steadily pursued its age-long path. Even Michael Madhusudan Dutt who was the European of Europeans in his life and whose mind was steeped in European learning drew the subjects of his immortal poems from the Sanskrit epics and Purāṇas. Almost all the leaders of the modern Renaissance are deeply versed in European culture and have direct acquaintance with European life and thought. But they have invariably gone to the ancient literature and art of India for their inspiration. Ram Mohan Roy hailed

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us back to the Upanishads for philosophy, Dayanānda's mission in life was to lead us back to the Vedas, Lala Munshiram in the Gurukula and Rabindranath in the Visvabharati have sought to take us to the erudite and peaceful āśramas of the ancient ṛishis. Tilak and Arabinda and Gandhiji have gone to the Bhagavadgītā for the gospel of their political activities. Vivekananda has drawn the mind of India irrespective of caste or creed to the eternal verities of the Vedanta and the Voice of Ramkrishna, the apostle of modern India, is preaching the synthesis of religion and culture, the eternal truth *ekaṃ sad viprāḥ bahudhā vadanti*. Even the Indian National Congress which was ushered into existence as the focus of the political life of India in imitation of the West has changed its ideology and complexion into a surging of the mass mind of India for a free expression of Indian life.

We are perhaps living too near this Renaissance, too much in its turmoil and bustle to judge it in its proper perspective with the dispassionate detachment that is necessary for a historian. But if we sit collected we shall feel the strong currents of contemporary thought and ideals and we shall feel how our positive achievements in all spheres are but the concrete realisation of our inner mental life or rather of that sum-total of our inner being which is called personality.

Before I conclude I should like to guard against one misconception. I by no means minimise the value of the work done in resuscitating the political history of India. Political history and chronology are the skeletons, as it were, of the entire organism of the history of a people or of a distinct culture ; they serve as the essential framework which holds together the picture of the life of the people. But let us at the same time guard against attaching any undue or extravagant value to it. The skeleton is not the man, nor is the frame the picture. What would one think

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of a Homer who only gave us the measurements of Helen's skeleton or of the sculptor of Venus de Milo if he left us only the skeleton of Venus ?

It is only a proper study of the history of culture that can supply the spark of life, that undefinable vitality which animates all the different aspects of history, gives them unity and purpose and indicates the innate tendencies which guide and govern the activities of a people. It is cultural history that can tell the story of the unfolding of the mind of a people in external life, the story of the realisation of its cherished ideals in all its manifestations in political life, in social laws and customs, in all forms of music and beauty and harmony. The history of our country studied as the history of Aryan culture in India is a most fascinating study, for the Indo-Aryan mind has always thought nobly and courageously and has expressed itself beautifully in word and music and form. The history of Aryan culture in India has been a glorious one and we can confidently say that it has an even more glorious future before it.

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3

SYMBOLISM OF HINDU NUPTIALS

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The Meaning of a Symbol

A symbol is a 'thing regarded by general consent as naturally typifying or representing or recalling something by possession of analogous qualities or by association in fact or thought.' A symbol is not important by itself. It has only a vehicular value and conveys something beyond it. It is a mode of expression which vivifies abstract, subtle, unfamiliar or supernatural ideas before common folk. In ancient times, when human fancy was stronger and the human speech was not adequately developed to express every shade of thought, symbols played a very important part. In religion and mythology they were commonly used. But even now they have not lost their value. The most up-to-date political ideology, which recognizes little use of religion, employs symbols for its ends and ideals.

Sacramental Marriage and Symbol

Hindu marriage, which the nuptials solemnize, is not a social contract in the modern sense of the term, but a religious institution, a sacrament. By it we mean that besides the two human parties, the bride and the bridegroom, there is a third superhuman, spiritual or divine element in marriage. The physical conditions of the two parties are always subject to change and, as such, they cannot form the permanent basis of marriage. It is on the third element that

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the permanent relationship between the husband and the wife depends. The husband and the wife are responsible not only to each other, but they owe a greater allegiance to this third element. This is the religious or mystic touch in the purely social and material contract between a man and a woman Without it the conjugal life loses its charm and durability. The mystic aspect of the Hindu marriage necessitates the use of a number of symbols.

Marriage a Union of the Fittest Couple

In the very beginning of the Hindu nuptials there is a ceremony which symbolizes the union of the fittest parties. This ceremony, called Arghya, 'showing Respect',[1] while conferring great honour on bridegroom, indicates that he is the best of his sex and equals. Having ordered a seat for the bridegroom, the father-in-law says, "Well, Sir, sit down. We will do honour to you, Sir." They get for him a couch of grass, to sit down on, another for feet, water for washing the feet, water for sipping, and the honey-mixture in a brass vessel with a cover of brass. The bridegroom accepts the couch and sitting thereon says, "I am the highest one among my peoples as the sun is among the shining ones. Here I tread on whosoever infests me."[2] On this occasion the guest of honour, accepting his dues from the father-in-law, makes a statement wherein he publicly declares that he is the fittest match for the bride.

Marriage a New Bond

Some of the most important items of the nuptials are those which symbolize that marriage creates a new bond between the bride and the bridegroom. They are united like two young plants, which are uprooted from two different

[1] The Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra, I.3. 1-32.

[2] वर्षोऽस्मि समानानामुदयतामिव सूर्यः। इमं तमभितिष्ठामि यो मा कश्चाभिदासति।
Ibid, I.3.9.

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plots and are transplanted into a new one. They have to rear up this union by dedicating their entire energy in the direction of their common interest and ideal. One such item is Samañjana or 'Anointment.'[3] The father of the bride is required to anoint the pair. While this ceremony is being performed, the bridegroom recites the verse, "May the Viśvedevāḥ, may the waters unite our hearts. May Mātariśvā, may Dhātṛ, may Deṣṭṛ join us."[4] The anointment is symbolical of 'Sneha' or love and consequently of the union of the pair. Another ceremony of this type is the Pāṇigrahaṇa or the "Grasping of the Bride's Hand."[5] The bridegroom seizes the right hand of the bride with the verse, "I seize thy hand for the sake of happiness, that thou mayest live to old age with me, thy husband. Bhaga, Aryamā, Savitṛ, gods have given thee to me, that we may rule over the house-hold. This I am. That art thou. That art thou, this am I. The Sāman am I, the Ṛk thou; the Heaven I, the Earth thou. Come let us marry."[6] This ceremony is symbolical of physical bond between the husband and the wife. The next ceremony of this kind is the Hṛdayasparśa or "Touching the Heart of the Bride."[7] The husband touches the heart of the bride reaching over her right shoulder with the words, "Into my will I take thy heart; thy mind shall dwell in my mind; in my word thou shall rejoice with all thy heart: May Prajāpati join thee to me."[8] This performance indicates that marriage is not only the physical union of two persons but also the union of two hearts or souls. The heart is the centre of feelings. By touching it the husband

3 The Pāraskara G. S., I.4.15.

4 समञ्जन्तु विश्वे देवाः समापो हृदयानि नौ।
सम्मातरिश्वा सन्धाता समु देष्ट्री दधातु नौ ॥ *Ibid.*

5 The Atharvaveda, XIV. I.4.9; the Āśvalāyana G.S., I. 7.3; the Gobhila G.S., II. 2.16; the Śāṃkhyāyana G.S., I. 13.2.

6 *Ibid.*

7 The Pāraskara G S., I. 8.8.

8 मम व्रते ते हृदयं दधामि मम चित्तमनु चित्तं ते अस्तु etc., *Ibid.*

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symbolically tries to rouse the soft emotions of the wife and make them flow out to meet his own and thus to create a real union in the psychic world. One more ceremony may be mentioned in this connection. In the Sthālīpāka or the "Common Dinner"[9] the husband makes the wife eat the mess of cooked food with the words, "I add breath to thy breath, bones to thy bones, flesh to thy flesh, skin to thy skin."[10] Here both the material and the vital selves of the husband and the wife are united.

Marriage a Permanent and Stable Union

Marriage is not a temporary contract to serve the momentary physical demand or to enjoy good company for some time and then to lapse at the slightest inconvenience. It is a permanent union which stands various vicissitudes in life only to grow stronger and more stable. This fact has been symbolized by a number of ceremonies in the Hindu nuptials. In the Aśmārohaṇa or "Mounting the Stone"[11] ceremony the husband makes the wife tread on a stone repeating the verse, "Tread on this stone; like a stone be firm."[12] Stone is a symbol of firmness and strength. The wife is exhorted to be adamantine in her conjugal fidelity. Another ceremony of this class is Dhruvadarśana or "Looking at the Pole Star."[13] In the night the bridegroom shows to the bride the Pole Star with the verse, "Firm art thou; I see thee the firm one. Firm be thou with me, O thriving one. To me Bṛhaspati has given thee: obtaining offsprings through me, thy husband, live with me a hundred autumns."[14] Here two things are indicated.

[9] The Pāraskara G.S., I. 11.5.

[10] प्राणै ते प्राणान्त्सन्दधामि etc., *Ibid.*

[11] The Śāṁkhyāyana G.S., I. 13. 10; the Āśvalāyana G.S., I.7.7; the Khadira G.S., I. 3.19.

[12] आरोहेममश्मानमश्मेव स्थिरा भव। *Ibid.*

[13] The Pāraskara G.S., I. 8.19.

[14] ध्रुवमसि ध्रुवं त्वा पश्यामि etc., *Ibid.*

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Firstly, the wife should be as firm and fixed as the Pole Star is amidst innumerable moving bodies in the firmament. Secondly, the union should last for a hundred years which is the normal span of human life. Thus the firm and life-long companionship is the objective in view. This aspect of marriage is highly prized and the husband prays to the goddess Sarasvatī to protect it: "Sarasvati, promote this undertaking, O gracious one, bountiful one, thou whom will sing first of all that is; in whom what is; has been born; in whom this whole world dwells—that song I will sing to-day, which will be the highest glory of women." [15]

Biological Symbolism of Marriage

The primary function of marriage is racial, that is, the continuity of the race through the procreation of children. In the Hindu nuptials, there are various ceremonies that point out this fact and intend to make the union fruitful, to avert the dangers associated with the sexual intercourse and to facilitate the various stages of the process of generation. After accepting the bride formally given away by her father, the bridegroom puts a very significant question to the guardian of the girl. "Who has given this bride to me?" The answer is, "Kāma or the God of Love." [16] It means that the basic desire to exist through progeny is mainly responsible for marriage. In another place we find a reference to the biological development of the bride, her preparedness for a married life and consequent procreation of children. The bridegroom reminds the bride, "First Soma had thee for his bride; the Gamdharva had thee next; Agni was thy third husband; thy fourth husband am I, born of man. Soma gave thee to Gamdharva; the Gamdharva gave to Agni; and Agni has given thee to me for wealth and sons." [17]

[15] The Pāraskara G.S., I.7.2.

[16] कौऽदात्। काम इति।

[17] The Rgveda, X. 85. 40, 41.

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These verses are explained by Sāyaṇa thus, " while yet desire for sexual intercourse has not arisen Soma enjoys the girl; when it has just begun the Gaṁdharva takes her, and at marriage transfers her to Agni, from whom man obtains her (possessing capacity) for producing wealth and sons." [18] The Smṛtis offer a clearer interpretation of the above obscure passage: " Soma gave them (women) purity, the Gaṁdharva bestowed sweet speech, and Agni Sarvamedhatva or purity. Therefore women are always in possession of Sarvamedhatva or purity." [19] A modern writer further clarifies the suggestion. " Soma is Śasyādhipati, the Lord of the Vegetable World and presides also over the mind.....The physical growth of the girl, including that of the hair, is under the care of the god Soma. The mind of the girl also develops under his guidance..... The Gaṁdharva is the master of graces. It is his function to make woman's body beautiful and to add richness to her tone. Under his care the pelvis develops, the breasts become round and attractive. The eyes begin to speak the language of love and the whole body acquires a rich hue. His work is advanced and he hands her on to Agni. Who is Agni? He is the Lord of Fire, the Lord of Agni-tattva. Nature is radiant with colour and joy in Spring and Summer. Animals breed in Spring.....Agni is fructifier. It is he who brings about the menstrual flow and women then can bear children. Agni then gives her to man, her fourth pati or Lord." [20] In the " Grasping of the Hand " ceremony also the biological aspect of marriage is fully brought out. The bridegroom says to the bride, " The Heaven am I, the Earth thou. Come, let us marry. Let us unite our sperm. Let us beget offsprings. Let us acquire many sons and may they reach old age. Loving, bright with genial minds, may we see a hundred autumns, may we live a

18 Sāyaṇa on the above verses.

19 The Atrismṛti. 137.

20 The Aryan Marriage, pp. 26, 27.

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hundred autumns."[21] Just as in the Vedic pantheon, the Heaven and the Earth (Dyāvā-Pṛthivī) are the parents of gods or shining ones, so the husband and the wife are expected to generate a world of their own.

Marriage should be Fruitful and Prosperous

The nuptials symbolize not only the biological function of marriage but also they employ a number of symbols which refer to the fertility and prosperity of the married life. There is the Lāja Homa [22] or "offerings of Fried Grains into Fire" ceremony in which the brother of the bride pours out of his joined hands fried grains mixed with Śamī leaves. The bride offers them with firmly joined hands standing, while the bridegroom recites the verses, "To the god Aryaman the girl has made sacrifice, to Agni. May he, god Aryaman, loosen us from here, and not from the husband's side. Svāhā!" The girl strewing grains prays thus, "May my husband live long, my relations be prosperous. Svāhā! This grain I have thrown into the fire, may this bring prosperity to thee, and may it unite me with thee. May Agni grant us Svāhā!"[23] Here grains and leaves are symbols of fruitfulness and prosperity. There is another ceremony which emphasizes the same thing. According to the Gṛhyasūtras, a strong man snatches the bride up from the ground and sets her down in the eastern or northern direction on a red bull's hide with the words, "Here may the cows sit down, here the horses, here the men. Here may sacrifice with thousand gifts, here may Pūṣan sit down."[24] The bull, the horse, the cows, the men, the sacrifice are all recognized as signs of virility and fecundity. The idea of and a strong desire for a prosperous life is better expressed in the ceremony called

[21] द्यौरहं पृथ्वी त्वम्। तावेहि विवहावहै सह रेतो दधावहै etc. The Hiraṇyakeśi G. S., I. 6. 20.

[22] The Pāraskara G. S., I. 6. 1. [23] *Ibid.* [24] *Ibid.*, I. 8. 20.

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Saptapadī or the "Rite of Taking Seven Steps."[25] The husband makes the wife step forward in the northern direction seven steps with the words, "One step for sap, two for juice, three for the prospering of wealth, four for comforts, five for cattle, six for the seasons. Friend, be with seven steps (united to me). So be thou devoted to me."

Marriage a Crisis: Removal of Evil Influences

Marriage is the most critical event in the life of a man and ushers in quite a new era in his life. It establishes a novel relation between two persons, which is attended by many anticipations, hopes and fears. In the nuptials various attempts are made to remove the dangers associated with the crisis of marriage. The father of the bride, while making the pair face each other, exhorts her in the following words, "Be thou of benign and pleasing eyes; never cherish an evil design against your husband; be kind and well-wishing to cattle and other dependents like them; be always cheerful and prosperous; be the mother of heroic sons; sacrifice to gods; be happy; be auspicious to us, bipeds and quadrupeds."[27] The first fears and doubts are about the bride who is to form the nucleus of the home and has to deal not only with her husband but also with his dependents and cattle. In relation with all these she is expected to be affectionate, kind and generous. In the Rāṣṭrabhṛta sacrifice bridegroom seeks protection from important gods and Fathers against all possible dangers which might be lurking in a married life. He says, "Let Fire, the Lord of creatures protect me, let Indra the Lord of the Great protect me; let Yama, the Lord of the Earth, protect me....."[28] In the Abhisiñcana, "Sprinkling of water"[29] ceremony, the waters are requested to ensure perfect health and allround peace: "Let the waters, which

[25] The Pāraskara G. S., I. 8, 1.
[26] *Ibid.*
[27] *Ibid.*, I. 4. 17.
[28] *Ibid.*, I. 5. 7-11.
[29] *Ibid.*, I. 8. 5.

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are auspicious, the most auspicious, peaceful, the most graceful, be health-giving medicine to you."[30] Then there is a Sumaṁgalī (Auspicious) ceremony in which the bridegroom invites the assembled guests and relatives to bless her with the following words, "Auspicious ornaments does this woman wear, come to her and behold her. Having brought luck to her, go away back to your houses."[31] At the close of the nuptials there is a ceremony, called Caturthī Karma,[32] which is performed on the fourth day after marriage. The husband offers oblations with the verses, "Agni, Expiation! Thou are the expiation of the gods. I, the Brāhmaṇa, entreat thee, desirous of protection. The substance that dwells in her, that brings death to her husband, that extirpate in her. Svāhā!"[33] Next he sprinkles water on the bride with the words, "The evil substances that dwell in thee, that bring death to thy husband, children, cattle, house and fame, that I change into one that brings death to thy paramour. Thus live with me to an old age."[34] In all these ceremonies the critical nature of marriage and the dangers attendant thereon are realized and attempts are made to remove them. Here one thing appears to be noteworthy. The bride is supposed to be more susceptible to dangers than the bridegroom and, therefore, she is the centre of auspicious ceremonies.

Marriage not a Licence

The fact that marriage is not a passport for sexual indulgence, but a human institution aiming at moderation in the conjugal life, has been emphasized at the end of the nuptials, when the Trirātra-vrata or the "Observance of Continence for three Nights"[35] is undertaken. "Through a period of three nights they shall eat no saline food, they shall

[30] The Pāraskara G.S., 8. 5. [31] *Ibid.*, I. 8. 9.
[32] The Apastamba G. S., I. 8. 8; the Khadira, G. S., I. 4. 2.
[33] *Ibid.* [34] *Ibid.* [35] The Pāraskara G. S. I. 8. 21.

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sleep on the ground; they shall refrain from the sexual intercourse through one year, or at least three nights."[36] The symbolism of this observance seems to be to give a lesson of moderation to the married couple. It is but natural for a young man and a young woman to be strongly attracted towards each other and to be eager to come into physical contact as soon as possible. But here the religious ceremonies utter a word of caution by introducing the aforesaid observance. The married couple has as yet to wait and realize that married love should never be controlled by blind passion but should be based on perfect self-restraint. The greater the moderation the happier the married life will be.

Marriage, a Social Change and a Sacrifice

The nuptials in their utterances, promises, hopes and fears symbolize a great social transition, in the life of the bride and the bridegroom. They are no longer irresponsible youths depending for their bread and views on their parents. The seriousness of life dawns upon them. They forsake their old families to form a new one. They have to run an independent home, to earn their own livelihood, to procreate children and to discharge their obligations towards gods, Fathers and the creatures of the world. This is the life of responsibilities and cares. It is only in this sense that Hindu marriage or 'Vivāha' which means 'to lift, to support, to hold up, to sustain,' can properly be understood. This involves a great compromise and mutual sacrifice. Those, who regard marriage as the solution of the problem of happiness, suffer from a great misconception. Those, who marry for pleasures, are sorely disappointed. The essential difficulties of life are not given a send-off under the wedding canopy but, as a matter of fact, they are invited. The conscious acceptance

[36] The Pāraskara, G.S.

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of responsibilities in life is to court suffering. We, no doubt, talk of a happy marriage. But the happiness of the married life is not possible in the selfish sense of the personal pleasure. Marriage acquires its true meaning and reaches perfection only when the conjugal relationship is based on the realization that marriage is a willing sacrifice for the good of the partner, the family, the society and the world.

The general function of nuptial symbolism is to cover all the aspects of a married life. The biological significance, the critical nature, the physical and mental union of the couple, moderation, the social transition and sacrifice, that constitute a married life, are the main features of the Hindu nuptials. They could have been described and explained in a prosaic language, but when they are conveyed through symbols, they are better emphasized and become more eloquent and telling.

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4

THE NAME KAUBIDĀRIKA ON A KOSAMBI YŪPA

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(Abstract)

" Kaubidārika " on a Kosambi Yūpa, printed on pp. 134-35 of the last session's Proceedings, is a village name and not " a grove of Kobidar trees " as therein translated.

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5

MĀHISHMATĪ, MAHEŚVARA, AND JVĀLEŚVARA

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Since Dr. J. F. Fleet wrote his brilliant article entitled 'Mahishamaṇḍala and Mâhishmatî'[1], there have been very few dissentees[2] to the views expressed therein; and fewer, indeed, have been those who offered any good reasons to set aside his identification of Mâhishmatî with Mândhâtâ (originally suggested by Mr. Pargiter[3]) in favour of the traditional identification with Maheśvara. Thus this myth of Mândhâtâ-Mâhishmatî has been accepted by most of the learned and critically minded scholars[4], who have demurred to put much credence in the local tradition in this matter. Some scholars have gone to the extent of charging 'the Brâhmaṇs of Maheśvar' with unwarrantedly claiming 'the ancient glory of Mâhishmatî' for their own town, "in the absence of any counter claimant succeeding in appropriating it[5]." One would rather like to

1 JRAS. 1910, 425; also see JRAS. 1911, 816, etc.

2 Rice, JRAS. 1911; Ray Chaudhuri, PHAI, 3rd ed., p. 102, fn. 1; 4th ed., p. 122, fn. 4; editors of the Kâvyamâlâ text of the Karpûramañjarî, 3rd ed., p.9; etc.

3 Pargiter, Mârkaṇḍeya Purâṇa (Translation), p. 333.

4 Pargiter, JRAS. 1910, 867; Carmichael Lectures, 1918, pp., 44; Camb. H. I, Vol. I, p. 531; S. N. Majumdar in AGI. 726; see also Jayaswal, History of India, p. 83, where he puts rather inaccurately "Mâhishmatî on the Narbadâ between the British District of Nimar and the Nimâr Zilla of the Indore State"; R.S. Tripathi, History of Kanauj, 113, where he makes Cun. identify Mo-hi-ssu-fa-lo-pu-lo of Y. Chwang with 'Mândhâtâ on the Upper Narbada'.

5 JRAS. 1910, 869. Hon'ble Mr, K. M. Munshi is known to have recently written an article on the identification of Mâhishmatî,

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know why the Brâhmaṇas of other places, especially those of Mândhâtâ (which lies only 40 miles from Maheśvara), connived at that claim. The traditions are rarely so easily forgotten. Any way, it appears to me that the arguments urged in favour of the identity of Mâhishmatî and Mândhâtâ are all, but one, far from tenable. On the other hand, the counter claim of Maheśvara (Nimâr dist., Indore State) seems to be based not merely on local tradition,—not, certainly, on the intellectual fabrications of the later Brâhmaṇas of that place,—but on age-old tradition, authenticated by the Mahâbhârata, the Raghuvaṁśa and other early works. I submit the counter-claim, therefore, for the reconsideration of the scholars.

It has been urged that the reference in the Raghuvaṁśa (VI. 43),[6] where the river Revâ (or Narbadâ) is described as "a girdle round the hip-like ramparts of (the city of) Mâhishmatî", "distinctly locates Mâhishmatî not on the Narbadâ, but in the middle of it."[7] If so, the description of the southern quarter, given by Kâlidâsa in the same canto of the Raghuvaṁśa (st. 63)[8], as having for a girdle the jewel-studded ocean, would by a similar process of reasoning easily make it an island and not a peninsula. The poetic idea behind the phrase has been conveniently missed, and if, I may be allowed to say so, the word 'nitamba' in that interpretation has been made to express also that portion of the body, which is usually connoted by the word 'jaghana'. A girdle can hardly be said to form a complete circle round the 'nitamba'. No one perhaps dreamt of seeing how far the idea of a girdle can be applied to the vast ruins of the ancient Maheśvara which lie immediately to the west of the

[6] "अस्याङ्कलक्ष्मीर्भव दीर्घबाहोर्माहिष्मतीवप्रनितम्बकाञ्चीम् ।
प्रासादजालान्तरचेषिरम्यां रेवां यदि प्रेक्षितुमस्ति कामः ॥"

[7] JRAS. 1910, 445.

[8] 'अनेन पाणौ विधिवद्गृहीते महाकुलीनेन महीव गुर्वी ।
रत्नानुविद्धार्णवमेखलाया दिशः सपत्नी भव दक्षिणस्याः ॥'

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present town of Maheśvar. In fact, I too had no such dream, and, I confess, I was simply surprised when I saw the grandeur and beauty of the Revâ where she gracefully curves round the desolate upheaval of the innumerable brick-bats, potsherds, etc., which are now perhaps the sole vestiges visible on the surface of a once-mighty city [9]. The river here forms almost a semi-circle, and it looks as though the crescent moon has fallen there on the lap of mother earth. It is but natural that the idea of a girdle should have struck a romantic poet like Kâlidâsa, who was probably borrowed upon by Râjaśekhara [10] if he did not independently conceive of that idea. The latter refers to Mâhishmatî as the family seat of the Kalachuri (dynasty), which has as its girdle the daughter of the Maikal range (Narbadâ[11]), which is the ornament of the glory of Kṛtavīrya [12], and in which—it should be noted—resided the Fire-god without (his) fuel. This last epithet, significant as it is, has been hitherto overlooked, and I have no doubt that we have here a reference to the famous temple of Jâleśvar, which is still regarded in Maheśvar as a place of great sanctity. The name Jâleśvar is actually mentioned in different Purâṇas, though under different forms, *e.g.*, Jâleśvara, Jvâleśvara, etc. Thus the

9 I was taken to this place by a well-informed local pleader by name Mr. Sathe who seemed to be very much interested in archaeology and kindly helped me as a guide in every way. I also owe a deep debt to Mr. V. N. Singh, Superintendent of Archæology in the Holkar State, as well as to Mr. P. A. Sindhe, the Aminsaheb of Kasrāvad, without whose help it would have been no doubt imposible to carry on my work there.

10 'यन्मेखला भवति मेकलशैलकन्या वीतेन्धनो वसति यच्च च चित्रभानुः।
तामेष पाति कृतवीर्ययशोवतंसां माहिष्मतीं कलचुरेः कुलराजधानीम्॥'
Bāla-Rāmāyaṇa III. 35.

11 'रेवा तु नर्मदा सोमोद्भवा मेकलकन्यका।'—Amarakośa.

12 Local tradition or myth connects the Sahasradhārā in the Narbadā with Sahasrārjuna Kārtavīrya, who is said to have impeded the course of Narbadâ at that place. Compare with this the accounts in the Matsya and Vâyu Purâṇas (Chs. 77 & 94 of the respective works, Anandasram eds.). In summer, the river being without much water actually flows in hundreds of small streamlets at that place. This may then explain the name and the myth.

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Matsya P.[13] refers to Jâleśvara (v.l., Jaleśvara) as 'a great sacred place (Tîrtha) known throughout the three worlds', and devotes no less than two chapters to extol its merits, etc. The Saura P.[14] refers to Jvâleśvara as a most sacred place of Saivaite worship on the banks of the Narbadâ, in which crores of Tîrthas reside. The Fire-god is alluded to in the Raghuvaṁśa[15] as a friend and protector of the king of Mâhishmatî, who was on that account fearless even of Paraśu-Râma's axe. The commentator Mallinâtha[16], referring to the Mbh., explains this passage saying that the Fire-god had given a boon to the king of Mâhishmatî that he would himself burn the enemies that came to conquer that city. The Mbh. passage, referred to by Mallinâtha, is evidently the one in the Sabhâparva[17], where the attempts of Sahadeva to capture the city are said to have been frustrated by the Fire-god[18], who is extolled therein over fifteen lines. The Fire-god or fire is mentioned in connection with Mâhishmatî also in the Vâyu P.[19] and Padma P.[20] There is therefore

[13] एतस्मिन्नन्तरे रुद्रो नर्मदातटमास्थितः ॥१॥ नाम्ना माहेश्वरं स्थानं त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुतम्। तस्मिंस्थाने महादेवोऽचिन्तयत्पुरत्रयम् ॥२॥...दग्धेषु तेषु राजेन्द्र रुद्रकोटिः प्रतिष्ठिता। ज्वलत्तदपतत्तत्र तेन ज्वालेश्वरः स्मृतः ॥९०॥—Matsya P., Ananda. ed., 188. 2.

[14] अन्यत्तीर्थं पुण्यतमं ज्वालेश्वरमिति स्मृतम्। रेवातीरे मुनिश्रेष्ठ महापातकनाशनम् ॥१८॥ कोटिश्च: सन्ति तीर्थानि तस्मिन् etc. ॥—Saura P., 69. 18ff. (Ānandāśrama ed, p. 280).

[15] 'आयोधने क्रुद्धगतिं सहायमवाप्य यः चक्रियकालरात्रिम्। धारां शितां रामपरश्वधस्य सभावयत्युत्पलकर्णसाराम् ॥४२॥'—Raghu, VI. 42.

[16] 'एतन्नगरजिगीषयागतानिमून् स्वयमेव धक्ष्यामीति भगवता वैश्वानरेण दत्तवरोऽयं राजा। दग्धान्ते च तथागताः अत्रैव इति भारते कथानुसन्धेया।'—Mallinātha.

[17] ततो रत्नान्युपादाय पुरीं माहिष्मतीं ययौ। तत्र नीलेन राज्ञा स चक्रे युद्धं नरर्षभः ॥२३॥... चक्रे तस्य हि साहाय्यं भगवान्हव्यवाहनः ॥२५॥...प्रतिगृह्य च तां सुभ्रुं नीलराजः सुतां तदा। चक्रे प्रसादं भगवांस्तस्य राज्ञो विभावसुः ॥३६॥'—Mbh., II. (Kumbh. ed., ch. 32; Calcutta Text, ch. 30).

[18] Jâleśvara temple is between the temple of Bâṇeśvar and Kāleśvar, the former being to its west, and the latter to its east. The latter is perhaps Bhavānīpati mentioned in the Māndhātā plates of the Pramāra king Devapāla. (E. I., IX. 109).

[19] Rājendralal Mitra's ed., II. 32. 39 ff; Ānandśārama ed., 94. 39 ff: ऋषिणेन क्रदाचित्स भिक्षितश्चित्रभानुना etc.

[20] Ānandāśrama ed., Uttarakhaṇḍa, 115. 1. ff: पुरावन्तीपुरीवासी विप्र आसीद्धनेश्वरः।... माहिष्मतीं पुरीं यातः कदाचित्स धनेश्वरः॥ महिषेण कृता पूर्वं तस्मान्माहिष्मती स्मृता। यस्य

little doubt that the Fire-god was regarded as the protector deity of Mâhishmatî since the days of the compilation of the Mbh.; and where the god is, even there must be his wife Naturally enough we find the goddess Svâhâ connected with Maheśvarapura in no less than two passages in the Padma P. [21]

In this connection, I may draw attention of the scholars to another and more decisive fact. The Padma P.[22] says that the 'Tripura-dâha' or the destruction of Tripurî by means of fire was contemplated and accomplished by god Śiva from Mâhishmatî. Now, the same event is referred to by both the Matsya P.[23] and the Mbh.[24] in almost identical phrases, but only with reference to Maheśvara. Matsya Purâṇa goes a step further and avers that Jvâleśvara owes its name to that event. The temple site of Jâleśvar is, according to the belief of the local Pundits of Maheśvar, very ancient.

If, however, Mândhâtâ was the real Mâhishmatî of yore, where is to be located that 'best of the towns'? The Imperial Gazetteer[25] states that the modern village stands partly on the island and partly on the south bank of the river. Did the ancient city occupy a similar position, or was it situated merely on the island? The interpretation of 'girdle' suggested by Dr. Fleet and Mr. Pargiter fits in ill with the first alternative. Besides the river is never said to flow through the town, but rather past it. The idea of

वप्रमता भाति नर्मदा पापनाशिनी।...त्रिपुरेण कृतो दाहो यतस्तस्यां शिवेन तु। अतस्तु क्रियते तस्यां तिथौ भक्तैर्महोत्सवः॥'

21 Padma P., V. 17. 206: 'काण्डव्ये माण्डवी देवी स्वाहा माहेश्वरे पुरे।'
Ibid., VI. 129. 22: 'मण्डपे विस्तरे च स्वाहाख्यमीश्वरे पुरे।'

22 Uttarakhaṇḍa, 115. 1 ff. (quoted supra).

23 Matsya, 188. 1 ff. (quoted supra).

24 'त्रिपुरस्य वधार्थाय स्थाणुः प्रहरतां वरः। असुराणामलंकरः श्रीमानतुलविक्रमः। स्तूयमानः सुरैः पार्थ! ऋषिभिश्च तपोधनैः। स्थानं माहेश्वरं कृत्वा दिव्यमप्रतिमं प्रभुः। अतिष्ठत्स्थाणुभूतः स सहस्रं परिवत्सरान्।'—Droṇa Parva, ch. 200 (Quoted in the Vāchaspatya, Nāgari ed., Vol. III., p. 3373).

25 Vol. XVII., p. 152.

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' a girdle ' in connection with the island of Mândhâtâ would perhaps be easily explicable; though it may perchance be shorn of its poetic beauty, being reduced under that interpretation to a mere statement of fact! Besides, a capital, which is already surrounded by water on all sides, does not require, I believe, a mote or *parikhâ* to be made around it in order to protect it. The idea of a *parikhâ* is inconsistent with an ' ab-durga ' like the island of Mândhâtâ, and fits in well with a city like Maheśvar which is by the side of the river and not in it. The Harivaṁśa [26] informs us, that when Muchukunda built that city, he created motes around it. The mote around Mâhishmatî is again mentioned in the Daśakumâra-Charita [27], in connection with the story of Viśruta. This adventurous youth proudly narrates there the obstacles he overcame while trying to get out of the city of Mâhishmatî; among them mention is made of the ramparts and the mote. But the river, which would have probably offered a more formidable obstacle than the mote, finds no mention. The island, therefore, does not appear to have been the Mâhishmatî of the Daśakumâra-Charita.

Is then the ancient site of Mâhishmatî to be located to the south of the river Narbadâ, so that it can be easily made to explain the reference to Avanti-Dakshiṇâpatha ? I confess, I do not find even a single passage, which definitely places Mâhishmatî in the Dakshiṇâpatha. If there be any, it would perhaps be deemed as decisive, since Maheśvar lies to the north of the Narbadâ, and at least a part of Mândhâtâ to her south, and since the Dakshiṇâpatha is very often said to lie immediately to the south of the Narbadâ. [28] One cannot be

[26] मुचुकुन्दश्च राजर्षिर्विन्ध्यमध्यमरोचयत्। स्वस्थानं नर्मदातीरे दारुणोपलसंकरे ॥१४॥ स च तं शोधयामास विविक्तं च चकार ह। सेतुं चैव समं चक्रे परिखाश्चामितोदकाः ॥१५॥ Harivaṁśa, Vishṇu Parva, Ch. 38. (Modavṛtta Press ed.).

[27] 'लङ्घितप्राकारवप्रखातवलयः।'—Uchchavāsa VIII. (Kulkarṇi's ed., p. 226).

[28] Jayamangalâ :—'नर्मदाया दक्षिणेन देशो दक्षिणापथः।'
Râjaśekhara :—'या किल भगवती (नर्मदा) आर्यावर्तदक्षिणापथयोर्विभागरेखा।'
E. Châlukya Ins :—'सेतुनर्मदामध्यं सार्धसप्तलक्षं दक्षिणापथं' etc.

sure that because " in the Buddhist works we sometimes hear of Ujjeni and sometimes of Mâhissati as being the capital," and because they mention a country called Avanti-Dakshiṇâ-patha, Mâhishmatî must therefore have been included in that country. [29] And even if that be admitted for a moment, the connotation of 'Dakshiṇâpatha' may have differed slightly from time to time, and, as Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar himself points out, in this instance, " it seems to have been called Dakshiṇâpatha, because it was to the south not so much of the Vindhya as the middle country." [30]

Now, it may be urged that the Mahishakas,[31] Mâhishakas[32] or Mâhishikas, [33] whom Dr. Fleet identifies with the people of Mâhishmatî, are distinctly referred to in many Purâṇas as belonging to the South. Thus the Padma P. and the Mbh. (Bhîshma Parva) refer to them along with the Karnâṭakas and the Mûshikas as "janapadâ dakshiṇâḥ": while the Matsya, the Vâyu, the Brahma and the Mârkaṇḍeya Purâṇas mention them along with Mahârâshṭrâḥ' (or the people of the ancient Mahârâshṭra) as 'Dakshiṇâpathavâsinaḥ.' But I submit that the Purâṇas have very carefully distinguished between the people of the South and the occupants of the Vindhyan regions. Thus the people of Mâhishmatî are mentioned there, not as Mâhishakas or Mâhishikas, but as Anûpas—a name made familiar to us by the Raghuvaṁśa. The Anûpas are mentioned along with the Tuṇḍikeras, the Vîtihotras and the Avantis as the residents of the Vindhyan

[29] D. R. Bhandarkar, The Carmichael Lectures, 1918, p 45.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

[31] Bṛihat Saṁhitâ.

[32] Vâyu P. (Râjendralâl Mitra's and Ânandâśram eds.); Brahma and Padma Purâṇas (Ânandâśram eds.); Mârkaṇḍeya (Bibliotheca Indica); Mbh. Bhîshma Parva (Kumbh. ed.). This is the most frequent form.

[33] Matsya P. (Calcutta, Anandasram and Lakshmi Venkatesa eds.); Vâyu (Lakshmi Veṅkateśa ed.). The grammarians, commenting on Pâṇini, IV, ii. 132: कोपधादण् know this form rather than the one which is far more frequently met with in the Mbh. and the Purâṇas. (see Kâśikâ-vṛitti, Pt. Bâla Śâstrî's ed., 1898, p. 287; Siddhânta-Kaumudî, Veṅkateśa Press ed., p. 306).

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regions (Vindhya-pṛshṭha-nivâsinaḥ) in no less than four Purâṇas (Mat., Vâ., Br., and Mârk.), though the readings in many cases are much corrupt.[34] I, therefore, think that the Mâhishakas or Mâhishikas occurring in the Bhuvanavinyâsa are perhaps identical with the ancient people of Mysore, as is contended by Mr. Rice.[35] Dr. Fleet's[36] comparison of the definition of the word 'Mâhishika' (given by Śrîdhara, the commentator of Vishṇu Purâṇa[37]) and the description of the 'free-love' enjoyed by the Fire-god,[38] though interesting, is inaccurate; since the definition refers to women prostituting themselves for the sake of money, which has probably nothing to do with the 'free-love' enjoyed by the women of Mâhishmatî. It is also doubtful, if the form Mâhishaka can be brought in relation with the form Mâhishika if the latter is explained with reference to 'Mahishî' or 'a female buffalo.' To explain, these Mahishikas, living on the income of their prostituting wives and as such consigned to the Rudhirândha hell had possibly nothing to do with the Mâhishakas or Mâhishikas, the residents of the Mahisha-maṇḍala or Mahishaka (v. l. Mahiṁsaka) country.[39]

There undoubtedly remains one important difficulty in the way of the identification of Mâhishmatî with Maheśvar

[34] Anûpas (Vâyu, Ānandasram and Lakshmî Veṅkateśa eds.) for instance appear as Anupas (Vâyu, R. Mitra's ed.). Annajas (Mârk.), Anûpas (Matsya), Abhayas (Brahma).

[35] JRAS., 1911, 818.

[36] JRAS., 1910, 440, 442.

[37] Vâchaspatya (Nagarî ed.) Vol. V, p. 4753 on the word Mâhishika has two definitions of the same (1) 'महिषीत्युच्यते नारी या च स्याद्व्यभिचारिणी। तां दुष्टां कामयति यः स वै माहिषिकः स्मृतः।'—Kâli Purâṇa, which brings the women of the Mâhishikas and Mâhishmatî in closer relations; (2) 'महिषीत्युच्यते नार्या भगेनोपार्जितं धनम्। उपजीव्यति यस्तस्याः स वै माहिषिकः स्मृतः।'—इति विष्णुपुराणव्याख्यायां श्रीधरोद्धृतवाक्योक्ते etc.

[38] Sabhâ Parva, Sahadeva-digvijaya.

[39] Dipavaṁsa VIII, 1·5; Mahâvaṁsa XII, 3, 29; Sâsanavaṁsa (M. Bode's ed.) p. 10; Mahâbodhivaṁsa (Arthur Strong's ed.), p. 112; etc.

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and that is of course about the passage in the Harivaṁśa,[40] where Muchukunda is said to have built the great city of Mâhishmatî in the midst (and) at the foot of both the Vindhyas (*viz.*, the Vindhya proper and the Ṛiksha). Can it not perhaps be regarded as only a loose expression, especially as some of the hills ('Pâdâḥ Pratyanta-parvatâḥ' Amara) actually come within five miles or so from the ancient site of Maheśvar?[41] There is still another difficulty which would apply, in Dr. Raychaudhuri's opinion,[42] to both the towns, Maheśvar as well as Mândhâtâ. He points out that Mândhâtâ (and for the matter of that, also Maheśvar) "lay to the south of Pâriyâtra rather than of the Ṛikshavat," since the learned Doctor holds with Pargiter that Pâriyatra denoted "the western Vindhya to the west of Bhopâl."[43] But it may be noted that Pâriyâtra, which was regarded up to the days of Patañjali as the southern boundary of Âryâvarta, had yielded its place to the Vindhyan range (probably including Ṛiksha) by the beginning of the Christian era (*vide* Manu, etc.), when Mâhishmatî could be appropriately described as lying to the south of the Ṛiksha, or between the two Vindhyas.

There is little doubt that the name Maheśvarapura goes back to the beginning of the Christian era, since it is not only found in the Matsya-Purâṇa, but also in the Mbh. I find, therefore, little difficulty in agreeing with General

[40] 'महाश्मसंघातवती ऋक्षवन्तमुपस्थिता। माहिष्मती नाम पुरी प्रकाशमुपयास्यति ॥१९॥ उभयोर्विन्ध्ययोः पादे नगयोस्तां महापुरीम्। मध्ये निवेशयामास श्रिया परमया ज्वलाम् ॥२०॥' Harivaṁśa. Vishṇu-parva, 38. 19-20 (Modavṛitti Press ed.).

[41] The ruins of ancient Mâhishmatî lie at Cholî, which is 8-10 miles N. of the modern town, according to the late Mr. V. S. Karandikar. That is undoubtedly an ancient site, since we get many archaeological finds there; but the site of Mâhishmatî must be located somewhere near the river, as will be seen from the Matsya P., Raghuvaṁśa, Bâla-Râmâyaṇa, etc. Karandikar's suggestion will, however, bring us nearer the hills on the north. But the ruins to the west of Maheśvar are only five miles from the hilly ranges on the south, while Cholî is a bit far off from those hills.

[42] PHAI. 3rd ed., 102—4th ed., 122.

[43] JRAS. 1894, 258; Studies in Indian Antiquities, etc.

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Cunningham's suggestion [44] that Mo-hi-ssu-fa-lo-pu-lo of Yuan Chuang is identical with the Mâhismatî of yore. Cunningham once, no doubt, held that the latter was identical with Maheśvar on the Narbadâ, [45] but later on he discarded this view in favour of the hypothesis that it represents " the old town of Maṇdala, which was also called Maheshmatipura " (Sleeman, JASB. 1837, 622) and was ' on the upper Narbadâ.' [46] But this (latter) theory ignores Patañjali's Bhâsya on the Vârttikas 10 and 15 under Pâṇini III, 1·26. [47]

44 A. G. I. (1924), 560.

45 Bhilsa Topes, 117.

46 A. G. I., 559.

47 JRAS. 1910, 441. For some finds at Maheśvar, see JASB. 1882, pp. 226ff, where P. N. Bose informs us: ' Captain Dangerfield in his paper on the Geology of Malwa mentions having been shown in the alluvium at Maheśvara large " earthen vessels and bricks," which were stated " to have been, at a very remote period, overwhelmed by a shower of earth "....' Mr. Bose identifies these with the ruins at the eastern extremity of the town; but, I think, they are the ruins at the western end, which are vaster in proportion. Some Satî-stones, perhaps of the 8th or 9th century A.D., are observable here.

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6

A PEEP INTO THE ANCIENT CIVILISATION OF MAHARĀSHTRA

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(Abstract)

Two thousand years ago Mahārāshṭra stood on equal footing with the most advanced provinces in India in all respects. Manu Smṛiti in its present form appeared in 250 B.C. while the Yājñavalkya Smṛiti saw the light of the day in 150 A.D. The social structure represented by the Manu Smṛiti looks so old and complicated that before reaching that stage the Aryan people had to struggle through various phases for several centuries, possibly for thousands of years. If it could be conclusively proved that the social system of Mahārāshṭra closely resembled the system described by Manu and Yājñavalkya, one can assert without fear of contradiction that Mahārāshṭra as a civilised nation is entitled to be ranked amongst the provinces colonised by the Aryans in the earliest times.

The antiquity of Vidarbha now forming part of Mahārāshṭra is unanimously admitted. But the territory in dispute is Mahārāshṭra proper mostly comprising the Thana, Kolaba, Nasik, Poona and Satara districts. Fortunately, however, the cave temples justly regarded as a repository of historical records are situated in these very districts. A close scrutiny of them is sure to throw a flood of light upon the social, religious, political and economic conditions existing in this part of Mahārāshṭra two thousand years ago.

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The society in Mahārāshṭra in those days was made up of several castes, chief among whom being Brahmans, Goldsmiths, Oilmen, Masons, Shepherds, Carpenters, Weavers, Dyers, Stone-dressers, Gardeners, Perfumers, Merchants and Traders. They had promoted the cause of Buddhism in a variety of ways. The castes are the index of civilisation and standard of living the general public had attained. The Brahmans spread religion and culture to the depth of the society. Goldsmiths made ornaments of gold and silver for men and women. Weavers manufactured cotton and woollen goods. Perfumers extracted scents and Physicians prepared medicines and served as guardians of public health.

Yājñavalkya in his Smṛiti described the Aryan social structure in the following verse :

कुलानि जातिः श्रेणिश्च गणान्जानपदानपि ।
स्वधर्माच्चलितान् राजा विनीय स्थापयेत् पथि ॥

Of this the word कुल evidently means family. श्रेणी is a group of families engaged in a common profession. गणs are the people of several castes following a certain occupation. It is worth noticing here that the social structure in Mahārāshṭra in those days was exactly as detailed in this verse by Yājñavalkya. In support of this statement I would like to draw attention to the inscriptions in the Trirashmi caves at Nasik where dwelt hundreds of monks and nuns in the rainy season. Certain religiously-minded people had deposited large sums of money with the श्रेणीs of oilmen, masons, weavers and others living in adjoining villages. The interest annually collected from these श्रेणीs, the managing board of the monasteries spent on the purchases of clothes and other necessary articles for distribution among junior Bhikshus. The inscriptions in the caves contain words such as तिलपेषकश्रेणी and औदयंत्रिकश्रेणी.

The word गण in the preceding verse is also significant. The chief of this गण or assembly is called नायक. There is

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a mention of a number of men in the Kuda and Bedsa caves, whose names are followed by the suffix **नाक**; for instance **पुसनाक, पसूलनाक** and **अपदेवनाक**.

Mahārāshṭra in the opinion of some historians, about two thousand years ago, was so backward as regards state-craft that it had not advanced beyond the stage of **गणराज्य**, which implies that there were only village states, while territorial states were non-existent. But this theory cannot stand in face of the evidence furnished by cave inscriptions. According to them there were vassal or tributory states in Mahārāshṭra such as Govardhans of Nasik and Mahābhojas of the Kolaba District. They were tributaries of Sātavāhana kings whose capital was Paithan.

Many foreigners had made Mahārāshṭra their permanent home. One of them was a Yavana, by name Damana, granting a cave at Karle. Ushavadatta, the son-in-law of the Kshatrapa Nahapāna, assigned a village Karajaka to a Sangha. A Śaka is the donor of land to a cave at Junnar. These Śakas and Yavanas seem to have settled in ordinary villages becoming a part and parcel of the community. **कार्षापण**, a copper coin mentioned in the 8th chapter of the Manu Smṛiti, was, as it is proved, current in Mahārāshṭra.

The artisans of Mahārāshṭra might have a hand in the construction of caves and figures of elephants and horses therein. If Mahārāṣṭrians were skilled in sculpture it necessarily follows that they must have been equally successful in the art of fresco painting.

I would, before concluding, sum up my case as follows: Although the society represented by me is two thousand years old, it was then so much advanced, complicated and deep-rooted that the beginning of it can be carried back to five thousand years from this date. The civilisation of Mahārāshṭra is as old as that of the most ancient provinces in India. And the Aryans must have settled in this province on a large scale approximately five thousand years ago.

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7

THE BRHADRATHA CHRONOLOGY (POST-MAHĀBHĀRATA WAR)

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(*Abstract*)

This paper attempts to give a connected list of the Bṛhadratha kings based on the Paurāṇika authorities. According to the author, the Purāṇas agree in assigning 723 years for 16 Bṛhadratha kings reckoned from Senājit. The Mahābhārata war was fought in 3137 B.C., 36 years before the beginning of the Kali age in 3101 B.C. So the 32 kings beginning from Mārjāri, the son of Sahadeva, who was killed in the Bhārata war, to Ripuñjaya the last Bṛhadratha ruled for 1005 years, from 3137 B.C. to 2132 B.C.

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8

THE CHANDĀLA

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(*Abstract*)

The Chaṇḍālas were originally a tribal body among the indigenous races conquered by the Aryans. Under rigid Aryan isolation and within their professional arts and exogamic customs they hardened later into a caste.

Their profession was mainly to carry and burn dead bodies and to function as king's executioner. They practised certain acrobatic and magical feats within their community.

They lived outside towns and villages in their own settlements. They were kept under strict isolation by elaborate rules of contact. Arts and sciences were shut out from them. They suffered under a host of social and economic disabilities. Their name became a by-word for contempt. There was no amelioration for them and against the social barriers the platitudes of the Buddhist Suttas were of no avail.

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9

A HISTORICAL GLIMPSE OF THE REMOTE PAST

(PERIOD OF THE DELUGE)

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(*Abstract*)

The author fixes the date of the Great Deluge at 4572 B.C. and that of Adam at 4902 B.C. According to him Rāma flourished 2758 years after Adam and Parīkshit's coronation took place in 1472 B.C.

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10

ĀRYĀVARTA—SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TERM

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The ancient Indian thinkers divided their world into two unequal parts—the one the holy, the other the unholy—the one known as the Āryāvarta and the other known as the Mlechchhadeśa. All land outside the area of the Āryāvarta was Mlechchhadeśa, [1] and a pious Ārya was forbidden to live, or perform any sacred act, in the unholy land of the Mlechchhas.[2] If perchance a pious Ārya ever enters such an unholy country, he has to perform purificatory rites,[3] for thereby he commits a sin.[4]

Now, the question arises—what is the significance of the term Āryāvarta? Has the term any ethnological connotation? Bodhāyana, probably the earliest Dharmasūtra writer giving the definition of Āryāvarta, speaks of several countries situated outside the border of his Āryāvarta as of mixed origin—saṃkīrṇa-yonayaḥ—a term which is very significant on this point.

Āvantayo-'ṅgamagadhāḥ Surāṣṭrā Dakṣiṇāpathāḥ,
Upāvṛitsindhu-śauvīrā ete saṃkīrṇa-yonayaḥ. (I. 2. 14)

1 Manu Saṃhitā, II. 23.
2 *Ibid.*, II. 24.
3 Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra, I. 2. 15.
4 *Ibid.*, I. 2. 16; Vishṇu-Dharmasūtra, 84. 2.

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From Bodhāyana we can thus probably infer that his Āryāvarta was clearly an ethnological designation. Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya,[5] however, distinguishes between the Āryāvarta and the Ārya-nivāsa or abode of the Āryas. The latter, thus according to Patañjali, is a generic term of which the former is a species. Later commentators like Medhātithi,[6] Kullūka Bhaṭṭa,[7] Nandana,[8] and others take the term Āryāvarta in ethnological sense, but still confine the land between the Himālayas and the Vindhyas. These commentators were not probably right in their interpretation of the term Āryāvarta for by their time the Aryans had spread at least over Mahārāṣṭra and some other countries south of the Vindhya. So the account of Patañjali is to be preferred to that of those commentators. Medhātithi[9] even goes a step further and says that if several Mlechchhas attack the Brahmāvarta, the most sacred spot of the Āryāvarta, and make permanent settlement there, then the Brahmāvarta will be a Mlechchhadeśa. Similarly, if a Kṣatriya king conquers a Mlechchha country and establishes the Aryan culture there, then the country will be a holy one. These are his own glosses, and they have no connection with the original text. So it will probably be improper to take the guidance of these commentators in interpreting the term Āryāvarta of the Dharmaśāstra writers. It is further clear that while at the time of Bodhāyana it was an ethonological designation, at the time of Patañjali it was not strictly so, for in his time the Ārya-nivāsa was not identical with the Āryāvarta. It seems, therefore, that the term Āryāvarta connoted something more than mere land of the Āryas, in the later days.

Mr. H. C. Chakladar in his 'Social Life in Ancient India' (p.43) gives an altogether different meaning of the term

5 Mahābhāṣya, II. 4. 10.
6 Medhātithi on Manu, II. 22.
7 Kullūka-Bhaṭṭa on Manu, II. 22.
8 Nandana on Manu, II. 22.
9 Medhātithi on Manu, II. 23

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Āryāvarta. Thus he says, "There can, therefore, be no doubt that the Āryāvarta of these writers was not the land of the Āryas, but the land of the Śiṣṭas whose manners and customs, habits and practices were decent and pure according to the Dharma literature. But the standard of Śiṣṭāchāra was different with the different writers, so we get varied and different definitions of Āryāvarta." Indeed, for the pre-Christian period we cannot do away with the question of culture in interpreting the term Āryāvarta. Bodhāyana[10] speaks of several condemnable customs of the northerners and the southerners who were beyond the limits of the Āryāvarta. Patañjali states how persons living outside the Āryāvarta make errors in speech. But it is difficult to agree with some of the arguments of Patañjali by which he comes to the conclusion that the Āryāvarta is the land of the Śiṣṭas, for if we consider critically his arguments we shall find that his own arguments falsify his statement. We quote his arguments below :—

"...ke punaḥ śiṣṭāḥ ? vaiyākaraṇāḥ/kuta etat ? śāstrapūrvikā hi śiṣṭir = vaiyākaraṇāścha śāstrajñāḥ/yadi tarhi śāstrapūrvikā śiṣṭiḥ śiṣṭipūrvakaṃ cha śāstraṃ taditaretarāśrayaṃ bhavati/itaretarāśrayāṇi cha na prakalpante/evaṃ tarhi nivāsata āchārataścha/sa chāchāra āryāvarta eva / kaḥ punarāryāvartaḥ ? prāg adarśāt pratyak kālakavanād dakṣiṇena himavantam uttareṇa pāripātram / etasminnāryanivāse ye brāhmaṇāḥ kumbhīdhānyāḥ alolupāḥ agṛihyamāṇākaraṇāḥ kiñchidantareṇa kasyachid vidyāyāḥ pāragāstatrabhavantaḥ śiṣṭāḥ." [11]

10 Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra. I. 2.3-4.
11 Mahābhāṣya. VI. 3. 109.

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An English rendering of the above passage is given below :—

" Who again are the Śiṣṭas ? The grammarians. How ? One becomes a Śiṣṭa by knowing the Śāstras and the grammarians are versed in the Śāstras. If then, one becomes Śiṣṭa by knowing the Śāstras, and if the Śāstras are a conglomeration of the maxims of the śiṣṭa culture, then the two are interdependent (and hence one cannot be the cause of the other). Such a state of interdependence is not wanted. So (one becomes śiṣṭa) by his living (in a certain) place and following (a certain type of) culture. Such culture is that of the Āryāvarta. What is again Āryāvarta ? (The Āryāvarta extends) in the west to the Adarśa, in the east to the Kālakavana, in the north to the Himālaya and in the south to the Pāripātra. In this land of the Āryas, the Brahmins who are contended with the store of grain sufficient for ten (?) days, free from covetousness, free from pride, versed in some learning (Śāstras) are śiṣṭas."

In this translation of ours, we have translated the expression:" Kumbhīdhānyāḥ " as " store of grain sufficient for ten days," etc. The meaning of the term, however, is not very clear. The term also occurs in the works of Manu (IV. 7) and Bodhāyana (I. 5). Kullūka explains it as " Varṣanirvāhochitadhānyāḥ," while Medhātithi as " Ṣāṇmāsikadhānyādinichayaḥ." Govindasvāmī in his commentary on the Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra, however, says " Kumbhīdhānyā daśāhaṃ jīvanaupikadhānyāḥ."

Now, in the above arguments of Patañjali we should note one thing. A person cannot be a śiṣṭa by simply living in the Āryāvarta, but in order to be so, he must have certain necessary qualifications. So mere living in the Āryāvarta counts for nothing. But can any person be a śiṣṭa by following a definite course of āchāra? As we have just seen Patañjali himself has told that a person cannot be

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a Śiṣṭa by following a definite course of manners and customs (for, Śāstrapūrvikā hi śiṣṭiḥ śiṣṭipūrvikaṃ cha śāstram, etc. etc.). So by applying Patañjali's own arguments we find that his conclusions cannot be maintained. Further, Patañjali says that "Brahmins can be śiṣṭas, etc." He speaks nothing of the Kṣatriyas and the Vaiśyas. But the Āryāvarta was not the home of the Brahmins only, there were surely vast numbers of Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas, and what of them? So, Patañjali's arguments practically lead us to no conclusion.

There are other writers again who give the definitions of the term "Śiṣṭa." Thus Vaśiṣṭha says in his Dharmasūtra—

"Śiṣṭāḥ Punarakāmātmānaḥ."

"But he whose heart is free from desire is called a Śiṣṭa" (1. 6). Bodhāyana says in his Dharmasūtra—

"Śiṣṭāḥ khalu vigatamatsarā nirahaṅkārāḥ kumbhīdhānyā alolupā dambha-darpa-lobha-moha-krodhavivarjitāḥ."

"Śiṣṭas forsooth are those who are free from envy, free from pride, contented with a store of grain sufficient for ten days, free from covetousness, and free from hypocrisy, arrogance, greed, perplexity and anger." (1. 5).

But these writers nowhere state that only a Brahmin having those necessary qualifications, and living in the Āryāvarta, can be śiṣṭa. These are probably general maxims and can be applied to any person living in any place.

Viṣṇu again in his Dharmaśāstra (84.4) takes the term Āryāvarta clearly to indicate a culture, when he says that the land where the four-fold system of caste exists is the Āryāvarta. So, according to this definition, portions of Southern India where four-fold system of caste existed could be included within the area of this sacred land. We learn from several inscriptions of the Sātavāhana kings that

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several kings in South India were intent upon establishing the religious duties of the castes and of different periods of life. But we find that all the writers following Viṣṇu confines the Āryāvarta between the Himālayas and the Vindhyas, as if the caste system never stepped beyond the high peaks of the latter. If, again, culture had been the sole criterion of the inclusion of a country within the limits of Āryāvarta, then the Mathurā region ought to have been excluded from it in the days of Vātsyāyana who states how the inhabitants of Mathurā practised several abhorrent and filthy customs. But we learn from the Manu-saṁhitā, which was not far away from the Kāmasūtra in point of time, that Mathurā formed a part of the Brahmarṣideśa, the second best region in the Āryāvarta, inferior only to the Brahmāvarta. Kumārila Bhaṭṭa in his Tantra-vārttika says that the Brahmin women of Aichchhatra were addicted to drinking, but the writers of his time include the same country within the Āryāvarta. So it is clear that in the later days the connotation of the term Āryāvarta was something more than the ' land of the Āryas ' or ' the land of the śiṣṭas.'

Some of the Dharmaśāstra writers state that the land where the black antelope naturally roams must be known as the land fit for the performance of sacrifices.[12] Have we in this account a reference to the Āryāvarta, so that we may call the same—" the land of the black antelope?" Medhā-tithi[13] writes a very learned commentary on this point. He raises the question in what sense we shall interpret the expression, " where the black antelope naturally roams?" Shall we take it to mean the land where the black antelope actually wanders, that very spot only—or in the country where the black antelope naturally roams hither and thither?—and

[12] Manu, II. 23; Vaśiṣṭha, I. 9; Bodhāyana, I. 2. 12-15; Yājñavalkya, I.2.

[13] Medhātithi on Manu, II. 23.

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he prefers the last interpretation. Kullūka Bhaṭṭa [14] says that by it is implied the land where the black antelope naturally lives, not where they are forced to reside. Without entering into these controversial details of the commentators let us determine whether the land of the black antelope coincided with the area of the Āryāvarta. If the Raghuvaṃśa [15] is to be believed, the black antelopes were found in the Pañchavaṭī forest on the river Godāvarī, and this area has never been included within the area of the Āryāvarta. So we may conclude that the Yajñīyadeśa was not coincident with the area of the Āryāvarta which was only a part of it. The commentator Sarvajñanārāyaṇa [16] rightly echoes that here we have an indication of the land fit for the performance of the sacrifices even outside the area of the Āryāvarta. Nandana [17] says that here we get an account of the land, fit for the purpose of the sacrifice in every country. From these accounts it seems that the black antelopes were found in many parts of India. According to the Imperial Gazetteer of India (Vol. 1, page 235) "This antelope is found in the suitable localities, chiefly open plains with grass of moderate heights, from the Indus to Assam and from the base of the Himālayas to the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly. Formerly it was far more abundant and in the first half of the nineteenth century it was seen occasionally in vast herds of 8000 to 10,000 in number; but its number has been greatly reduced since rifles have been common." Bühler says, "It deserves to be noted that the black antelope selects for its home the well-cultivated rich plains of India only and is entirely wanting in the sandy, mountainous, or forest districts which are now, just as in ancient times, the portion of the aboriginal tribes." (S.B.E., Vol. 14. p. 3, n. 13). But we should remember here that Charaka [18] in

14 Kullūka on Manu, II. 23.
15 Raghuvaṃśa, XIII. 34.
16 Commentary on Manu, II. 23.
17 Commentary on Manu, II. 23.
18 Charaka Saṃhitā, Ch. 27, Verse 34 ff.

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his work associates the black antelope with the Jāṅgala country, *i.e.*, arid, waterless, desert region, also.

So it is probably clear that the Āryāvarta was not merely the land of the Āryas, or the land of the Śiṣṭas or the land of the black antelope, but it was something over and above them. What then is the significance of the term? It seems that like the terms Brahmāvarta, Brahmarṣideśa and Madhyadeśa the term Āryāvarta came to be considered in the later days as a proper name, denoting a particular country, and as such the term, in the later days, has got no connotation from the strict logical point of view. Like so many other countries or like the Madhyadeśa, the boundaries of this Āryāvarta country may have varied at different ages but the name has always remained the same. Whatever may have been the significance of the term in the earlier days—the land of the Āryas or the land of the Śiṣṭas—in the later days, we find that it was unmistakably fixed with a definite locality. So we take "Āryāvarta" to be the name of a country.

Objections may be raised against this statement on the ground that such an interpretation of the term Āryāvarta does not accord well with the etymological meaning of the term. But have we not other instances where such etymological meanings of the terms lead us to a wrong conclusion? We may take a modern parallel. The expression "Near-Eastern Question" has been somewhat like a stock phrase, and even we ourselves use the expression when we refer to Turkey, though really speaking, it lies to the west of India. Similarly, whatever may have been the origin of the term Āryāvarta, in the later days it became like a stock word and denoted the particular country between the Himālayas and the Vindhyas.

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11

THE THREE MYTHS IN INDIAN HISTORY

AND

ANCIENT HINDU CHRONOLOGY

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(*Abstract*)

The three myths referred to in this paper are :—

(1) That the art of writing was unknown in India before about 350 B.C.

(2) The second myth is that there was an "Aryan" invasion of India from the north-west, in the 2nd millenium B.C.

Argument. The opinion which the author has expressed is that no amount of archæological evidence is ever going to solve the problem as to whether the so-called Aryans entered India from the North-west, or whether the "Aryan" nature of the finds in Russian Turkestan and the regions bordering on the North-western frontiers of India confirm only too well that there was an outspread from India to those places and that here common-sense (and not archæology) must sit in judgment. The Hindus who took elaborate precautions to preserve their inheritance of spiritual culture could not have failed to put down and cherish with reverence the land of the origin of that culture, if they really brought it from

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some other country, especially when their earliest production, the Ṛig-Veda reveals a type of civilization which could not have been produced overnight. It is not conceivable that colonists should forget the land from which they came even at the time of their coming. It is not possible to name any religion whose followers had forgotten the land of its origin. Moreover there is absolutely no proof that the Hindu Empire did not extend to regions well beyond the Hindu-kush. The author has adduced reasons to prove that the Hindu Empire was a Maritime Empire extending from the East Indies to Egypt and Syria and that the so-called "Aryan" civilization, culture and languages are nothing but remnants of a Hindu Civilization which had its beginnings milleniums ago.

(3) The third myth which the author has discussed at length is that Chandragupta Maurya was identical with the Sandrocottus known to the Greeks in 321 B.C. He has adduced reasons that the Chandragupta known to the Greeks did not belong to the Mauryan dynasty, but to the Gupta dynasty and that Aśoka ruled not in the 3rd, but in the 15th century B.C.

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12

A GARUDA STAMBHA : A SYMBOL OF AN ARCTIC PHENOMENON

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(*Abstract*)

In this essay the author tries to show that the practice of erecting a pillar in the name of Garuḍa (eagle) in front of Vishṇu is the symbolic representation of an Arctic phenomenon, *viz.*, migratory birds flocking to the circumpolar regions at the end of a long night immediately before the sunrise.

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13

DEVELOPMENT OF THE HINDU POLITY

(A COMPARATIVE STUDY)

(The Vedic Period)

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The Hindu polity has been discussed threadbare by a host of scholars, Indian and European. Volumes have been written on this fascinating topic. The subject has been surveyed from different angles. Most of the available sources of information have been thoroughly explored and utilised. There have been inevitable differences of opinion regarding minor details and sometimes even about fundamental points. In some cases attempts have been made to read quite modern political ideas into the ancient Hindu polity and analogies have been recklessly drawn on the strength of hair-splitting arguments while, in some other cases, there is an equally regrettable disposition to shut one's eyes against new light. Still, it may be said without any fear of contradiction that on the whole the main features of Hindu polity have been accepted by the bulk of scholars.

In this treatise it is proposed to study the development of Hindu polity from the standpoint of comparative politics. The utility of the comparative method is now-a-days admitted on all hands. In the words of Freeman (Comparative Politics, p. 1), " It has carried light and order into whole branches of human knowledge which before were shrouded in darkness and confusion. It has brought a line

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of argument which reaches moral certainty into a region which before was given over to random guess-work. Into matters which are for the most part incapable of strictly internal proof it has brought a form of strictly external proof which is more convincing, more unerring." And the importance of this method cannot be too strongly stressed in the case of Hindu polity, mainly because here we are greatly handicapped by the paucity of historical materials. The comparative method will help us to understand many doubtful characteristics of the Indo-Aryan polity and throw light on many a dark spot, enabling us to fill up big gaps by means of plausible hypotheses, formed on the basis of information derived from the study of similar political institutions elsewhere. Of course it is not asserted that the result will be as conclusive and satisfactory as can be desired, but it cannot be helped. Unfortunately in the case of early India the available source of information is too meagre and scrappy and we are forced to depend to a great extent upon guess-work. So from the nature of the case our conclusions to some extent must be hypothetical.

There are other difficulties also of which we should take note at the outset. In the case of Greece and Rome we have to deal with definite political institutions of some particular political societies of which we have systematic historical knowledge. But in the case of ancient India it is not possible for us to study the full political development of any particular state. Owing to the lack of historical literature and other evidences we are not in a position to build a connective and systematic historical account of any of the earlier Hindu states. Our information about them is extremely scrappy and unsystematic. So our observations will be to some extent general and vague. Moreover, whereas in the case of Greece and Rome the area under observation is small, it is otherwise with India. India is more a continent than a country. It cannot be expected

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that the political development of all the Aryan settlements in such a large area would be the same. With differences in climatic conditions, physical features, economic resources, alien contact and influence, and political needs, the constitutional development would vary considerably from place to place and time to time.

Now, I propose to compare the development of the ancient Indian polity with that of Greek, Roman and German polity. We shall note the points of resemblance as well as of dissimilarities, and try to ascertain their causes as far as possible. But in doing this we have to avoid the pitfalls. We must disabuse our minds of preconceived notions and set-purposes, and resist the temptation of drawing superficial analogy and jumping into unauthorised conclusion. We should also bear in mind Sidgwick's warning (Development of European Polity, p. 3.) that " in comparing the political development of different parts of the human race, we find—throughout the past as well as at the present time—that they are contemporaneously at very different stages of development, and may consequently be approximately in the same stage at very wide intervals of time. Political science, accordingly, aims at bringing together for comparison societies similar in their political characteristics, however widely separated in time." Moreover, while accepting that other things being equal, the same causes produce the same effects, we must take note of the disturbing factors, such as differences of geographical configuration or physical features, of climatic conditions, environments, economic resources, complexity of racial problems, contact with alien civilisations and lastly the spirit of imitation. Freeman has rightly observed (Comparative Politics, pp. 19-20) that " the institutions of a people are the natural growth of circumstances under which it finds itself; if two nations, however far removed they may be from one another, both in time and place, find themselves under like circumstances, the chances

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are that the effect of this likeness of circumstances will show itself in the like institution." At the same time, differences in some conditions will modify the results to some extent, and if the differences are very great and fundamental, the results cannot but be dissimilar.

In tracing the development of Hindu Polity we have to begin with the Ṛig-Veda, for it is in this work that we get the first glimpse of the Indo-Aryan polity. The common form of government at this period appears to be a limited monarchy. The King (Rājan) ruled with the help of a Sabhā and Samiti. But, as Dr. Majumdar points out (Corporate Life, pp. 216 ff.), Zimmer does not regard monarchy to be the universal form of government in the Ṛigvedic India and maintains that oligarchical form of government was not unknown. He refers to Ṛig-Veda, X. 9.16, where it is said, " As the kings (Rājānaḥ) assemble together in the Samiti, the plants gather together in him who is called a physician, one who heals disease and destroys demons." This is not at all surprising. It is quite likely that in this passage the word Rājānaḥ refers to tribal chieftains under the king. In Atharva Veda (III, 5, 7) the king, after his election and investment with an armlet called Parṇa, is found to say, " Sagacious Builders of the car, clever and skilful artisans,—Make all the men on every side, Parṇa, obedient to my will. The kings and makers of the kings (Rājāno Rājakṛitaḥ), the troop-leaders, masters of the horse,—Make all the men on every side, Parṇa, obedient to my will." There can be no doubt that here the word Rājānaḥ refers to the ruling aristocracy, *i.e.*, the subordinate chiefs, who elsewhere have been called the Rājanya. The king of the tribe was one of them—only he was the chief. This seems also to be the case with the Homeric Greeks. In Homer we find that every tribe had a supreme head or king who was called " Basileus." But this title is also applied to subordinate chieftains

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in the Odyssey. Thus, "Telemachus says, 'there are many chiefs (Basileus) of the Achaeans in Ithaca,' though, as afterwards appears, the island has only one city, and its inhabitants form one demos with one assembly. And again, when Odysseus in his travels is thrown on the shore of pleasant Scheria, where the noble Phaecians dwell in what is manifestly represented as an ideal and happy condition, we find, from the statement of the head-chief Alcinous, that there are 'twelve glorious chiefs (Basileus) who rule among the people, and he is the thirteenth." (Sidgwick, Development of European Polity, p. 65).

There is, however, another possible explanation. Even in the Rigvedic period there might have been some tribes which had not yet adopted the monarchical form of government and were ruled by an oligarchy consisting of local chieftains who took the title of king according to the prevailing fashion. That the earliest form of government among the Indo-Germanic peoples was oligarchical, and not monarchical, will be evident if we turn our attention to primitive German polity. Our earliest information regarding the primitive Germans is derived from Caesar's account. In this there is no mention of kingship among the German tribes. "In peace, he tells us, there is no common magistracy: the chiefs of the districts into which the tribe is divided administer justice among their people: a common magistracy is only formed when the tribe is at war." (Sidgwick, D. E. P., p. 32). Even in the time of Tacitus (Germania), kingship, though it had made its appearance, was not general. The civitas, or tribe, was composed of a number of pagi, and a pagus of a number of vici (vicus = a township), just as in India a tribe was composed of a number of Viśes and a Viś of a number of grāmas. Justice was administered in the vicus and pagus by the principes or chieftains elected in the tribal assemblies. In India we had Viśpati and Grāmaṇī. In times of war, war-leaders called

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Duces were appointed to lead the tribal army. (Whatever may have been the real meaning of the term "Vrajapati" in the Vedic period, it is quite possible that originally he was the leader of the host when the Aryans migrated to India and began an incessant warfare with the natives of the soil). In some tribes kings were elected at the head of the tribe. But Tacitus is quite emphatic on the point that kingship was a new development.

That kingship was a new development among the Indo-Aryans is also proved by the evidence of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (I. 14) which says, "The Devas and Asuras were fighting in this world. They fought in the eastern direction; then the Asuras defeated the Devas. They then fought in the southern direction; the Asuras defeated the Devas again. They then fought in the western direction; the Asuras defeated the Devas again. They fought in the northern direction; the Asuras defeated the Devas again..... The Devas said, "It is on account of our having no king, that the Asuras defeat us. Let us elect a king." All consented. They elected Soma their king. Headed by the king Soma, they were victorious in all directions." Now if we read the Aryans for Devas, and the Non-Aryans for Asuras, the picture is complete.

This statement of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa is not at all fanciful. There can be little doubt that it gives a true account of the origin of kingship among the Indo-Aryans. It is quite likely that the nomadic Aryan tribes who came to India were led by tribal chieftains like the German principes. But here they had to encounter the strenuous resistance of the non-Aryan natives who had reached a very high stage of civilisation as is evident from the recent excavations at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, and scattered references in the Vedas. In the Rigveda (I, 103, 3; IV, 32, 10) we see Indra destroying the cities of the non-Aryans. These cities (or purs) were often made of iron (ayas = metal, II, 20, 8).

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We are also told of their great wealth (I, 176, 4). Now the non-Aryan inhabitants of the soil disputed every inch of the ground. And because of their better organisation, larger number, greater resources and superior tactics they were often able to inflict crushing defeats upon the Aryan invaders. Profiting by experience and feeling the need of unity of command, the invaders appointed war-lords called Vrajapatis (like the German Duces) in imitation of their victorious enemies. In the beginning the appointment might have been temporary. But as the war was a protracted one and was fought practically without any cessation, the new institution tended to become permanent. As time went on the new leader came to be called the Rājan, while the subordinate chieftains became the Rājanyas. No doubt for a long time the subordinate chiefs who were proud of their ancestry and regarded the king as one of them—though he was the chief—would also assume the higher title of Rājan, and the king who needed their support would not hesitate to humour them by calling them as such. But here and there some tribes might have retained their oligarchical constitution and their local chieftains also would take the dignified title of the king in imitation of the monarchical tribes. But these must have been exceptions.

So monarchy may be regarded as the prevalent form of government in the Vedic period. Kingship, however, was not hereditary but elective. The king was elected by the whole people ("All the people want you"—Atharva Veda) meeting in their Samiti or assembly (Rigveda, X, 124, 8; Atharva, III, 4, 2; VI, 87, 88). Of the exact nature of election we have no definite information. But it appears that there was a preliminary selection by the subordinate chieftains, and this election was ratified by the whole people assembled in the Samiti. For in the Consecration ceremony described in the Atharva Veda (III, 5, 7) the newly

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elected king addressing the Parṇa, the symbol of royalty, says,

"This Parṇa-Amulet hath come, strong and
destroying with its strength my rivals.
The power of the Gods, the plants' sweet
essence, may it incite me ceaselessly with vigour.

. . . . . .

The Parṇa-charm hath come to me for great
security from ill,
That I may be exalted, ye, above the wealth of
Aryaman.
Sagacious builders of the car, clever and skilful
artisans,—
Make all the men on everyside, Parṇa, obedient
to my will.
The kings and makers of the kings, troop-leaders,
masters of the horse,—
Make all the men on everyside, Parṇa, obedient
to my will.
Thou, Parṇa, art my body's guard, man kin by
birth to me a man.
With splendour of the circling year I bind thee
on me, Amulet !"

[Griffith's Translation]

In these verses the expression "the kings and makers of kings" (Ye Rājāno Rājakṛitaḥ), *i.e.*, the kings who are king-makers, refers to a group of exalted persons who must have made a preliminary selection of the new king. Who were they ? Obviously, the tribal chieftains from among whom the new "Supreme" king was chosen by the chieftains themselves. In later times "King-makers" signified high functionaries of the state. This seems quite reasonable;

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for there can be no doubt that most of the high officials were taken from the subordinate chieftains, the Rājanyas. It should be noted, however, that here the king-makers have been called kings by the newly elected king. It was because the king was regarded, at least by the chieftains, as only one of them—though he was their chief.

Among the Homeric Greeks also, though there was a tendency for kingship to become hereditary, it was not strictly so. The new king had to pass through some form of election. Sidgwick points out, "Still among the various chiefs that a Homeric tribe (in the Odyssey) may have, there is normally one highest chief or king, whose office descends ordinarily, though not necessarily, by inheritance to one of his children. When a suitor says to Telemachus that it belongs to him as heir of his father to be king of Ithaca, Telemachus answers modestly that there are 'many other Achaean chiefs' in Ithaca, and that some one of these may holds way if Odysseus is dead. It seems clear from the tone of this discussion that Telemachus is considered to have a certain claim; but that claim may be overruled. Similarly in the primitive Germanic constitution, the right of the people to elect their king is ordinarily combined with a hereditary claim to be elected, belonging to members of one family."

So also, according to tradition, Roman kingship was not hereditary but elective in the regal period. "On the death of a king there is no immediate successor with a title to rule; an interim-king (inter-rex) is appointed for a few days and on his proposal a king is elected by the patrician burgesses at the Comitia Curiata, subject to the sanction of the patrician Senate." (Greenidge, Roman Public Life, pp. 46 ff.)

It is clear from the Atharva Veda that, though the king was elected for life, he could be deposed and banished. So also a deposed king could be re-elected.

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Now as to the powers and functions of the king. We know that the primitive Aryan kings of Europe had threefold functions—religious, military, and judicial—though they were not often distinctly outlined. Thus the Homeric Basileus was the high priest of the tribe. He was the "Sacrificer on behalf of his people". At first there was no separate priesthood. But gradually there arose a hereditary local priesthood. Still, the Greek king always had a religious function. The king was also the supreme commander of the Host. He led the army in time of war. He was moreover the chief-judge. He was provided "in virtue of divine ancestry with judgements or dooms by Zeus". The Roman king (rex) also had threefold functions. "He was priest for the whole people, he commanded the army in war, and he dispensed justice at home." (Warde Fowler, The City State, pp. 68 ff.). As regards the tribal kings of Germany in the time of Tacitus, their powers were small and "did not include the right to lead the tribe in war, which fell to Duces elected for the purpose: nor the supreme right to administer justice, which was vested partly in the priests, and partly in the tribal assembly." (Masterman, History of the British Constitution, p. 12.)

Now the Vedic king also was the supreme commander of the tribal army (Atharva Veda, VI, 87-88). He was chosen for his firmness and valour and was expected to vanquish his enemies. Whether he was also the chief judge of the community is not clear. It appears, however, that he had some kind of criminal jurisdiction. But, whether the king was or was not a civil judge in the Vedic period, it is quite evident from later literature that in course of time the king came to be regarded as the fountain of justice. And as regards the religious function, the Vedic king was not the High Priest of the community. For it appears that even in the early Rigvedic period a distinct class of hereditary priesthood had arisen and there was no

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"public worship by the state" (Keith, Religion and Philosophy of the Veda, I, pp. 290 ff.). Even for his private worship and sacrifice the king depended upon the Purohita or domestic priest.

The Vedic king was not an arbitary ruler. Like the king in Homeric Greece, or early Rome or among the primitive Germans, the powers of the Indo-Aryan kings were limited by popular institutions. The Vedic Samiti which was a sovereign assembly of the whole people (Viśaḥ) may be compared to the Greek Agora, Roman Comitia, or the German folk-moot. It elected the king, could depose him and re-elect a deposed king. Policy (mantra) of the state was discussed and decided in this assembly. It was considered to be the duty of the king to attend the Samiti regularly. It should be noted, however, that whereas no discussion was permitted in the Greek Agora, Roman Comitia, or German folk-moot, the Samiti was a real deliberative body where speeches were delivered and debates took place.

Another popular institution was the Sabhā. Though it was also an important body we do not know its composition, nor its relation with the Samiti. Jayaswal (Hindu Polity) thinks that it was a "standing and stationary" committee of the Samiti. "Sabhā means lit. a body of men shining together'." Those entitled to a seat therein were invested, so to say, with lustre. They are objects of special respect. The Sabhā had its president, called the Sabhāpati. It seems there were 'Elders' in the Sabhā. From Ṛigveda (VI, 28, 6) we learn that in the Sabhā there was conversation about the welfare of cows. Sometimes it was used as the meeting place for social intercourse where sacrificers of good birth met (Ṛigveda, VII, 1, 4). Dr. R. C. Majumdar, on the other hand, regards it as a local Assembly (Corporate Life) of the village. Though it is impossible to speak with any degree of certainty,

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I am inclined to the view of Jayaswal. It is evident, that "serious political discussions were carried on in the Sabhā," and it was also "a court of justice." It is quite possible that it was a probouletic and advisory council, consisting of subordinate chieftains, royal officers, and heads of families, and, as such, it was a counterpart of the Greek Boule, the Roman Senate and the German council of princeps. It was also the supreme court of justice. Even in later times the royal court of justice was called the Sabhā.

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14

CHAPTER LVIII OF VARĀHAMIHIRA'S *BṚHATSAṂHITĀ*

(Its Bearing on Image-Making in Ancient India)

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Writers on Indian Iconography and Iconometry have discussed the importance of Chapter 57 on Pratimālakṣaṇa of Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (Sudhakar Dvivedi's Edition) and have utilised its contents in various ways; but very little notice has yet been taken by them of the next chapter, viz., *Vanasampraveśādhyāya* and its bearing on the art of image-making in ancient India. The latter lays down details regarding the ceremony of securing wood from the forest trees, and bringing it home for the purpose of making images of gods and goddesses. We are first told that the image-maker should enter into the forest on an auspicious day selected by the astrologer and be careful about the omens which he would see on his way to it. Then a list of trees which are to be avoided in the search for proper wood is given; trees which grow in cremation grounds, by the side of roads, near temples or on ant-hills, in gardens and hermitages, *caitya* or *sthala vṛkṣas*, those growing by the confluences of rivers, or which are planted by human hands, extremely bent ones, trees growing very close to other trees or over-grown with creepers, trees struck by lightning or

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broken by storms, falling by themselves or damaged by elephants, dried or burnt trees, or those on which bees make their hives—these are not to be selected by the sculptor. Next are given the names of those, the wood of which is to be used for making images ; *Deodar*, *Candana*, *Śamī* and *Madhuka* are auspicious for images to be set up by Brahmins ; *Ariṣṭa*, *Aśvattha*, *Khādira* and *Bilva*—for those to be made for the Kṣatriyas ; *Jīvaka*, *Khādira*, *Sindhuka* and *Syandana* are auspicious for images to be enshrined by the Vaiśyas, while *Tinduka*, *Kesara*, *Sarja*, *Arjuna*, *Āmra* and *Śāla* are so for the Śūdras.[1] Before the selected tree is to be felled by axe certain rites are to be performed by the sculptor. First he is to mark off on its trunk the various sections of the Liṅga or image to be made out of it in order that the top, bottom and the sides of the object to be fashioned correspond to those of the trunk of the tree.[2] Next he will propitiate the tree with various offerings and worship the gods, manes, Rākṣasas, Nāgas, Asuras, Gaṇas and Vināyakas at night and utter the following mantra touching the tree with his hands :—

> Oh, thou tree, salutation to thee, thou art selected for (being fashioned into) the icon of '—' deity, please accept this offering according to rules. May all the spirits which reside in this tree transfer their habitation elsewhere after accepting the offerings made according to rules ; may

[1] *Suradāru-candana-śamī-madhukataravaḥ śubhā dvijātīnām | Kṣatrasyāriṣṭāśvattha-khadira-bilvā vivṛddhikarāḥ ॥ Vaiśyānāṃ Jīvaka-khadirasindhuka-syandanāśca śubhaphaladāḥ | Tinduka-kesara-sarjārjunāmraśālāśca śūdrāṇām ॥*

The same list is given by Kāśyapa in his work ; Utpala quotes three couplets from it in his commentary.

[2] *Liṅgaṃ vā pratimā vā drumavat sthāpyā yathādiśaṃ yasmāt | Tasmāccihnayitavyā diśo drumasyoṛdhvamathavādhaḥ ॥* (verse 7).

Kāśyapa says :—

Vṛkṣavat pratimā kāryā prāgbhāgādyupalakṣitā |
Pādāḥ pādeṣu karttavyāḥ śīrṣamūrdhve tu kārayet ॥

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they pardon me to-day (for disturbing them); salutation to them.[3]

Lastly, in the morning after sprinkling water on the tree and smearing the blade of his axe with honey and clarified butter, he should cut round the trunk rightwards, beginning from the north-east corner. In the last verse of the chapter, the author states that further details about the felling of the tree, omitted by him in this chapter, have been described in his chapters on *Indradhvaja* and *Vāstuvidyā*, and the same should apply in this case also. The information which we gather from a study of this chapter is also supplied to us in various other texts like the sections on architecture and sculpture of the Purānas like *Bhaviṣya*, *Viṣṇudharmottara*, *Matsya* and others and such works as *Mānasāra*, etc. Of this the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* chapter on *Pratimāvidhi* (ch. 131) in the *Prathama Brāhma Parva* which begins just after the chapter on *Prāsādalakṣaṇavarṇana* gives us details more or less similar to those noted above. Nārada while explaining to Sāmba rules for the construction of images of gods in general and Sūrya in particular mentions that seven kinds of images tending to the welfare of the devotees are known, *viz.*, those made of gold, silver, copper, earth or clay, stone, wood and the ones that are drawn (on canvas and other objects); of these Nārada selects those made of wood as deserving special notice.[4] This is of special importance as it

[3] *Arcārthamamukasya tvaṃ devasya parikalpitaḥ ।*
Namaste vṛkṣa pūjeyaṃ vidhivat samprag ṛhyatām ॥
Yānīha bhūtāni vasanti tāni valiṃ g ṛhītvā vidhivat prayuktam ।
Anyatra vāsaṃ parikalpayantu kṣamantu tānyadya namo'stu tebhyaḥ ॥
(verses 10-11).

The same *mantra* is to be found in the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* chapter on *Pratimāvidhi* A few other passages common to both can be found in the two.

[4] *Atha te sampravakṣyāmi pratimāvidhivistaram ।*
Sarveṣāmeva devānāmādityasya viśeṣataḥ ॥
Arcā saptavidhā prokṭā bhakṭānāṃ śubhavṛddhaye ।
Kāñcanī rājatī tāmrī pārthivī śailajā smṛtāḥ ॥

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shows that wood was the most frequently used material for image-making from very early times. In the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* a whole chapter entitled *Devālayārtha-dāruparīkṣaṇa* (Bk. III, Ch. 89) is devoted to the details of procuring wood for temple-building and image-making activities and rules similar to the above for marking off the different sections of the images and building posts on the trunk of the tree are incorporated.[5] The next two chapters deal with *Śilāparīkṣā* and *Iṣṭakaparīkṣā*, in the former of which rites enjoined are somewhat similar to those mentioned in connection with *Dāruparīkṣā*. The *Mānasāra*, a work giving details of architectural construction, its foremost consideration, deals at great length with the topic of *Dārusaṃgrahaṇa* in lines 251-347 in the chapter on *Stambhalakṣaṇa* (P. K. Acharya's Edition, Ch. XV, p. 103 ff.). These particulars are of the same nature as the ones gleaned from the other texts, but here they apply chiefly to the construction of wooden columns. A formidable list of *śakunas* is given in lines 260-94; in lines 295-304 are mentioned rules about sacrifices to the various kinds of evil spirits, the eight Dikpālas beginning with Indra and ending with Īśāna, to eight Rākṣasas like Mukhya, Mṛga, Aditi, Udita, Vitatha, Antarīkṣa, Bhṛśa and Pūṣan and lastly to the Vanaspati.[6] The whole of Chapter 257 entitled

Vārkṣī cālekhyakā ceti mūrtisthānāni sapta vai ।
Vārkṣīvidhānaṃ te vīra varṇayiṣyāmyaśeṣataḥ ॥
Bhaviṣya Purāṇa, Bk. I, Ch. 131, verses 1-3.

5 *Agraṃ mūlaṃ prayatnena kartavyaṃ tasya cihnāni—*
Agraṃ devasya mūrdhānaṃ pādaṃ mūlaṃ tu kārayet ॥
Arcā kṛtā viparyastā tiryagvā maraṇāvahā ।
Agramūlaviparyāsaṃ stambhānāṃ ca vivarjayet ॥
Agramūlaviparyāse kṛte veśmakṣayaṃ vrajet ।
Pūrvāgrā cottarāgrā vā drumā yojyā gṛheṣu ca ॥ ...
Tasmāt sarvaprayatnena cihnaistaṃ kārayeddrumam ।
Agre mūle ca dharmajña tataḥ samyak praveśayet ॥

6 A few other curious details are recorded here; one such refers to three sex groups among the trees. The last lines in this section, *viz.*, *Vṛkṣasya mūlaṃ mūle ca agre cāgraṃ tathaiva ca । Bhūmisparśamukhaṃ jñātvā tadūrdhvaṃ parabhāgataḥ ॥* have been translated 'The base of the column is (to be marked) on the lower part of

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Vāstuvidyānukīrtana of the *Matsya Purāṇa* deals in a succint way with the *Dārvāharaṇavidhi*, the next few chapters (258-263) discourse on details of iconometry and iconography incidentally referring to different kinds of materials used for image-making. Thus, while recording the characteristic signs of the pedestals (*pīṭhikā*), the author remarks that stone, earthen, wooden, and mixed pedestals are to be assigned to images which are made of stone, earth, wood and mixed materials respectively.[7] In the next chapter on *Liṅga-lakṣaṇa*, the author expressly mentions in the last verse that ' Liṅgas should be made of (such materials) as precious metals, crystal, earth and wood in the manner laid down in the previous lines.' [8]

It will be of interest to refer in this connection to the different classifications of images on the basis of materials out of which they were made, mentioned in a few other texts. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa purporting to quote from *Matsya Purāṇa* and *Hayaśirṣa Pañcarātra* supplies us with two such groupings in his *Haribhaktivilāsa*. The first is that images can be divided into four broad divisions, viz., *citrajā* (*i.e.*, those that are painted on canvas, wall or *pātra*), *lepajā* (made of clay), *pākajā* (made of molten metal, *i.e.*, cast images) and *śastrotkīrṇā* (carved by metal instruments). The second list includes seven different varieties, viz., *mṛn-mayī*, *dārughaṭitā*, *lohajā*, *ratnajā*, *śailajā*, *gandhajā* and *kausumī*. It will be seen that with the exception of the last two in the second list (or one, viz., *kausumī*, because *gandhajā* may come under *lepajā* in the first list) which are evidently *kṣaṇika* images, all the others in it can very well

the trunk and on the upper part the capital; the part other than these (*i.e.*, the middle part) is known to be that which touches (*i.e.*, makes) the body (*i.e.*, the shaft of the column).

7 *Śaile śailamayīṃ dadyāt pārthive pārthivīṃ tathā |*
Dāruje dārujāṃ kuryānmiśre miśrāṃ tathaiva ca ||

8 *Evaṃ ratnamayaṃ kuryāt sphāṭikaṃ pārthivaṃ tathā |*
Śubhaṃ dārumayañcāpi yadvā manasi rocate ||

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come under the first one. The *Samarāṅganasūtradhara*, a late anthology by king Bhojadeva also refers in these lines to the seven kinds of images—*Pratimānāmatha brūmo lakṣaṇaṃ dravyameva ca/ Suvarṇa-rūpya-tāmrāśma-dārulekhyāni śaktitaḥ//Citraṃ ceti vinirdiṣṭaṃ dravyamarcāsu saptadhā//* (*Samarāṅganasūtradhara*, Gaikwar Oriental Series, Vol. II, Ch. I, v. 1). This list is practically the same as that in the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, noticed above, with this difference only that it omits reference to clay images while mentioning pictorial representations twice under the heads *lekhya* and *citra*. That clay was undoubtedly one of the most commonly used media for making images (as it is so used now in Bengal for the making of *kṣaṇika* or impermanent ones) is fully borne out by a very interesting passage quoted by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa from *Hayaśīrṣa Pañcarātra* which lays down rules about preparing clay for this purpose. It can be freely translated thus :—

Members of all castes, from the highest downwards, should collect earth from river banks, cultivated fields or sacred places; then equal portions of powdered stone, karkara (sand) and iron should be mixed with it and the whole mixture should be pressed with some astringents; extracts of *khādira*, *arjjuna*, *sarjja*, *śrī*, *veṇṭa* (?) and *kuṅkuma*, *Kauṭaja* and *Āyasa* wood, and milk curds, thick milk and clarified butter, etc., should be repeatedly stirred up with the above; the whole compound should then be left over for a month till it will be ready to be shaped into images[9].

9 *Mṛttikāvarṇapūrveṇa gṛhṇīyuḥ sarvavarṇinaḥ |*
Nadītīre 'thavā kṣetre puṇyasthāne' thavā punaḥ ||
Pāṣāṇakarkarā-lohacurṇāni samabhāgataḥ |
Mṛttikāyāṃ prayojyātha kāṣāyeṇa prapīḍayet ||
Khādireṇārjjunenātha sarjjaśrīveṇṭakuṅkumaiḥ |
Kauṭajairāyasaiḥ snehairdadhikṣīraghṛtādibhiḥ ||
Ālodya mṛttikāṃ taistaiḥ sthāne sthāpya punaḥ punaḥ |
Māsaṃ paryuṣitāṃ kṛtvā pratimāṃ parikalpayet ||
Haribhaktivilāsa, 88th *Vilāsa*

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This mode of the preparation of clay, however, shows that the material thus prepared was used for making images far more durable than ordinary clay ones, some of its constituents being powdered iron and stone. This compound is similar to the material known as stucco which was so copiously used by the Hellenistic artists of Gandhāra from the third to the fifth century A.D.; if we are to understand that limestone is meant by the word *pāṣāṇa*, then the similarity becomes greater. This seems to be the substance which was so frequently used in making the many figure sculptures on the towering *gopuras* of many of the South-Indian temples. We are further informed in the same text that a central wooden frame designated here as *pratimāśūla* of a length of 120 or 125 *aṅgulas* (*daśatāla* or *uttamadaśatāla* measurement) and made of *ḳhadira* or *yajñiya* (*yajñaḍumbura*) wood is to be set up on the *ratnanyāsa* (*ratnavedi* or altar on which the image is to be placed), whereon the different limbs of the image are to be modelled according to the proportions laid down in the text[10]. Reference has already been made to the *Matsya Purāṇa* passage where there is mention of mixed materials used for image-making; evidently the compound just noted falls under this category. This text is of unique importance as it not only gives us the formula for the preparation of the stucco-like substance, but also shows how wood, clay and such other perishable materials were mixed up to make images of a comparatively durable nature.

The adove extracts fully prove how in ancient and mediæval times, wood (as well as clay) was one of the

[10] *Sthāpayet pratimāśūlaṃ ratnanyāsasya copari |*
Śūlañca ḳhādirādīnāṃ yajñīyānāṃ praḳalpayet ||
Viṃśottaraśataṃ śūlaṃ ḳuryādvā pañcaviṃśatiḥ |
Pratimāṅgulamānena ḳṛtvā saṃsthāpayet budhaḥ ||
Haribhaḳtivilāsa, 82

This wooden *pratimāśūla* is described in modern times in the case of the clay images of Bengal as *Kāṭhāmo* in Bengali language; this latter is derived from *Kāṭha* or *Kāṣṭha* meaning wood. At present it is made of bamboo slits and straw.

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commonest media for the making of images in India. Texts like the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* and Chapter 58 of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* which lay special stress on wood as the material for image-making are of comparatively early date, because they take stock of earlier traditional practice. Some of the later texts like *Agni Purāṇa*, though mentioning it among other materials, chiefly expatiate upon the use of stone. Scholars after a careful study of the early extant architectural remains throughout India long ago came to the conclusion that much of the form and technique of their construction was influenced by their earlier and commoner prototypes of wooden structures. It can very well be presumed that some of the characteristic features of the few extant early Indian sculptures in the round and many relief carvings show their intimate connection with carved wood sculptures which were common in ancient times. From this it does not necessarily follow that the indigenous artists of India first learnt to use stone for architectural and sculptural purposes after their contact with the foreigners. But the data collected above prove that stone, though certainly in use from a very early date, was much less frequently employed than wood and clay. In the 6th chapter of *Antagada Dasao*, a Jaina text, we find a clear reference to the wooden statue of Yakṣa Moggarapāṇi in a shrine outside the city of Rājagṛha. Even long after stone began to be principally used for image-making, wooden images were also made by the artists. The finely-carved wooden pillar bearing figure-sculptures and decorative motifs on it, discovered at Arial near Dacca and now preserved in the Arial museum, and the weather-beaten standing Viṣṇu and several other objects of carved wood in the collection of the Dacca Museum show that wood remained as one of the principal media for image-making. Very few wooden images, however, of any antiquity have so far been discovered; the reason is obvious. In this tropical country with its humid climate and infested by

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destructive agencies like the white ants and rats, wooden objects seldom attain to any age. Herein lies the explanation of the extreme paucity of the extant images in the pre-Christian period of the art-history of India. Most certain references to images in the literature of India dateable in the third or fourth century B.C., if not earlier, are to be found; but few, if any, are the images discovered up till now which can be confidently dated back to this period. Two other interesting deductions can be made from the data collected above. The first is that the wide celebrity of the artists of such centres as Mathura, Gandhara and Sarnath might have been greatly due to the fact of their making more systematic and constant use of such durable materials as red sandstone, black slate and Chunar sandstone. The second is that the method of colouring stone images with appropriate paints, so much practised in earlier times, was due to their wooden prototypes which were surely coated with paint in ancient days. It is still the custom in Burma.

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15

DECORATIVE ORNAMENTS IN MOHENJO-DARO

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Decorative ornaments found in Mohenjo-daro are well planned, precise and mature. They are a sequence of a long-standing experience and practice and speak of restrained skill. They display a control over a variety of forms and cleverness in their application.

The ornaments have a history of their own. Human sense and love for decoration gave rise to a wide variety of ornaments all over the world. Many of these owe their origin to human belief in magic but it cannot be denied that a number of these had their origin purely in man's fondness for copying shapes from the nature. The ornaments can be studied from various points of view, of which the question of origin, the scheme of design, meaning of ornamentation and the effect of colour, where used, can be stressed upon.

The schemes of design show artists' cleverness in the laying of forms. They do not only evolve through interesting stages but continue to live through ages.

In Mohenjo-daro the ornaments occur mostly on the pottery which survive chiefly in fragments.[1] Characteristically, the earthenwares, coming from various ancient sites of the world, are found to carry the artistic impress

[1] M. I. C., p. 318.

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of man, either in the body of their own shape or surface decoration. In Mohenjo-daro the predilection is for adorning the surface of the wares with various artistic forms, mostly in colour. These illuminated ornaments afford an interesting study, in their schematisation, planning and orchestration of colour.

The dates of these wares cannot be determined any further than are indicated by their findspots, but as there is little diversity to be noticed between the ornaments found on wares of comparatively later and earlier phases, it is practically impossible to touch upon the point of evolution. It may be pointed out that highly mature forms and probable archetypes of the same *motif* may be found to occur on wares of even the same period.[2]

Meanings of ornamentations cover a wide field, and space will not permit an adequate treatment.

Colours, that are found to have been used for illumination, were few in number but the artists had a thorough knowledge of selection and combination of those colours and a pleasing harmonious effect pervades their effort. The wares were illuminated mostly in mono-chrome, black being the colour used.[3] A few specimens of excellent polychrome pottery may also be traced, where additional colours were red and occasionally green.[4] Black was used in different shades and red generally deep. The surfaces of the wares were first coated with a thin slip.[5] The colours were probably applied with soaked pads of textile fibre, but in the case of smaller vessels the lines were painted with the help of brush.[6]

Finally we come to the designs themselves. In character these were highly decorative. As in Egypt, the script in Mohenjo-daro was not only a writing, it was a decoration

[2] M.I.C. [3] *Ibid*, p. 320. [4] *Ibid*, p. 321. [5] *Ibid*, p. 319. [6] *Ibid*, 321.

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in itself, and there existed much inter-relation between the pictographs used in the script and the decorative designs.

The ornaments may conveniently be classified under several heads. Those made up of lines and curves may be called geometric designs. These designs not only existed alone, but were freely used for schematic arrangement in composing panels of squares and circles for the fitting in of other designs. Next are the natural ornaments which were copied from such objects as flowers, plants, animals, birds, etc., of which plant designs were extensively used. Thirdly, there are the symbolic forms derived from such objects as the sun disc, which were probably believed to carry some religious or mystic meaning.[7]

Now we may have a summary glance at some of the important ornaments found at Mohenjo-daro. Line was the basic element of all their forms and the artists arranged the lines in a poised, harmonious and clever way. As against the Egyptian fondness for the spiral here we find an inclination towards the zig-zag, the curve and the circle.

The linear forms consist of chequers, cross design and what is described by Mr. Mackay as hide *motif*.[8] All these forms are very common in Mohenjo-daro and there is enough to be said about their origin and evolution. The cross-line *motifs* within circles have a pleasing effect. The zig-zag is found in various forms and other geometric designs consist of triangles, etc.

Of the natural *motifs*, plants were very popular. Most of the plants received naturalistic treatment but conventionally treated plant *motifs* are also not rare.[9] The reason of their extreme popularity lay probably in their obvious appeal and their usefulness in filling up definite spaces.

[7] Petrie classed Egyptian ornaments as Geometric, Natural, Structural and Symbolic. Egyptian Decorative Art, p. 49.

[8] M. I. C., p. 327.

[9] *Ibid*, p. 324.

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Animals such as the ibex, antelope, bird, snake, lizard, doe, etc., are traceable on the wares, but animal as a subject was viewed with less favour.[10]

Of the other interesting forms mention may be made of fluting [11] work which might have had its origin in lotus and of the discular *motif* which probably was copied from the sun disc and bore some significant meaning.[12]

The ornaments noticed above bear in most cases striking resemblances to *motifs* and ornaments found in Egyptian and West-Asiatic art.[13] In connection with the Egyptian decorative art, Sir Flinders Petrie observed that some patterns might have been invented and re-invented by different people in different ages. 'But as yet' he said, 'we have far less evidence of re-invention than we have of copying' and claimed for the Egyptian stock the honour of being the fountain of almost all the *motifs* used in the Classical, Indian and Islamic art.[14] In the light of various recent discoveries, the statement of this scholar probably requires some modifications.

10 M.I,C. pp. 322-23.
11 *Ibid*, p. 329
12 *Ibid.*
13 Especially to the ornaments found at Nal in Baluchistan, Susa, etc.
14 Petrie, *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

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16

DRAVIDIAN ORIGIN OF INDIAN COINAGE

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The Indian "punch-marked" [1] coins, predominantly of silver, are generally regarded as the earliest extant specimens of coinage in India. But there is a wide divergence of opinion among scholars regarding the probable date to which the earliest coins of this class can be assigned. There is, for example, the view which regards these coins as not earlier than the Greek invasion of India under the great Macedonian conqueror in the last quarter of the 4th century B.C. [2] On the other hand, there are scholars who are inclined to place them centuries earlier.[3] But nearly all are agreed that the evolution of coinage in India could not have taken place before the advent of the Aryans.

[1] James Prinsep seems to have coined this term to describe "the small flattened bits of silver or other metal which are occasionally discovered all over the country, either quite smooth or bearing only a few punch-marks on one or both sides." See J.A.S.B., 1835, pt. IV, p. 627.

[2] James Prinsep (J.A.S.B., I, p. 394; IV, p. 626) and H. H. Wilson (Ariana Antiqua, p. 404) thought that the Hindus learnt the art of coinage from their Graeco-Bactrian neighbours, that is, after c. 250 B.C. when Bactria declared its independence of the Seleucidan Empire under Diodotus I. The find of 3 Greek gold coins fresh from the mint—two of Alexander the Great and one of his son Philip Araedeus—along with several worn "punch-marked" coins at Bhir Mound in 1924, however, clearly proves that the "punch-marked" coinage had been circulating for centuries in India in the 4th cen. B.C. (A.S.I.Rep., 1924-25, pp. 47-48).

[3] Cf. the view of the late Sir Alexander Cunningham: "they (*i.e.*, the "punch-marked" coins) were certainly current in the time of Buddha, that is, in the sixth cen. B.C. But I see no difficulty in thinking that they might mount as high as 1,000 B.C." (Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India, p. 43).

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Now, in a paper[4] written some time ago Mr. A. S. Hemmy showed upon an exhaustive[5] examination of the weights of the silver "punch-marked" coins that, excepting a small number, only about 4 per cent. of the total, the standard of weight followed by these coins is 52·0 grains. When multiplied by 4 it gives 208·0 grains which closely approximates the revised principal unit of 210·2 grains of the Mohenjo-daro system of weights. Mr. Hemmy, therefore, concluded that the 52·0 grains standard of the silver "punch-marked" coins may have been derived from the principal unit of the Mohenjo-daro system of weights.

Now, writing on the Patna-city hoard[6] (also included in Mr. Hemmy's examination of silver "punch-marked" coins) Mr. E. H. Walsh himself had previously observed that "the weights of those of the present coins that are complete and less worn vary from 53·4 to 52·0 grains, and that the weights of the coins (that is, the silver "punch-marked" coins) in the Indian Museum Catalogue follow practically the same variation as in the present coins." Of the 58 silver "punch-marked" coins found at Gosho-ghat[7] Mr. Walsh found that 51 weigh under 50·0 grains each, 5 between 50·0 and 51·0 grains, and only 2 between 52·0 and 53·0 grains. Mr. Walsh further examined the Taxila and Bhir Mound hoards. Of 167 coins of the former Mr. Walsh found 137 specimens to weigh between 52·0 and 55·0 grains each; 104 of these 137 weighing from 51·0 to 54·0 grains each. Of the 1,171 silver "punch-marked" coins of the Bhir Mound hoard, 33 were long bar "single type" coins, and 79 of a minute type weighing not more than 3·0 grains each. The remainder, numbering 1,059, he found to conform to what

[4] J.R.A.S., 1937, Jan.

[5] E.g., 570 silver "punch-marked" coins in the British Museum, 196 in the Calcutta Museum, and 103 coins from the Golukhpore hoard—in all 869 coins.

[6] J.B.O.R.S., 1919, pp. 16-72.

[7] J.B.O.R.S., 1919, pp. 463 f.

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he calls the 53·0 grains standard, only 44 pieces weighing 54·0 grains each.

It will be seen from the above that silver "punch-marked" coins rarely, if ever, reach the theoretical weight of 56·58 grains or 32 ratis, as laid down in the Law Books. How to explain this difference between the actual full weight of the "purāṇas" and the weight laid down in the Manu-smṛiti? Mr. Walsh remarks that "it is possible that, if those coins were actually following the ancient Indus standard, it was attempted to link them up with the system of weights of the period of the Manu-smṛiti by assigning to them the nearest approximate weight in that system." [8]

Thus, tentatively accepting Mr. Hemmy's view, Mr. Walsh tries to push back the date of the earliest "punch-marked" coins to a period before the coming of the Aryans. It had already been pointed out by certain scholars that the fact, that "punch-marked" coins have been found in one of the very ancient earthen tumuli at Lauriya-Nandangaṛh in Champaran and in the ancient tombs known as Pāṇḍu-kuḷis in Coimbatore in South India, may be regarded as proof that the history of this coinage goes back to pre-Aryan times in India. In the view of Mr. Walsh, the relation which the 53·0 grains weight-standard of the silver "punch-marked" coins bears to the Mohenjo-daro standard of weights further strengthens the inference that the "punch-marked" coinage of India "originated during the early Dravidian civilisation."

Now, it is generally accepted that the Indus-valley civilisation as revealed in the ruins at Mohenjo-daro, Harappā and other sites in the Punjab is not Aryan, and probably Dravidian. If, as Mr. Walsh suggests, the "punch-marked" coins originated during the period of the early Dravidian

[8] J.R.A.S., 1937, pp. 293 f.

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civilisation in India, we may expect to find some corroboration of the religious beliefs of the Indus-valley people in the devices appearing on the silver "punch-marked" coins, which, as was recognised by the late Dr. Smith, are the "authoritative records of the symbolism—religious, mythological and astronomical—current throughout India for many centuries."

Now, it is possible to form an idea of the religion of the Indus-valley people from an examination of "the engraved seals found in abundance among the ruins, an inconsiderable number of clay sealings and copper tablets, a variety of small figurines of terra-cotta, faience, and metal, and a few stone images in the round." It is almost certain from the numerous female figurines of terra-cotta, etc., found both at Mohenjo-daro and Harappā, that the Indus-valley people worshipped the great Earth or Mother Goddess. This great Mother Goddess of the pre-Aryans re-appears in post-Vedic Brahmanical religion as the goddess Śakti under various forms.

Side by side with this Earth Goddess there appears at Mohenjo-daro a three-headed male god with probably a fourth head at the back which could not be shown on the sealing for obvious difficulties. The god is seated on a throne in the typical yoga attitude. Crowning his head is a pair of horns meeting in a tall head-dress, giving the appearance of a triśūla. To either side are four animals ; elephant and tiger on his proper right, rhino and buffalo on his proper left. If this deity be regarded as the proto-type of the historical Śiva-Paśupati, then in the grouping of the animals round the deity we may perhaps detect an allusion to his claim to be the Lord of the Beasts (Paśupati).[9] Among the discoveries at Mohenjo-daro there are also traces of tree, serpent,

[9] Marshall, Mahenjo-daro and the Indus Civilisation, Vol. I, Ch. V, pp. 48 f.

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and animal worship. On many of the seals and tablets there are representations of the sacred tree, the nāga or serpent, the bull, the elephant, or of some mythical animal with one horn.

Let us see if any of these re-appears as a device on the Indian "punch-marked" coins.

Now, trees and branches play a prominent part among the types of the "punch-marked" coins, the commonest being conventional representations of a sacred tree within a railing. The "tree-within-railing" is also a very common type on the early cast copper coins as also on the tribal issues. It will not do to describe this device as the Sacred Bo-tree of the Buddhists, as did Sir Alexander Cunningham and others. Were it intended for the sacred Bodhi tree, we should expect to find one stereotyped form of the device repeating itself on numerous coins, instead of so many distinct varieties of it as we actually do. It is not impossible that the tree-within-railing appearing on the "punch-marked" coinage of India is the sacred tree which nearly every Indian village possesses and the cult of which has its roots deep in the past in the religious beliefs of the Indus-valley people.

The sacred bull, which appears on the Mohenjo-daro seals and tablets, is found also on the "punch-marked" coins. It is a very common type on these coins as on the coins of ancient India generally. In later Indian mythology the sacred bull is associated with Śiva as his vāhana, and the cult of Nandin or the Bull is subordinated to that of Śiva-Paśupati. Mr. Allan expresses doubt as to whether any religious significance underlies the appearance of the bull as a device on the early Indian "punch-marked" coins. He admits, however, that on many later series it is without doubt Nandin, the Bull of Śiva. Now, even if we cannot be sure if the Bull appearing on the "punch-marked" coins ought really to be identified with Nandin of

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the later Brahmanical mythology, we cannot fail to recognise in it the Sacred Bull of the Dravidians. It is to be noted in this connexion that in the Vedic texts and in Vedic culture generally the cow plays a far more important rôle than the bull.

Again, the elephant, which appears on the Mohenjo-daro seals and tablets, is frequently met with on the " punch-marked " coins. It figures also on the cast copper coins and on coins attributed to Eran and Taxila. The elephant is a common emblem in Indian mythology and is associated with deities worshipped by various sects. Thus, in later Brahmanical mythology it is associated with Indra, the Lord of Heaven, as his mount (vāhana) Airâvata, while in Buddhist mythology the ' Gajatame ' (the Best of Elephants) or the ' Seto ' (the white Elephant) is Buddha himself in his thereomorphic form. It is well known to Vedic scholars that the elephant is not associated with any of the gods of the Ṛg-Vedic pantheon. Indeed, the name of 'a mṛga (animal) with a hasta (hand)' applied to it by the Ṛg-Vedic Aryans clearly shows that the early Aryans in India were not familiar with this creature of the forest. It is highly probable that the elephant, appearing on the seals from Mohenjo-daro and the ancient ' punch-marked ' coins, was held sacred by the pre-Aryans in India. It may not be without significance that the elephant occupies a prominent place in the mythology of a sect which arose in Kosala as a revolt against the orthodox Brahmanism of of the Vedas. Later on, however, the elephant like many other pre-Aryan divinities was adopted as an object of veneration by the Vedic Aryans who found for it a niche beside their own gods and goddesses.

It has since been pointed out to me that some of these synchronisms between the devices appearing on the ancient Indus seals on the one hand, and the primitive " punch-marked " coins on the other had already been

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noticed by Dr. C. L. Fábri.[10] Among the principal animal devices occuring both on the Mohenjo-daro seals and tablets and on the "punch-marked" coins, he noticed the crocodile holding a fish, the bull and the elephant. He further discovered several Indus-script pictograms among punch-marks, for example, the fish-sign, the arrow-sign, the group-of-men sign, and the nāga (serpent) sign. But Dr. Fábri underrated the importance of these synchronisms when he said that "there is no difficulty in supposing that the 'punch-marked' coins carry on the tradition of the Indus civilisation." We may even go a step further and say that the "punch-marked" coins probably originated during the period of that civilisation.

It may, of course, be argued that as symbols have a long life, the appearance of similar devices, on the seals and tablets from Mohenjo-daro on the one hand, and the "punch-marked" coins on the other, is no indication of the age separating the two. As against it, we may point out that some of the religious beliefs of a people current at a given time must necessarily be reflected in the coin-types of that period. But Aryan divinities or symbols connected with Aryan religious beliefs are conspicuous by their absence on the Indian "punch-marked" coins. This could not have been the case if this coinage, the earliest, of which extant specimens have come down to us, had originated with the Indo-Aryans.

The discoveries at Mohenjo-daro, however, clearly indicate that up to about 2,000 B.C., the approximate date of the latest of the three strata disclosed, coinage had not yet come into being among the Indus-valley people.[11]

[10] J.R.A.S., 1935, pp. 307-318. This reference was given me by my former teacher, Mr. Jitendranath Banerjee.

[11] Dr. C.L. Fábri appears to favour the view that the sealings found at Mohenjo-daro may have been some sort of currency. Thus he says, "the seals, after all, were also a kind of instrument by means of which an impression was made. The

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According to the generally accepted view, the Indo-Aryans entered India about 1200 B.C. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to hold that the " punch-marked " coinage was evolved in India some time between *c.* 2000 and 1200 B.C. during the period of the early Dravidian civilisation.

same is the case with the punching tool by means of which these punch-marks (namely, those on the earliest Indian coins) were made on metal. Moreover, a number of copper tablets have been found at Mohenjo-daro with signs similar to those of the seals; consequently, the same material has been used there (*i.e.*, at Mohenjo-daro) already as in later times for the " punch-marked " coins. The question arises anew, whether the seals or sealings of the Indus valley were intended to represent money, or anyhow, some fore-runner of currency, replacing barter." The method of punch-marking is admittedly the most primitive method perhaps of striking coins. It seems odd that the Dravidians should later on adopt the crude method of stamping coin-blanks with separate punches when, they had already known, as Dr. Fábri seems to postulate, the more advanced method of stamping the coin flans with one single composite seal impression. I think the Mohenjo-daro copper tablets cannot be regarded as currency, so that the " punch-marked " coinage of India may be regarded as the earliest metallic currency known.

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17

EXCAVATIONS AT BANGARH

(Under the Auspices of Calcutta University)

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It is well known in all quarters that the versatile and constructive genius of the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee practically remodelled this University and introduced various new and important subjects for study and research in this great institution. In the matter of new developments of the University, the claims of Ancient Indian History and Culture did not escape his zealous attention. Accordingly, provision was made here for the study of the different branches of Ancient Indian History and Culture and Archaeology. Even then he felt the necessity of archaeological excavation to be connected with the Department of Ancient Indian History for the practical training of teachers and students of archaeology; and a mutual arrangement was made among the Archaeological Department, the University and the Varendra Research Society for undertaking an excavation at Paharpur in the Rajshahi district of Bengal under the direction of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, the then Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture of this University. Accordingly, the excavation was conducted there for one season in 1922-23. Ever since, though it has been keenly felt that a knowledge of field work is highly desirable among the students of the Post-Graduate classes of Ancient Indian History and culture, the demand

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could not be met till the recent modification of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of the Government of India, in accordance with which the University and other learned Societies are allowed to participate in Archaeological excavations. Consequently, after the modification of the Act, a scheme of Archaeological excavation was prepared in 1937, under the direction of Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, the then Vice-Chancellor of the University. Our present Carmichael Professor Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri and the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar, Superintendent, Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, were also greatly responsible for the preparation of the scheme. Thereafter the Director-General of Archaeology in India, being requested by the University, selected the historic site of Bangarh in the Dinajpur District of Bengal for the purpose of excavation. It may not be out of place to mention here that our University is the first in India to take up field work connected with Archaeological excavation under the new regulations.

As regards the history of the site, according to local tradition, Bangarh was the capital of the demon king Bāṇa, son of Bali. The ruined site of Bangarh is supposed to be identical with the city variously called Devīkoṭa, Umāvana (or Ushāvana), Koṭivarsha, Bāṇapura and Śoṇitapura in Sanskrit lexicons like the Abhidhāna Chintāmaṇi of Hema Chandra (12th cen. A.D.) and the Trikāṇḍaśesha of Purushottama. The word Koḍīvarisiya (Sk. Koṭivarshīya) denoting a class of Jainas of Eastern India is found in the Kalpasūtra [1] of Bhadrabāhu. Mention of Śoṇitapura is made in the Vishṇu-Purāṇa,[2] the Śrīmad-Bhāgavata,[3] and in Nārāyaṇa's commentary on verse 32 of the first Canto of Śrīharsha's Naishadha Charita. Koṭivarsha finds mention

[1] Ed. Jacobi, p. 79.
[2] Ch. xxxiii, 11-12 (Bangabāsī Ed.)
[3] Śrīmad-Bhāg., X. 63, 2. Beng. Ed.

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in the Vāyu Purāṇa[4] and the Bṛhat Samhitā (6th cen. A.D.) as well. The Damodarpur copper-plate inscriptions[5] of the Gupta period mention Koṭivarsha both as a town (adhishṭhāṇa) and a district (vishaya) which formed part of the Puṇḍravardhana bhukti. Under the Pāla kings of Bengal also Koṭivarsha enjoyed the status of a Vishaya.[6] In the Rāmacharita of Sandhyākara Nandī (11th cen. A.D.) Śoṇitapura is found to be a prosperous city, and it continued to be in a flourishing condition till the invasion of the Turks in the 13th cen. A.D. The place was known to the invaders as Devikoṭ or Dev-Koṭ. Some Muslim records of 13th to 16th centuries are also found there. According to Dr. Bloch this place was an important frontier post during the Muslim rule.

The ruins of the city of Bangarh lie on the eastern bank of the Punarbhavā river, and consist of a vast area full of mounds of different sizes. The ruins of the citadel or fortress cover a large area surrounded by a ditch on the north, east and south. In the centre of this, is the highest mound which is said to represent the royal palace. On the eastern side there is a gate and a causeway about 200′ long leading across the ditch into the city. Sir Alexandar Cunningham visited the place about 60 years ago and Buchanan Hamilton more than a century back.

As regards objects of antiquarian interest, Bangarh is famous for the find of a copper plate inscription of Mahīpāla *I*, an inscribed basalt pillar of the Kamboja king whose date is a disputed point, a sandstone pillar crowned by a black image of Garuḍa, a miniature shrine with a śikhara of the Eastern Indian type and some finely carved door-jambs of stone and a number of images including an inscribed stone image of Sadāśiva of the time of Gopāla III.

4 XXXIII, 209.

5 Ep. Ind., Vol. XV.

6 A. K. Maitreya, Gauḍalekhamālā, pp. 91 f., 121 f., 147 f.

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Now as regards excavation, in the winter of 1937-38, this University sent a batch of students and research workers to Bangarh where excavation was started and continued for about a month. The results obtained during this short time were highly encouraging. For instance, evidence of building of different strata, a ring well and pillar-bases of stone, etc., were brought to light. As regards minor antiquities, some ornamental bricks of various designs, terracotta and pottery objects and beads of different shapes and materials were recovered. From a study of those structures and antiquities it was remarked at that time that the excavation was rewarded by the find of objects belonging to the Muslim period on the upper level and the Pāla and the Gupta periods down below.

Now, encouraged by the promising results of that season's work, the University authorities again sent a party of students and research workers for further excavations at Bangarh in the following season, *i.e.*, 1938-39. This time the period and amount of work were much more extensive than in the previous year. The area exposed this time was about 34500 sq. ft. as against 10300 sq. ft. or more than three times as that in the previous year. The excavation has been repaid both by the find of structural remains and the discovery of minor antiquities. As regards buildings, remains of brick structures of different strata have so far been laid bare. It is interesting to note that in one part of the operation three strata have clearly been in evidence. The uppermost super-structure is a small house of bricks (9′ 0″ E.W. and 9′ 10″ N.S.). (The house after having been exposed gives only an outline of the foundation of the four walls and a door-way). This structure stands on one of the four corner rooms of a larger and more massive building. The latter building belongs to the second stratum and contains a brickbuilt hollow structure, like a kuṇḍa of the shape of a conventional

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lotus with sixteen petals at a central place in front of the four corner rooms. Within this lotus again a little down below, an octagonal hollow structure with brick floor has been laid bare. This octagon contains a pottery pipe $3\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter at one of its sides for providing passage of water into a cess-pool outside, through an underground drain in one of the corner rooms (S. W.). Just by the side of this lotus-shaped pit, there has come out *a large number of decorative bricks bearing the figures* either in toto or in part of human beings, birds and animals (deer, elephant, etc.) besides flowers and foliage. The representation of human and animal life in bricks is quite significant here, because these bricks bearing or shaped into human or animal *motif* could not evidently have formed the part of any Muslim art or architecture. Considering the level of the finds and their technique, one would be inclined to ascribe them to a pre-Muslim age. The lotus-shaped structure together with the associated objects is a rare discovery. [This structure has got four pillar-bases of stone in *situ*. The frontage of the large building of the second stratum appears to be in the west, as the wall of this side possesses a series of door-ways. The peculiarity of this building is that the rooms possess door-ways mainly in the corner facing the lotus-shaped structure with the exception that the south-western room shows another door-way in its southern wall.] The details of this building have to be made clear by means of further excavations there.

It is to be noted that another structure of a similar plan belonging to the same stratum with four corner rooms and four pillar bases of stone in the central part (in front of the corner-rooms) but without the lotus-shaped pit *was exposed in the previous season in the southern part of the area.* It is now evident that the same architectural plan was followed in both the houses.

In between the two houses already mentioned, another room a little higher in level possesses three stone pillar

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bases out of four *in situ*, with three stone pillars of unequal sizes lying near them. There is no doubt that this room was a pillared hall. To the eastern wall of this hall, there has been found a piece of ornamental stone originally a door-jamb containing the decorative designs of figures, foliage and flowers. This door-jamb was at a later date made to serve the purpose of a door-sill as at present found.

The excavation has brought to light some of the good structures of the second stratum, though later repairs, additions and alterations have made our study somewhat complicated. The second stratum possesses a well-laid plan of massive and long walls and compound walls.

The structural remain of the third stratum is a masonry well which has been exposed just at the bottom of the northern massive wall of the house already mentioned. This well was used before the structures above came into existence.

In the south-eastern part of the area, the excavation was rewarded by the discovery of a few (2) punch-marked and (2) cast coins, figurines and toys of terra-cotta, characteristic of a very early period (e.g., Śuṇga, Kushāṇa and Gupta) of Indian history, and different types of beads of stone and other materials. Two clay sealings also have been recovered from this part of the site. One of them is very indistinct while the other shows the symbols—a tree within railing, a svastika and a conch-shell (inverted) and a number of other signs which look at the first sight like early Indian characters, but whose value are yet quite uncertain. There have also been found two fragments of a gold amulet (?) bearing some signs, one of which looks like a sign of the clay sealing in a reversed form.

This portion of the area is also rich in pottery objects and beads of different types though poor in structural remains.

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On the whole, the results of the excavation during the last two seasons have been highly satisfactory. Evidence of the art of ancient Bengal was discovered in the shape of terra-cotta objects, decorative bricks and architectural stone pieces. Of these, the terra-cotta objects throw sufficient light on a considerable length of time. For instance, these objects show characteristics resembling those of the Śunga, Kushāṇa, Gupta and the Pāla periods. Decorative stone pieces so far discovered are mainly the work of the Pāla school of art and architecture.

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18

THE PLATONIC CONCEPT OF JUSTICE COMPARED WITH THE HINDU CONCEPT OF DHARMA

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The purpose of this paper is to examine (*a*) the similarities between the various implications of the Platonic concept of Justice and the Hindu concept of Dharma, and (*b*) the desirability of revisualising the conception of Justice as the basic principle of modern polity.

I

Plato elaborated his concept of justice in his dialogue, the Republic. In daily speech we use the word in the sense of particular justice with its legal connotation; in the Republic, Plato goes beyond the law and speaks of universal justice such as underlies the whole moral life of man as part of a living society.

In order to understand the true nature of Justice, Plato holds it necessary to see justice as it appears in a state—not indeed in any actual state, but in the process of its origin and development in an ideal state. For this reason he takes man and society at their lowest point, that is to say, looks upon man as the creature of physical wants and upon society as the means for the satisfaction of these wants. Plato argues that man cannot be a self-sufficient unit, but needs the help of his fellow beings to satisfy his needs, even the needs caused by appetite, much more the needs

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of a higher type. The complementary fact is that other men need the individual as much as he needs them, for he is able to supply them with something which they lack. "No two persons" says Plato, "are exactly alike, but each differs from each in natural endowments, one being suited for one occupation and another for another." This implies the principle of the division of labour in society.

In tracing the development of society, Plato starts from the assumption that it was the need for food and clothing which made an organised society necessary; but since human wants are never confined to merely material things, he adds by way of an advance to the artisans and workers who made up the original company of workers a soldier and a ruling class, whom he calls guardians. "The bond of mutually helpful workers cannot alone constitute a state; the fundamental condition for a proper state is the existence of a ruling class distinct from the common people who are engaged in the labour of the community."

Having completed his account of the founding of the state, Plato proceeds to investigate the nature of justice. He asserts, as if it were a commonplace which no one could call into question, that the perfectly good state must possess four virtues, wisdom, courage, temperance and justice. Wisdom, he argues, may be found amongst the guardians, so that the state over which they rule being constituted according to nature will be wise; courage may be found in the class of soldiers and it can be assumed that they, similarly to the guardians, will impart their fundamental quality to the whole state; temperance may be discovered, if not confined like the other two to the ruling class, "in the agreement of the mutually superior and inferior as to the rule of either," "in a sort of harmony" of all. But what of justice? Obviously, it is not to be sought in any one class, ruling or ruled, but in the relationship of all the classes. It is that virtue which underlies all the others and which "urges every man to do

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his own business." A little later, Plato expounds his definition to make it denote not only the doing of one's own business but also the having of what is one's own, and thus he makes his justice include the justice of the law court as well.

But the fundamental concept of justice according to Plato is the condition which demands of every citizen the performance of the duties of his station without interfering with other men's work. Its implications are two-fold; one, an organisation of the classes in which every citizen can find the place for which his abilities fit him, and secondly, a devotion to the state which impels every citizen to do willing service in that place. Justice, says Plato, is "the ultimate cause and condition of the well-being of the state" and if the work of all is to contribute to a common result, there must be agreement between rulers and subjects that one class is to direct the work and the other is to do it under direction. Justice shows itself, therefore, in the acceptance of the conditions under which work is to be done as well as in the doing of it.

Similarly to the operation of justice in the state, Plato defines the operation of the principle of justice in man. He assumes that the division of an individual soul is like the three-fold division of the state: the appetites correspond to the artisan class and like it must be kept in order; the ambition or spirit is analogous to the soldier class, superior to the artisans and when guided by the rulers able to help in keeping the artisans in order; the rational part corresponds to the governing class in the state. Thus, the wise man is dominated by reason and knows what is the real interest of his whole nature; the brave man is faithful to the principles imposed by reason, in the face of all temptations including those that come from pleasure and pain; the temperate man is he whose passions are under control, not by coercion but because there is a harmony of the higher and

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the lower parts of the soul, the one ruling and the other submitting freely to be ruled. In the context of this analysis, the place that each man takes in the state will depend upon whether he is predominantly wise or brave or submissive; but as no man is altogether devoid of any of the virtues, even the worker possessing a limited quantity of wisdom and a kind of courage, the implications of the principle of Justice would demand not only the faithful performance by the individual of his duties as citizen but also the positive regulation of the elements of his soul in conformity with the needs of his station in life.

2

The same, more or less, are the implications of the Hindu concept of Dharma. In Sanskrit literature the term Dharma is quite a comprehensive one. It is used to denote such various meanings as the sacred law, duty and custom. At times it is even used to signify religion or religious merit. But the sense in which we are employing the term Dharma is the sense in which this term was used by Hindu Law-givers in relation to the end of the state.

The sense in which Dharma is to be understood in the context of this relationship is conveyed by the term 'Ṛita' in the Ṛigveda, which means the law that governs all the phenomena of nature, it being taken for granted that there is an underlying order which the phenomena of nature do follow, a law which they observe. In the Brāhmaṇas the word Dharma merely displaces the term Ṛita. Dharma comes from the root 'dhṛi' which means 'to hold', and it stands for the principle which holds the whole universe together, physical as well as moral ; it means the cosmic order as well as the law governing human society. For the purpose of our discussion it is the second meaning that is important and we shall, therefore, analyse its various implications.

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Dharma is conceived as having been created by the Brahman or the Supreme Deity; the moral authority embedded in law is supposed to be metaphysical in its character; law-givers are known as the declarers of truth. This is not very different from the underlying assumption in the Platonic concept of Justice. Plato makes a distinction between opinion and science, opinion being the knowledge of particular facts and events and science being the knowledge of the universals or Ideas that explain these particulars; he ascribes the knowledge of science to his philosopher-kings whom he conceives as having a grasp upon life as a whole; and in the ideal Republic he believes it to be the function of the philosopher-kings to give everything its right place and to prescribe in general the duties incidental to that place. One difference, however, between the Platonic concept and the Hindu concept is there, and this goes right to the root of the whole matter; while the Platonic concept was conceived primarily in relation to the purpose of man in society, the Hindu view, instead of relating the conception of Dharma to the purpose of man in society, took an entirely different path and argued that the existing social order was in itself the manifestation of the Dharma.

And once the existing order of society, with all its hierarchical arrangements, came to be looked upon as Dharma, the way was opened for the extension of the scope of that concept. Every succeeding law-giver satisfied himself by sanctifying any custom or usage which in his view was healthy and useful as a part of Dharma; and by the 1st century B.C. not only the duties of the various castes and orders but also the instructions as to the proper way of appeasing certain deities thus became integral parts of the Dharma. The concept of Dharma became thoroughly definitised; out of the vague concept of the law holding together the whole universe, animate and inanimate, there emerged the concrete concept of Svadharma, *i.e.*, the concretised list of duties which are proper for any particular station or class of society. The

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Brāhmaṇas, the Kshatriyas, the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras, all came to have their own prescribed Svadharma. Similarly there came into being a definite scheme of Svadharma for the Brahmachārin, the Gṛihastha, the Vānaprastha and the Sannyāsin. Again, Svadharma came to lay down duties for peace times as well as for times of war. Thus, an elaborate classification of Dharma springs up and it becomes recognised as the highest duty of an individual to fulfil his Svadharma in all aspects of life.

This definition of Dharma in terms of Svadharma marks a strong point of distinction between the Hindu view and the Platonic view of justice. The Platonic concept of justice was essentially idealistic and therefore dynamic in its operation; the Hindu concept of Dharma became practical and therefore static in its implications. The Platonic state presented a divine pattern, eternal in the heavens, by aspiring towards which statesmen could make themselves and their states better; the Hindu state, by enabling every individual and class to perform the duties incidental to its station in the scheme of social organisation and no more, became an agency for the perpetuation of the *status quo*.

3

Dharma is the central principle of political obligation in the Hindu state, and loyalty to this central principle is to be expressed by each observing his Svadharma. But if Svadharma is so conceived that it inculcates the real nature of personality as expressing itself in the pursuit of common good, it is only necessary that there should be a satisfactory basis for the state. This, unfortunately, the Indian thinkers failed to evolve. They applied themselves to metaphysical problems rather than to the problems of human conduct; their quest was a religious quest, a quest after reality. "The highest good of the Upanishads," says McKenzie,[1] " is at

[1] J. McKenzie, Hindu Ethics [O. U. P., 1922], pp. 67-68.

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its best a state of being in which all ethical distinctions are transcended." The Buddha laid down the mutual duties of parents and children, of pupils and teachers, and of husband and wife; but even he failed to provide the logical foundation of a truly ethical life, *viz.*, the conception of individuality, for to him there was neither the individual soul nor the universal soul. The Bhagvad-Gītā made some definite advance inasmuch as morality took here to itself a content far more definitely positive than it had in the other writings; but even here the question of the sanction behind man's Dharma was not discussed. The argument that Dharma was after all Dharma, and that God had willed things as they are, cannot be a satisfactory basis for morality.

Again, the Hindu view of the ultimate good of life precluded the possibility of due attention to that aspect of an individual's life which seeeks satisfaction only in comradeship. The whole emphasis of Hindu philosophic thought is upon regarding the world of ordinary experience as a barrier blocking the way to the realisation of reality. The performance of various duties is at best a mere discipline; it is not looked upon as the fundamental basis of the social well-being of the community. And the conception of Svadharma was so interpreted as to emphasise the possibility of each individual attaining the final goal by doing his duty; no attempt was ever made to stress the need for a common life of endeavour to attain the final goal. "It may be," says Mr. Anjaria,[2] "that this insistence upon the absolute necessity of every one doing his own duty, irrespective of the consideration as to whether others are doing the same, was intended in the main to facilitate the practical working of the whole social structure," but the danger of such insistence is quite obvious; for such emphasis inevitably fostered

[2] J. J. Anjaria, Nature and Grounds of Political Obligations in the Hindu State [Longmans, 1935].

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particularity and exclusiveness. Thus, even while the state is considered by the Hindus an essential institution, along with the caste, the family and the guild, as providing for the individual the proper *milieu* to observe his Dharma, it never became an ideal of common life that it was to the Greeks.

Anyhow, the state that emerged out of its association with the Dharma was in many ways a quite peculiar state. It did not constitute, as in Platonic thought, the ideal to which the actual social order would seek to approximate and reach; it sanctified the actual itself. Again, since the emphasis of Dharma was unmistakably on self-sufficiency, all the duties prescribed under it having reference merely to the attainment of the individual's own perfection without any reference to positive social service as such, the state was not looked upon as necessary for the satisfaction of mutual need for protection or for eradicating the various hindrances to the fullest development of the members, but merely as an institution, like the family, which forms a natural stage in human social development. The individual, that is to say, was not conceived as a product of the various social relationships into which he enters but as a unit by himself seeking self-realisation through the disinterested performance of his prescribed duties. This, as all political thinkers in the West from Plato and Aristotle down to Bosanquet and Marx have pointed out, is a quite inadequate view of the nature of individuality. An individual shorn of his various social relationships is nothing better than an abstraction; and therefore a political theory of the state which refuses to concern itself with a definite system of civic rights and obligations is quite illusory and worthless.

4

It will be clear from this that the conception of Dharma as it has actually operated in the Hindu political thought has

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been vitiated by two defects—firstly, the tendency to identify the actual social order with the Dharma and thus to suppress the claims of individuality; and secondly, the failure to regulate the principle of the Dharma to corporate social existence and to human life as a unit in the life of society. There is no inherent and inevitable relationship between the conception of Dharma and these two tendencies of the Hindu political thought; and it will, in our view, be highly useful to revisualise the old Hindu ideal of Dharma, if that could be done in isolation from these tendencies.

The conception of Dharma is a highly valuable conception, teaching the individual that he can be true to his real self only if he keeps pace with the rhythm of the universe. It gives the individual an insight into how his diverse loyalties may be ordered. It provides for "man's full comprehensive life, satisfying personal as well as social, material and spiritual wants on the basis of a social federation securing to each group and its members their rights as well as their duties in a universally recognised order."[3] It saves us from the problems that are incidental to any thorough-going theory of sovereignty which looks upon the state as a closed institution unrelated to the rest of the world, for under this conception "the accumulated tradition of the race is idealised as a system of social values which, instead of being created and conserved by the sovereign fiats of a central organ, themselves create and conserve an infinite multiplicity of organs, whether in the form of guilds or castes, saṅghas or communities, gaṇas, samūhas or classes, each of which accordingly partakes of a quasi-independent jurisdiction and participates in the common sovereignty of the Dharma of which the community is the body."[4]

[3] R. Mookerjee: Democracies of the East [P. S. King, London, 1923], p. 100

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 157-58.

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Rightly ordered and expanded, therefore, on modern lines, the conception of Dharma should furnish the basis of a new polity which in its complex co-operation and co-ordination of multiple groups will be far more satisfying and successful in the state and inter-state construction of the future than the monistic organs of the present statal organisation. But the Dharma-rājya of the future cannot be created on the foundations of an iniquitous social order. The underlying ideal of the social order to be embodied in the Dharma must be to assure to every individual the possibility of his fullest development in harmony with the interests of the state. This ideal will of course have to be secured by the creation of suitable institutions; but institutions must be regarded merely as instruments of life and not as ends in themselves. The tendency to regard existing institutions as having a divine claim to the loyalty of the individual was one of the serious pitfalls that the Hindu concept of Dharma inevitably encountered; and it is at all events desirable to keep away from that pitfall. This can be done by acknowledging the ultimate allegiance of the individual to the ideal instead of the existing scheme of actual institutions. The desire to approximate to the ideal will lead to perpetual vigilance on the part of the body politic; and perpetual vigilance is the condition of liberty.

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THE NĀGAS AND THE NAGA CULT IN ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY

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Investigations in Indian History have revealed to scholars from time to time the very frequent association of the Nāgas with the religion and geography of India as well as with a large number of her ruling dynasties. As the major portion of our evidence in this respect comes from tradition recorded either in inscriptions of a very late period or in literature, the general tendency has been to neglect it, except when supported by numismatic or independent epigraphic data. The character of the only two exhaustive treatments that exist on this subject has also contributed something towards this attitude. Fergusson's "Tree and Serpent Worship in Ancient India" was a masterly analysis of the religious aspect of the Nāga problem as far as it went, but it ignored almost completely the political significance of the question which is no less important. Besides, his conclusions on the relation between Buddhism and Nāga worship had also much to be questioned. The recent attempt made by the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal to string together the scattered references to the Nāgas into a brilliant account of a Nāga imperial period has also been proved unsatisfactory. As many critics have pointed out, there is no sound basis for believing that the Nāgas ever assumed the imperial role which Jayaswal has attributed to them. Yet the repeated references to the Nāgas, that come up to the surface

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every year with the discovery of fresh sources of information, make one enquire whether the Nāga question might not possess some special importance of its own and thus deserve a serious and thorough investigation.

To every student of Indian history, it must appear as if there lay a complete veneer of a belief in the divinity of the Nāgas and of the Nāga racial blood over the length and breadth of India. From Kashmir, Tibet or Nepal to the Malabar and Konkon coast in the south; from Gujrat to Bengal and Assam; from Ceylon to Java, Sumatra and Cambodia, there are very few places indeed, where we do not meet frequently with individual or local names of which the word Nāga forms a part, or where the ruling dynasty is not believed sometimes to have been associated with a Nāga clan. Such peculiarly Nāga names as Nāgadatta, Nāgāmbikā, Nāgabhaṭṭa, Nāgarāja, Nāganikā, or more simply Nāga and Nāgī, occur alike in the dynastic lists of Southern as well as Northern India. Individual names including the word Nāga appear in the votive inscriptions of Sāñchi and Bharhut as well as of Amarāvatī. The Sātavāhanas, the Guptas, the Valabhi kings and the Pālas employed Nāga officials. Nepal is said once to have been known as the Nāgahrad, the old name of Islamabad; the old capital of Kashmir, was Ananta Nāga; and we hear of a city called Nāga (Nagpuram) on the river Gomatī in the Naimishāraṇya. Ahicchatra or Ahikshetra in Rohilkhand undoubtedly seems to denote that it was the field or home of Ahis=Nāgas. The belief that Ceylon was the habitat of a Nāga race was so strong that even down to a very late period it continued to be known as the Nāgadvīpa. Besides, such local names as Nāgakhaṇḍa, Nāgavāḍi, Nāgoḍa, Nāgāvi or Nāgamaṅgala-vishaya and Nāgapura-Nandivardhana which occur so frequently in the inscriptions of Central and Southern India bear indubitable traces of association with the Nāgas. The most interesting fact is, however, the association of royal

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genealogies with the Nāga tribe. The Devagiri record of the Kadamba king Kṛṣṇavarmma I connects the beginning of the Kadamba-kula with the Nāgas (I.A., VII, p. 34). The Rāyakoṭa grant of 9th cent. A.D. (E.I., XV, 246) mentions the marriage of Aśvathāmā with a Nāgī and the foundation of the Pallava line by Skandaśishya, the issue of this marriage. Vīrakūrcha, who according to another Pallava inscription dated in the 9th cent. A.D. was the ruler of the dynasty, is also mentioned in the same inscription as having married a Nāgī and "obtained from her the insignia of royalty." (S.I.I., ii, 508). The marriage of Gautamīputra, the son of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena, with the daughter of the Bhāraśiva king Bhava Nāga, is a historical fact. So is the marriage of Chandragupta II with princess Kuvera Nāga "of Nāga kula" (Poona Pls. of Prabhāvatī Guptā, E.I., XV, p. 41). A Tamil poet asserts that Kokkilli, an early Chola king, had married a Nāga princess (E. I., XV, p. 249 note). Rajendra Chola is also credited to have won "by his radiant beauty the hand of the noble daughter of the Nāga race" (I. A., XXII, pp. 144, 148). The Navasāhasāṅka Charita describes the marriage of the Paramāra king Sindhurāja (who seems to have reigned towards the early part of the 10th cent. A.D.) with the Nāga princess Śaśīprabhā, with such exhaustive details in so matter fact a manner as to make us almost certain that there must have been some historical basis for this assertion (Bühler, E. I., I, p 229). From the Harsha inscription of V. S. 1030=973 A.D. we know that Guvāka I, who was the sixth king in the genealogy upwards from Vigraharāja Chāhamana and thus might be supposed to have been ruling towards the middle of the 9th century was "famous as a hero in the assemblies of the Nāgas and other princes" (E. I., II, p. 117). Śāntikara of the Bhauma dynasty of Orissa, one of whose dates was most probably 921 A. D., is mentioned as having married Tribhuvana Mahādevī of the Nāga family in an inscription of

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his son (JBORS, XVI, p. 771). When we pass from India proper to Cambodia and the East Indian Archipelago, we meet with the same association of the Nāgas with the royal families. Down to the 7th cent. A.D., a tradition was strongly current in the Kambuja court of the origin of the ruling line from the marriage of a Nāga princess Somā with a Brahmin Kauṇḍinya (Indian Influence in Cambodia by Chatterjee, pp. 3ff). It was believed that Funan, or the major portion of modern Cambodia, was once under a Nāga king, the marriage with whose daughter conferred the ownership of Funan on the Kamboja rulers. The old Tamil poem Manimegalai mentions a town Nāgapuram in Java (*ibid*, p. 5) which was apparently founded by the Nāgas. According to the Chu-fan-Chi of Chao-Jou-Koua, a work on Chinese trade in the 12th cent. A.D., the people of Śrīvijaya gave the title of "long-tsing or the seed of the Nāga", to their king. (Feurnal, L'Empire Sumatranais de Śrīvijaya, p. 11). This would appear to point to an association of the Śailendra dynasty of Eastern Sumatra also with the Nāgas. The early history of Pegu is similarly connected by tradition with the Nāga race.

Coming from the dynasties that were connected with the Nāgas by marriage to those that claim or are reputed to have belonged to the Nāga tribal stock themselves, we find here also a considerably large group of varied interest and importance. A list of such families would take us through all the centuries from the later Vedic Age down to the 14th cent. A.D. The earliest among these are the Pañchālas and Kṛivis, the etymology of whose names seems to connect them with serpents. The name of Pañchāla in particular would warrant such an assumption since it is difficult to explain its origin otherwise than as a confederacy of five *ala* or Serpent-tribes.

If we pass over the vague half-mythical and half-historical references to the Nāgas contained in the epics and the

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Purāṇas, the next in point of age among the kings who may be associated with the Nāgas would perhaps be the rulers of Ayodhyā, who are believed to have ruled some time between 150 B.C. and 100 A.D. and whose coins appear on pp. 148-150, in V. A. Smith's Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum. It will be noticed that on the coins of three kings of this group—Viśākha Deva, Dhana Deva and Kumuda Sena, the snake occurs as *one* of the symbols. King Parvata of Kosam who ruled about 2nd cent. B.C. (*ibid*, p. 155) also has a similar snake on his coin. Snakes similarly occur on two of the Taxila coins mentioned in the same catalogue (p. 156, nos. 6 and 7) and attributed to about the 4th or 3rd cent. B. C., as well as on two, if not on three, coins of the Mālavas who ruled during the first four centuries of the Christian era (p. 171, no. 5, p. 174, no. 69). A Yaudheya coin of early age (no. 31, p. 183) also contains a symbol composed of two snakes. The full significance of such symbols is difficult to determine at the present stage of our knowledge. It is interesting, nevertheless, to take notice of a few curious features. In the first instance, we notice that neither the coins of the Nāgas of Narwar, nor those struck by the Sātavāhanas, who are credited by some to have been Nāgas, are known to bear this Snake-symbol. Secondly, the snake appears on the coins of individual kings of a line, and is not the general insignia of these dynasties. Thirdly, in six of the eight cases above mentioned, the snake appears together with a bull. Only in two cases do we find it occurring without it, and along with a Chaitya. The historical importance of these facts will be discussed later. We should also note that the known Kushāṇa and Gupta coin types too do not bear the Snake-design. This is another significant fact which will help us to reconstruct the history of the Nāga cult and tribe.

During the period 1st-4th cent. A.D. Southern India seems to have come under considerable influence of the

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Nāgas. Ptolemy in Bk. VII, Pt. I, sections 91 and 92, of his Geography refers to the Coast of Soringoi with its capital at Orthoura ruled over by Sornagos, and Arouarnoi with capital Malanga under king Basaronagos. As Dr. D. C. Sircar has pointed out in his history of the Early Pallavas, in J. I. H., XIV, 1935, p. 154, this Soringoi no doubt represents the Colomandala and its capital Orthoura is most probably identical with Uragapur or Uraiyur. Arouarnoi is supposed to have been identical with Kāñchī maṇḍala. It is difficult to arrive at the actual names of the kings, but they would appear to be something like Sūryanāga and Vajra° or Varshanāga. Any way, there is little doubt that, in the time of the Greek geographer, this portion of the Deccan was under Nāga kings. If these conclusions of Dr. Sircar are accepted, the value of the traditions, about the Chola and Pallava kings receiving the ownership of land through matrimonial alliances with the Nāgas, will be considerably increased.

That Andhradeśa and its neighbourhood was under the Nāgas during the early centuries of the Christian era is suggested by evidence from more sources than one. The Sātavāhanas, and their successors, the Chuṭu Kula Śātakarnis drew their blood more or less from the Nāga stock. As Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri has pointed out, the Dvātriṁśatputtalikā represents Śālivāhana, the mythological representative of the Sātavāhana dynasty, as of mixed Brāhmaṇa and Nāga origin (PHAI, p. 280). This is amply attested to by the typical Nāga names which occur in their dynastic lists. That the Nāgas grew to be very powerful towards the end of the Sātavāhana rule is also proved by a number of facts. A chief called Skandanāga is found ruling the Bellary district, in the reign of Puḷumāvi, the last king of the main Sātavāhana line. Secondly, Nāga Mūlanikā, the daughter of a Chuṭu king, is mentioned as making a gift of a Nāga, together with her son, who is called

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Śivaskanda-Nāga-Śrī. All the known kings of this line bear the same name and thus prove a close association with the Nāgas. Thirdly, the name of Uragapura, the capital of Soringoi, suggests not an isolated reign of one Nāga king but a Nāga settlement in that locality of tolerably long duration. From Buddhist traditions of Ceylon and Siam we also know that there was a Nāga country called Majerikā near the Diamond sands, *i.e.*, Kāñchī, (Cunningham, *A. Geog. Ind.*, pp. 611-12, Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 156), from whose king permission was once obtained to transfer a relic to Ceylon from Dantapura in the Andhradeśa. The difficulty is that while the Ceylonese tradition gives the date as 157 B.C., the Siamese chronicle definitely puts it as A.D. 310-313. But though this might have much vitiated the independent evidence of these traditions, they nevertheless help in establishing the conclusion, that during the first three centuries of the Christian era, the Chola and Kāñchī maṇḍalas as well as part of Andhradeśa were under Nāga rulers.

That during the third and early part of the 4th cent. A.D. Northern India also was ruled by a number of Nāga kings is clearly proved by Puranic as well as numismatic and epigraphic evidence. Three independent groups of Vidiśā, Campāvatī or Padmāvatī and Mathurā are distinctly mentioned in such a way as to leave little doubt of their importance. The name Bhava Nāga, the only known king of the Bhāraśiva dynasty, also seems to connect him with the Nāgas. It is not possible to enter here into a discussion of the coins of the second group (C. M. I., pp. 23-24) or the question of identification of Achyuta, Gaṇapati Nāga or Nāgasena of Allahabad Pillar inscription with these Puranic Nāga kings (See PHAI, p. 364). Of all the Nāgas referred to in ancient Indian history, the North Indian Nāga houses of the 4th cent. A.D. stand out as the most prominent and historically the most tangible. We do not know

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whether Nāgabhaṭṭa and his son Mahāraja Moheśvara Nāga of the Lahore Copper Seal (G. I., p. 283) belonged to any of these three groups or formed a separate Nāga family by themselves. But all this sufficiently justifies the conclusion of Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri that the Kushāṇa kingdom of Northern India disappeared in the 4th cent. A.D. having been conquered by the Nāgas. These Nāgas must have been ruling over different portions of Uttarāpatha till they were themselves swept away before the conquering arms of Samudragupta.

As late as the time of Skandagupta, however, we find one Sarvanāga as the governor of Antarvedī (G.I., p. 68). In the neighbourhood of Surāshṭra and Bharukaccha especially, the Nāgas seem to have held a prominent position down to the 6th cent. A.D. From the Junagaḍh inscription Skandagupta appears to have dealt severely with a Nāga rebellion (G.I., p. 59). In c. 570 A.D. Dadda I Gurjara uprooted the Nāgas (Kaira grant of Dadda III, I.A., XIII, pp. 82 ff), who have been identified with the jungle tribes ruled over by Nirihullaka of Broach (B. Gaz., I, I, p. 115). Dhruvasena II's grant of G.S. 334 (654 A.D.) also mentions as Dūtaka the Pramāṭṛi Śrīnāga (E. I. I., p. 92).

The next important revival of the Nāgas particularly in Central India seems to date about the 9th cent. A.D. In 800 A.D., Māharāja Tīvaradeva of Śrīpura in Kosala most probably defeated a Nāga tribe (Rajim grant, G.I., p. 298). Sometimes after this period, we also note two references to Nāgas in the inscriptions of Bengal. The Ramganj record of Mahāmāṇḍalika Īśvara Ghosha introduces us to a Ghosha-Nāga family of Dhekkari, which was to be assigned to *c*, 11th cent. A.D. (See Bhandarkar's List, No. 2100). The Bhuvaneśvara Praśasti of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, the minister of Harivarmadeva in *c*. 12th cent. A.D. (Ins. of Bengal, III, pp. 30ff) also refers to destruction of Nāga kings by him. The Rāmacharita mentions the conquest of Utkala, the

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kingdom of Bhava-bhūshaṇa-Santati, by Rāmapāla, but it is not clear whether in this case the Nāgas or the Chandras were meant. The greater probability would however lie in favour of the former, since they were the more well-known.

It was in the period 10th-12th cent.A.D. that the different branches of the Sendraka, Sinda, or Chindaka family, which called themselves lords of Bhogavatī and Nāgavaṃśī gradually spread themselves over different portions of Central India, particularly Bastar. The Nāgattaras of Begur, too, appear in an inscription of the 10th cent. A.D. (E.I., VI, p. 45) as having fought against king Vīramahendra, on behalf of the W. Gaṅga king Ereyappa and being distinguished for bravery in the fight. If the evidence of Navasāhasāṅka Charita is accepted, then the Nāga king, whose daughter Śaśīprabhā was married to Sindhurāja Paramāra, must also have been ruling in Ratnavatī on the Narmadā at about this period.

The history of the Nāgas in the Northern and North Western provinces of Uttarāpatha, as far as traceable from literature and tradition, deserves a separate mention. We cannot tell for certain how far the legend of the invasion of the Tak or Taksha—a Scythic tribe which worshipped serpents and most probably laid the foundation of the Nāgavaṃśī element of the Rajput clan—might have been historically true. Takshaka is the name of a well known mythical Nāga, and the Takshakas might have had something to do with the foundation of Takshaśilā. There is no doubt however that Kashmir, from very early days, must have been a centre of the Nāgas. The Rājataraṅgiṇī has preserved a legendary account of the conflict between the followers of the Nāga cult and the Buddhists, immediately after the reign of the Kushāṇas. We also learn from the same source how Gonarda III revived the ancient rituals in accordance with the Nīla-purāṇa (Nīla = one of the chief mythic Nāgas). In 625 A.D. the Karkoṭaka

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or Nāga dynasty was founded by Durlabha and lasted down to 854 A.D. (C.M.I., pp. 28-29). From the Mahāvaṁsa, again, we learn of the conversion of as many as 84,000 Nāgas in the Himavanta region and of the Nāga king of Kashmir and Gandhāra. Hiuen Tsiang also mentions that serpent worship was known in Strīrājya in Tibet. (As. Res., XV, p. 48). But although we have many proofs of Nāga-worship in the northern regions, we have no evidence of the political importance of the Nāgas here, except in Kashmir.

A careful examination of the data mentioned above reveals several very significant facts. In the first instance, a clear distinction must be made between kings or individuals who merely worshipped the Nāgas, and families or tribes who had come to be identified with the Nāgas themselves. Whether this was from long continued worship of the Nāgas, or from having once been in the position of chief priests of the cult, must now remain a matter of pure conjecture. But it is difficult to explain otherwise the occurrence of typical Nāga names in the dynastic lists of other royal families who are not known to have belonged to the Nāga race, nor the fact that out of hundreds of such dyasties, only five or six stand out as belonging to the Nāga kula. This would also explain the sporadic appearance of the Nāga symbol on the coins of individual rulers of Ayodhyā or Mālava referred to above. That the known Nāga coins bear only the Humped Bull and Peacock designs—both emblems associated with the Śaiva cult—also confirms the theory that the people known as Nāgas had been Serpent worshippers in the long past, and had gradually changed their symbols along with the change in the very character of their own religion.

The history of the Nāga cult in India is one of the most interesting chapters of the history of Indian religions. It must have originated at first merely as a worship of the evil

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spirit among aboriginal clans. Whether it was introduced to India along with the wave of the Tibeto-Burman invasion or whether it started independently among her primitive inhabitants, we have no means of knowing definitely at present. We know for certain, however, that snake-worship was prevalent in Mohenjo-daro and other centres of the ancient Indus Civilisation. In the faience sealings illustrated on Pls. CXVI, no. 29 and CXVIII, no. 11 and described in Marshall's book on Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilisation, Vol. I, p. 68, we find a cobra standing on its tail before a kneeling suppliant. In the Rigvedic period also, it was predominant among one class of inhabitants, and it is particularly interesting to note how gradually it came to influence the religion and imagery of the invading Aryans.

It has been repeatedly pointed out that snake-worship was unknown in the Rigvedic age and became prominent only during the Sūtra period. But a careful study of the Vedic literature reveals the case to have been completely otherwise. Throughout the Ṛigveda we meet with a spirit of conflict, of a dualism, and a race for superiority between two distinct types of culture and thought. This is why we are first introduced to the Snake-god in the form of Ahi Vṛtra, the enemy of the Aryan god Indra. Nāga, the name under which the Snake-god was to become so famous in later days, does not appear in early Vedic literature. Even when it does for the first time in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XI, 2,7,12), it is not clear whether a great snake or a great elephant is meant. But this does not influence our conclusion about the nature of Ahi Vṛtra, since he is described always in Ṛigveda as the serpent who lay around or hidden in waters, and as holding a full control over the waters of heaven and earth alike. We must remember that the association with earth and water were the two prominent characteristics of the Nāga cult. It was this latter aspect

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that was gradually to assert its influence over the Aryan religion and coming in contact with it, was to be changed itself.

It is evident from the hymns that refer to Ahi Vṛtra, that he received no worship from the Aryan tribes and was only regarded as an evil spirit of considerable power who must be fought down. Towards the end of the Rigvedic period however, the Snake-god is absorbed in the Aryan pantheon in the form of Ahi Budhnya, the serpent of the deep. The fact that he is mentioned only twelve times in the Rigveda (*cf.* Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, pp. 72-73) shows that he was a god but newly introduced and not very popular as yet. But as in the verse that gives most information about him, the poet exclaims, " I praise with songs the Ahi Budhnya, the serpent born in water, sitting in the bottom of the streams in spaces," we are left in no doubt about his divinity. Evidently he is but a later incarnation of the Ahi Vṛtra, but invoked more as an atmospheric than a water god, although his origin is in water. In this period he is frequently coupled with Aja Ekapada, "the supporter of the sky, the stream, the oceanic waters" and with the thundering flood. These facts seem to indicate two parallel developments of the Snake Cult among the original worshippers and the invaders. Among the Dravidian and other non-Aryan races, the snake was mostly associated with the earth and its oceans, and thus came gradually to be transformed into the beautiful, mysterious half-god and half-human Nāga that inhabited the nether-world and was endowed with magic powers. Among the Aryans who believed in the water encompassing the world, he was soon included among other atmospheric deities. From this, it was only a few more steps to the coupling of Ahi Budhnya with Agni, who was " a raging Ahi in the space," and thence with Rudra who was one of the seven deities identified with Agni, and a later manifestation of Aja Ekapada, described as a kind of

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Agni. He was still being associated with Apām Napāt, invoked as the brilliant son of waters, standing among waters (*op. cit.*, p. 69). But it was his association with Rudra that came to be the most emphasised upon, and in this way was laid the foundation of the amalgamation of one aspect of the Nāga cult with Śaivism.

It should be noted, however, that snake-worship of the purer type had also been introduced into the Aryan society during the age of the Atharva Veda. The presence of a priestly class related to the cult is also suggested by the fact that according to the Taittirīya Saṃhitā a Sarpa-rājñī or Serpent-queen was the authoress of one of the hymns of the Ṛigveda. (X. 189).

In later times, when the non-Aryan type of Nāga worship had spread over the greater portion of India, it became a favourite symbol of the new religions that tried to fight it down, to represent the Nāgas as doing homage to their respective gods. Thus we find Vishṇu lying on Ananta Nāga in the midst of the primeval ocean, and the Nāgas depicted in art and literature as offering worship to Buddha as well as Pārśvanātha. In doing this, however, each of these new cults absorbed more or less the accumulated mass of Nāga mythologies and made some of the most famous Nāga gods semi-divinities in their own pantheons. But no other religion came to be associated as much with the Nāga cult as Śaivism. And this perhaps explains to us the occurrence of typically Śaiva symbols on the coins of the Nāga kings.

Thus at the very beginning we are hampered with the knowledge that (*a*) dynasties which described themselves as Nāga Kulas did not necessarily use the Nāga symbol, and (*b*) as the cases of the Ghosha dynasty of Bengal and the Nāgavaṃśīs of Bastar illustrate, might not even have used the word Nāga as part of their names. (*c*) Therefore it must also be true that the mere use of Nāga symbols or the use of the appellation Nāga in their nomenclature does not justify

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our identification of any particular dynasty with the Nāga Kula. We have consequently, to make a distinction between three probable cases. (1) An entire tribe or clan worshipping the Nāga might come to be known as the Nāgas, on semi-totemistic basis. The Pañchālas, the Kṛivīs, the Nāgas of Kāshmir and probably the Nāgattaras may be said to have belonged to this group. (2) Out of a religious hierarchy connected with the Nāga cult might be evolved ruling dynasties, who would at first use the Nāga as their emblem, but might in later ages, retain the designation Nāga Kula, although actually worshipping only associated deities. This type is represented by the three Nāga dynasties of Vidiśā, Mathurā and Champāvatī, the Chhindakas or Sendrakas, and the Ghoshas of Bengal. (3) Then there might be cases of new conversion, or of a revival of Nāga worship under individual kings of a dynasty, or an influence brought into the family through matrimonial alliances. This would explain the large number of names connected with Nāgas found in the majority of the dynasties, and the sudden appearance of the Nāga symbol on coins.

From an examination of the above facts, it appears that although we cannot infer the rise to political importance of the Nāga Kula merely from the occurrence of Nāga names in the genealogies unless corroborated by some other evidences, it is possible to deduce a revival of Nāga or allied worship from a recurrence of such names. Two such revivals are clearly warranted by the data mentioned in the course of this paper. The first should be assigned to the period 1st-4th cent. A.D., the second to the centuries 9th-11th A.D. The latter is more interesting in this sense that it denotes a re-assertion of the non-Aryan elements in the Nāga cult with its earth-worship and human sacrifices before such goddesses as Danteśvarī of Bastar, and that the sense of veneration felt for the Nāgas in this age is revealed by an attempt by the majority of the ruling dynasties to claim

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some connection, matrimonial or otherwise, with the Nāgas. It will be noticed that all the inscriptions containing traditions of Nāga alliances with royal families date from this period. We know from epigraphic evidences that Nāga worship, at least of Nāgendra Dadhikarṇa, was current in the age of Kaṇishka (E.I., I, p. 390, No. 18; I.A., XXXIII, p. 102, No. 13). But the fact that, although Kaṇishka's coins represent a veritable museum for the emblems of a large number of prominent religions, the Nāga-symbol does not occur on any of the known specimens most probably indicates that the once prominent Nāga cult was slowly falling into decadence at least in some portions of India, before the earnest patronage Buddhism was receiving from kings. The fall of the ancient Nāga houses before the increasing Gupta empire also helped in this downfall. The revival of Brahmanism under the Guptas successfully held down the Nāga cult for a period over two centuries. When Hiuen Tsiang and Itsing visited India, the old religion was slowly reasserting itself. Hiuen Tsiang noted quite a large number of legends and places of worship connected with the Nāgas. Itsing also refers to the miraculous powers of Nāga Mahākuṇḍalika. The Nāga worship had never died out; it had only been held in abeyance under the influence of other religions. Gradually as the old Brahmanical religions as well as Buddhism lost their strength, the Snake Cult must have been revived in localities where the non-Aryan elements mostly predominated. It is the result of this renaissance that we find in the 9th-11th centuries of the Christian era.

With its many-sided interests—psychological, religious, sociological and political—the Nāga problem of Indian history offers a splendid scope for research. It is impossible to deal exhaustively with all the intricacies contained within it in the scope of so short a paper. The unusual massing of details about the mythical Nāgas, the complications that

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arise at every step due to the fact that there are jumbled together in the traditions accounts of Nāgas as serpents proper, as mythical or semi-divine beings, as tribes and as ruling houses, render the problem unusually intricate and at the same time rich in interest. A discussion of the individual characteristics and the gradual evolution of such Nāga deities as Elāpatra and Chakravāka of the Bhārhut period, of Dadhikarṇa and Bhūmi Nāga of the time of the Kushāṇas, of Nīlanāga of Kāshmir and his Purāṇa (E.I., XVII, p. 11), of the great Maṇi Nāga whose centre of worship was at the Maniyar Math of Rājgṛiha would no doubt be of much help in constructing the religious history of India. An enquiry into the history of the three Nāga houses of Uttarāpatha in the pre-Gupta period would be similarly of exceeding importance. I have, in this paper, only attempted to give an indication of the many problems connected with the question. Careful historical researches scrupulously conducted in this direction cannot fail to yield a wealth of information which will be extremely helpful in reconstructing the history of India.

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20

ŚĀSTA CULT IN TRAVANCORE. IS IT A RELIC OF BUDDHISM ?

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Śāsta is the most important deity of the forests of Travancore.[1] But he is largely worshipped in all parts of Travancore by all classes of people. In recent years the Śāsta cult is becoming more and more popular with the educated classes in the country. The period from the middle of November to the middle of January is the period par excellence of the worship of Śāsta. The fasting and the prayers extending over two months culminate in an arduous pilgrimage[2] to the most famous of the Śāsta temples in Travancore situated at Sabarimala, one of the inaccessible hills in the high ranges of Travancore. Last year more than two lakhs of pious worshippers are said to have congregated at Sabarimala on the 1st of Makarom.

Hindu mythology gives the following account of the origin of Śāsta. In connection with the churning of the Palazhi (sea of milk) Mahā Vishṇu assumed the disguise of a beautiful woman (Mohinī). Śiva felt enamoured of this Mohinī and as a result of the union was born Śāsta (Thāraka Brahman). He is called Harihara-suthan. He was born on a Saturday, under Oothram star, Vṛiśchika lagnom in the month of Dhanu. Śāsta is of blue complexion being the son of Nīlakaṇṭan.

[1] Tr. State Manual, Vol. III, glossary; Vol. I, p. 217, Vol. II, p. 53.

[2] Journal of Indian History, 1939, Vol. XVIII.

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There is another myth describing the circumstances of the origin of Śāsta. Bhadrakālī killed Mahishāsuran. His sister Mahishī performed tapas and obtained from Brahmā the boon that she would conquer the Devas and that she could be killed only by a son of Hari and Hara who has spent 12 years as the Dāsa of a man.

Strengthened by this and other varams she began to oppress the Devas. They complained to Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva. In response to their prayers Śāsta was born. This blessed child lived with Śiva at Kailāsa. When he grew up Śiva told him that he was born to kill Mahishī, and to achieve that he should live as a Dāsa of the Pantalam king for 12 years, and sent him with his blessings to achieve his mission.

Location of the Śāsta Temples

The temples are mostly situated in dense forest-covered regions invariably on the side of rocky hills. But in villages too Śāsta temples are quite common. In villages where there are Śāsta temples there is always a wild growth of trees around the Śāsta temple, called Kavu and that serves the purpose of a forest.

Rituals and Ceremonies

The offerings to the deity consist mainly of boiled rice, milk, fruits, etc., all vegetarian things. There is no sacrifice of animals. The pilgrims to the Śāsta temples have to undergo fasting, put on saffron clothes, and observe abstinence from sexual intercourse for more than 40 days before the date of the Darśanam on the 1st of Makarom. During the

[3] T. A. S., Vol. II, p. 124; T. A. Gopinatha Rao; for points of similarity, see p. 124.

[4] K. S. P. sereies III, p. 152.

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period of fasting they live by alms and when they proceed to the temples they walk all the distance carrying with them the minimum provisions. They are virtually Sannyāsins till they return after worship. The most famous centre of pilgrimage is the Śāsta temple at Sabarimala where more than a lakh annually gather to worship Śāsta on the 1st of Makarom of every Malabar year.

In this paper an attempt is made to consider the question whether the Śāsta cult is a relic of Buddhism.

Arguments for

It is contended that Śāsta worship in Travancore is a relic of Buddhism.[5] It is argued that when Buddhism was in course of time absorbed into Hinduism the Buddha was also Hinduised and worshipped under the name of Śāsta. In support of this view it is stated that Śāsta is one of the names[6] of the Buddha. The sing-song repetition of Śaraṇam Aiyappa by the pilgrims to the famous Śāsta temple at Sabarimala is again said to be a relic of Buddhism, because of the association of the triple Śaraṇam formula of the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha with the Buddhists. The story regarding the birth of Śāsta as the son of Hari and Hara—Hariharaputra is one of the names of Śāsta—is explained as the result of an attempt on the part of the Hindus, Śaivites and Vaishṇavites, to incorporate the Buddhists within their fold. Further, the location of some of the famous Śāsta temples in the west coast in the interior of forest regions is adduced as an additional ground to support the view that Śāsta is Hinduised Buddha because the Buddhists preferred to live in out of the way secluded places. It is also said that the fasting and other rites connected with the pilgrimage extending over a month and a half have reference to a religion like Buddhism which was absolutely insistent on the doctrine of Ahiṃsā.

[5] Census Report, 1931, Vol. XXVIII, part I, p. 334.

[6] J. I. H., Vol. XVIII, p. 113.

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Criticism of the Arguments

The arguments mentioned above in support of the contention that Śāsta is the Hinduised Buddha are not unassailable. The word Śāstā [7] means one who teaches, instructs, rules, etc. and the word may be applied to any deity whose main functions are protecting, teaching, guarding, etc. Accordingly, the village deity Aiyappan who discharged these functions was also called Śāsta.

"The expression [8] Śaraṇam Aiyappa is common to all Hindus whenever the appeal is to a god exercising grace. It is not so clearly established that the idea of seeking the protection of a saviour is an idea peculiar to the Buddhists, or originated with the Buddha and the Buddhist teacher. No doubt the Buddhists have the notion of the triśaraṇa but that does not necessarily mean that that is the earliest or the first." The origin of the name Hariharaputra can be explained by the supposition that it is the result of an attempt on the part of the Saivites and Vaishnavites to incorporate the Dravidian village deity of Aiyan or Sattan into the Hindu pantheon.

Śāsta is the most important deity of the forests of Travancore. Keralotpati mentions that the god Śāsta was made the guardian of the eastern slopes and was propitiated for the defence of the land frontier against the incursion of foreigners[9] into the country. Hence many of the Śāsta temples are located in the forest regions. Thus the arguments of the Pro-Buddhist school in support of the view that Śāsta is the Hinduised Buddha are not conclusive.

7 Apte—Sanskrit-English Dictionary.

8 J. I. H., Vol. XVIII, p. 117.

9 Presidential address by Mr. A. Gopala Menon, Kerala Art and Culture Section, Ninth Oriental Conference.

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Arguments Against

But there is a positive and unambiguous testimony to uphold the view that Śāsta is not the Hinduised Buddha. The images of Śāsta do not show any resemblance to the images[10] of the Buddha. The Śāsta image of the famous Sabarimala temple is represented with a crown and jewels and ornaments. (J. I. H., Vol.XVIII. Plate to face p. 116.) This image answers closely to the description[11] of Aiyanar, a village deity of the east coast.

In the Śāsta temple at Vattavila near Pangode, a suburb of Trivandrum, Śāsta is represented as riding on a horse. A figure of Aiyanar, Hariharaputra or Mahaśāsta from Rameswaram is also represented[12] as riding on a horse.

In the heart of Trivandrum at Puthenchanthai, there is another Śāsta temple. The temple consists of a walled enclosure without roof, of about 10 ft. square. The image of Śāsta consists only of a round piece of stone placed on a pedestal. On either side of this idol stands a female figure sculptured in stone. They are said to be Pūrṇamba and Pushkalamba, the consorts of Śāsta. Aiyanar, the village deity of the east coast, is stated[13] to have two wives Pranai and Putkalai, the very names by which the female figures by the side of Puthenchanthai Śāsta are known. This is significant and confirms the view that Aiyanar is worshipped as Śāsta in Kerala.

The image of Śāsta in the Śāsta temple at Thycaud, in Trivandrum, is seated in the posture of Sukhāsana[14] with

10 For a description of the images of Buddha, see S.I Gods and Goddesses (H. K. Sastri), p. 47 n. & T. A. S., Vol. II, pp. 120-121.

11 S. I. Inscriptions, Vol. II, Introduction, p. 40. n.

12 S. I. Image, H. K. Sastri p. 223.

13 *Ibid.* p. 230; S. I. Inscriptions, Vol. II, Intro. p. 40 n.

14 S. I, Images, p. 269, Plate 1, No. 14 & Plate 4, No. 7.

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the left leg bent crosswise and placed on the pedestal, the right leg hanging down. The left hand rests on the knee of the left leg, the right hand is raised in abhayamudrā. On the head is a tapering crown. This image has the likeness of an image of Aiyanar from Tiruppalathurai.[15]

In the Śiva temple at Valiachalai in Trivandrum, Śāsta is installed in a minor shrine outside the nalambalam. The image made of stone is seated with the left leg bent crosswise resting on the pedestal and the right leg tucked up and placed very near the toe of the left leg. The left hand rests on the left thigh and the right hand is held up, with the little finger and the point raised, while the thumb and the two middle fingers touch one another. There is a crown on the head and there are ornaments for the neck, ears and arms.

The Śāsta image in the minor shrine within the nalambalam in the Siva temple at Śrīkantaswaram resembles the Śāsta image at Valiachala except for the fact that the Śāsta image at Śrīkantaswaram is seated with the right leg bent crosswise resting on the pedestal and the left leg tucked up. While the right hand is held up in abhayamudrā the left is stretched outward resting on the knee of the left leg.

The images described above are the different types of Śāsta images installed in the Śāsta temples in Travancore. These images do not exhibit any traces of Buddhist influence. "The figures of Buddha must be made of white stone, seated or standing on a lion pedestal, under the pipal tree, with two hands, ushnīsha (the hair on the scalp) which would be done up in the shape of a kirīṭa, yellow cloth, broad forehead, long earlobes, big eyes, high nose, smiling countenance, long arms, broad chest, fleshy limbs and body. When standing his arms must be made to hang down loosely."[16]

[15] S. I. Images, p. 231.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 47 n.

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The Śāsta images found in Travancore do not conform to the details described above. On the other hand they exhibit features which point to their affinity with the images of Aiyanar worshipped in the east coast.

One prominent feature of Śāsta worship in Kerala is that Śāsta is a popular deity worshipped by all classes of people in all parts of the country. Most villages have temples dedicated to Śāsta. These village temples are usually unpretentious in their structure. In many cases they are mere walled enclosures without even a roof, located in Kavus, usually a cluster of trees and creepers. In temples dedicated to Śiva or Vishṇu or other Hindu deities, a minor shrine will be found where Śāsta is installed. Many primitive tribes in Travancore hills—Malay-arayans, Malapandarams, Mannans, Kanikarans, Paliyans, Vizhavans, *etc.*, still worship Śāsta as their patron deity. The explanation for this universal prevalence of Śāsta worship in Kerala is not far to seek. When the ancestors of the Nambutiris migrated to the west coast their numbers could not have been large. They brought with them the Aryan religion which the earlier inhabitants were persuaded to acknowledge as superior to their religion. The Aryan religion thus prevailed in the country. But the new religion was in its turn influenced by non-Aryan beliefs and forms of worship. Many of the latter were in course of time incorporated with the Aryan religion. The Hinduism of Kerala, as with the rest of India, was thus the result of a fusion of Aryan and Non-Aryan cults. The Śāsta worship which is still prevalent among all classes of the people, primitive as well as civilised, is a Dravidian element which was absorbed by the Aryans in the course of the racial and cultural fusion that went on in the country.

The contention that Śāsta was a pre-Aryan deity worshipped by the earlier inhabitants and that after the immigration of the Aryans the deity was incorporated into the Hindu pantheon is supported by the prevalence of the

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worship of Aiyanar, the most common village deity, among the people of the east coast. He is the guardian of the village who must be propitiated if the village should prosper. In Hindu mythology Sattan, Śāsta, Aiyan, Aiyanar, Aiyappan and Hariharaputra are synonyms used to refer to the same God. From an inscription[17] at Kanyākumārī belonging to the reign of Rājarāja the Chola Emperor who reigned at about 1167 A.D., and describing the boundary of the land given away for establishing a water-shed, it is clear that Aiyappan and Sattan refer to the same god. In several inscriptions of South India edited in South Indian Inscriptions there are references to the temples of Aiyan in the villages assigned for the maintenance of the Rajarajeswari temple at Tanjore. These temples are referred to as mere temples while the temples dedicated to Puranic deities are referred to as Srikoil or sacred temples. This fact would suggest that Aiyan is a non-Aryan village deity worshipped by the people. In the introduction to South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II, p. 40n, the following account is given of Aiyanar :—"The chief male deity among the grāma-devatās is Aiyan or Aiyanar. He is also named Hariharaputra, *i.e.*, Vishṇu-Śiva's son, because he is said to owe his origin to the union of Śiva and Vishṇu, when the latter took the female form called Mohinī. Aiyanar is represented by a human form in a sitting posture, with a red skin, a crown on his head and pearls in his locks. On his forehead he wears the sacred ashes, pearls on his ears and neck and a sort of ribbon on his breast. The arms, hands, feet and the whole body are full of jewels and ornaments. In his right hand he holds a sceptre to indicate that he is the chief among the village gods. Round his body and his left leg he wears a kind of belt called bahupaddai which is also used by sages and others when they sit. From his shoulders garlands hang down. The upper part of his body is uncovered whilst the lower is

17 T.A.S., Vol. I, p. 168.

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covered with a motley garment. Aiyanar's two wives Puranai (on the right) and Putkalai (on the left) are represented as having natural bodies of a yellow colour with crowns on their heads and flowers in their hands. Puranai wears on her forehead the mark of musk (Kasturi) and Putkalai the sacred ashes. The temples of Aiyanar stand usually at some distance west of villages in a grove. Close by the temple on both sides of it are figures of clay among which are Aiyanar's generals called Palaiyakkar. Aiyanar is never asked for any positive good. He only protects from harm and his worship consists solely in propitiation. Like Gaṇeśa and Skanda, the popular deity Aiyanar is a lord and leader of demon host and his province is to guard the fields, crops and herds of the peasantry and to drive away their enemies. Accordingly outside every village in Southern India may be seen shrines of Aiyanar surrounded by rude clay or terra-cotta figures of horses and other animals of life size on which he is supposed to ride when keeping guard. His image is roughly carved, sometimes in a sitting posture and at other times on horse back. When properly represented he ought to have a crown on his head, the Śiva mark on his forehead, a sceptre in his hand and ornaments on his person."

In the light of the foregoing account of Aiyanar, it may now be stated that some of the images of Śāsta are analogous[18] to the figures of Aiyanar. Further, in one Śāsta temple, he is worshipped along with his consorts, Puranai and Putkalai, who are described as the wives of Aiyanar. Again Śāsta is also known by the names of Aiyan, Aiyappan and Hariharaputran, the paryāyams of Aiyanar. Temples dedicated to Śāsta are mostly located in Kavus like the temples of Aiyanar which stand at some distance from the villages in a grove. Śāsta worship is widespread in the west coast as that of Aiyanar in the east coast. Even in regard to the functions of these two deities there is considerable agree-

18 See p. 234 above.

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ment. Śāsta like Aiyanar is a protecting deity of the villages. He is also the Lord of the forest and is propitiated for defence of the land frontier against the incursion of foreigners into the country. All these facts would establish beyond doubt that Śāsta is the same deity as Aiyanar, or in other words "Aiyanar is worshipped[19] as Śāsta in Malabar," and by no stretch of imagination can this deity be regarded as the Hinduised Buddha. "Even now remains of old Śāsta temples are found in the boundary limits of villages and people in distress invoke their aid. These Śāsta temples appear to be indigenous to South India where they are largely[20] found." "Sattan can be identified with Śāsta now enshrined in the Śāsta temples which are generally found on the outskirts [21] of villages."

From the foregoing discussion it follows that the view that Śāsta temples were formerly Buddhist chaityas and vihāras is untenable. The Takashi and Tiruvishai Śāsta temples have been famous for the treatment of certain kinds of mental and physical ailments. It is suggested that they were formerly Buddhist chaityas and that it is the Buddhist monks of the time who started the practice of rendering medical aid which was continued even after Buddhism disappeared from the land. It is also suggested that the science of medicine was taught to the people of Kerala by the Buddhist monks. These assertions are far from the truth. Temples in ancient Travancore, in South India in general, were not merely places of worship but were centres in which the political, social and cultural life of the people was focussed. Even medical aid could be obtained in the temples. "Temples must have existed in South India from time immemorial.[22]" It is therefore unhistorical to

19 S. I. Inscriptions, Vol. II, p. 40

20 Silappadikaram by V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, p. 51

21 *Ibid*, p. 152; Journal of Oriental Research, 1930; p. 278.

22 S. I. Images., p. i

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suggest that, because the Śāsta temples in Takazhi and Tiruvishai are noted for treatment of certain diseases, they are Buddhist in origin and that the deity worshipped in those temples is the Hinduised Buddha.

ABBREVIATIONS

J. I.H.—Journal of Indian History.
K.S.P.—Kerala Society Papers.
S.I. Inscriptions—South Indian Inscriptions.
S.I. Images—South Indian Images.
T.A.S.—Travancore Archæological Series.
Tr. S.M.—Travancore State Manual.

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21

THE INDOOR AND OUTDOOR GAMES IN ANCIENT INDIA

By Tridib Nath Ray, M.A., B.L.

The first urge of man is hunger, the next is pleasure. From the very dawn of creation man has found out means of amusing himself. Even the earliest palaeolithic man had invented some sort of game or amusement for his recreation. Man is a social being, so he loves the company of his fellow creatures to share his pleasure. The beauty of nature, seasonal changes, a good harvest, a clear moon-lit night, etc., impressed the primitive man so much that he wanted to enjoy the company of those whom he liked or loved in merry-making; hence developed the seasonal and pastoral festivities of ancient times. In these social gatherings men invented sports and games as means of recreation and amusement.

Now-a-days almost the whole of the civilised world is under the influence of European ideas and ways. The games of the Western world have gradually supplanted the old indigenous games of the civilised East. There are some games which the West has borrowed from the East and modified according to its own taste. The most important of these are the outdoor games of Polo and Hockey and the indoor game of Chess. In the present article we shall give a short account of the outdoor and indoor games of ancient India. It is not possible to give a chronological account of these games. There are certain games still prevalent in India which can be traced as far back as the Buddhist, Epic,

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and even the Vedic period. So we shall arrange the games according to their nature and shall try to give their history as far as practicable.

The most famous of the European festivals were the Olympic festivals. These were celebrated in a small plain in Elis near the sacred grove of Zeus. There was an interval of four years between each celebration of the festival. In these there were contests of chariot-racing, horse-racing, running, wrestling, boxing, jumping, javelin-throwing, etc. There were also contests of poetic compositions, music and other arts. In India also we had similar festivals. Though we cannot get a detailed account of these yet a clear indication of their existence can be had from Vedic literature. The term used for these festivals was *samana*.

There are mentions of these festivals in the Ṛg Veda,[1] Atharva Veda [2] and the Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā of the Yajurveda.[3] Sāyanācārya who flourished in the 14th century of the Christian era has explained this term as meaning battle [4] and sacrifice or festival.[5] But a close comparison of all the passages where this term occurs will clearly indicate that it means a festival or social gathering with a religious background like the famous Western festival of more recent age.[6]

[1] R. V.—I. 48. 6, 124. 8; II. 16. 7; IV. 58. 8; VI. 75. 3-5; VII 2. 5, 9. 4; VIII. 62. 9; IX. 96. 9, 97. 47; X. 55. 5, 69. 11, 86. 10, 143. 4, 168. 2.

[2] A. V.—II. 36. 1; VI. 92. 2.

[3] Vāj. Saṃ.—9. 9.; 17. 96; 29. 40-41.

[4] Commentaries on the following Ṛks: II 16. 7; VI. 75. 3-5; VII. 9. 4; IX. 96. 9. X. 53. 5, 86. 10, 168. 2, 69. 11.

[5] See Sāyaṇa's commentary on the Ṛks: VII. 2. 5; IX 97. 47; and X 86. 10.

[6] Roth in his St. Petersberg Dictionary has followed Sāyaṇa and rendered the term as either battle or festival, but Pischel thinks that it was a general popular festival when men assembled to show their skill. We have compared all the passages and have found that Pischel's interpretation is correct. In some of the Ṛks (VI. 75. 4; VIII. 62.9; IV. 58. 8.) Sāyaṇa has rendered the term as 'samanaska' 'samāna-manaska' but we think that these are far-fetched. If we render 'samana' as festival then the meaning of all the passages becomes clear.

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In this festival the archers[7] contested to show their skill. There were chariot and horse-racing.[8] The poets[9] tried to earn the laurel by reciting their skilful compositions, the women amused themselves,[10] the youthful damsels dressed themselves in fine clothes and ornaments to appear agreeable to the suitors,[11] and the public women[12] tried to captivate the people by their charms. These festivals lasted for days and were even celebrated during the whole night[13] up to the appearance of dawn.[14]

Besides samana there were other seasonal festivals which gradually degraded into ritualistic observances during the later ages. From the contemporary Kāśikā on the sūtra 'nityaṃ-krīḍā-jīvikayoḥ' (2. 2. 17) of the grammar of the great grammarian Pāṇini we get the names of two festivals, *e.g.*, 'Uddālaka-puṣpa-bhañjikā' and 'Vīraṇa-puṣpa-pracāyikā.' Uddālaka or śleṣmātaka is a kind of acid fruit (*dillenia speciosa*; it is called 'cālte' in Bengali). Vīraṇa is a kind of grass with fragrant roots (*andropogon muricatum* ; commonly called 'khaskhas' or 'beṇā'). From the commentary Kāśikā on another sūtra 'prācāṃ krīḍāyām' we get the name of another festival 'jīvaputra-pracāyikā.' Jīvaputra is a kind of oily fruit called 'iṅgudī' from which a kind of oil was extracted which was used mainly by the hermits of ancient India. These plays or festivals served two purposes, *viz.*, amusement and performance of some household duty. Thus we see that the people did all the household duties in an easy merry spirit. We still find the women of India performing their duties during the festivals and singing merrily in chorus some village song.

7 R. V.—VI. 75. 3-5.
8 R. V.—IX. 96. 9; A. V.—VI. 92. 2; Vāj. Saṃ—9. 9.
9 R. V.—II. 16. 7; IX. 97. 47.
10 R. V.—I. 124. 8; IV. 58. 8; VI. 75. 4; VII. 2. 3; X. 86. 10.
11 R. V.—VII. 2. 5.
12 R. V.—IV. 58. 8.
13 R. V.—X. 69. 11.
14 R. V.—I. 48. 6.

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In the Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana who is said to have flourished at the beginning of the Christian era we get a list of these festivals which have been termed as 'samasyā-krīḍā,' *i.e.*, the play in which some citizens assemble together and amuse themselves. These are : (*a*) Yakṣa-rātri, (*b*) Kaumudī-jāgara, (*c*) Suvasantaka, (*d*) Sahakāra-bhañjikā, (*e*) Abhyuṣa-khādikā, (*f*) Bisa-khādikā, (*g*) Navapatrikā, (*h*) Udaka-kṣveḍikā, (*i*) Pāñcālānuyāna, (*j*) Ekaśālmalī, (*k*) Yava-caturthī, (*l*) Ālola-caturthī, (*m*) Madanotsava, (*n*) Damana-bhañjikā, (*o*) Holākā, (*p*) Aśokottaṃsikā, (*q*) Puṣpāvacāyikā, (*r*) Cūtalatikā, (*s*) Ikṣu-bhañjikā, (*t*) Kadamba-yuddha. The first three have been termed as Māhimanī or having got a noble purpose and are universal, and the rest are Deśya or provincial.

Of the Māhimanī festivals (*a*) Yakṣa-rātri is performed during the night of the New Moon of Kārttika.[15] This night is also called Sukha-rātri. People generally gamble during this night. This is the night when the Diwali festival is celebrated now-a-days almost everywhere in India. In Bengal and in some parts of India goddess Kālī is worshipped during the night. The New Moon and Full Moon nights are specially fixed for the worship of Kāli and Lakṣmī the goddess of wealth. The Diwali festival is performed in honour of this goddess in most parts of India. The day following this night is called Dyūta-pratipat which is the first day of the Indian calender of the Vikrama era. Yakṣa-rātri is the last night of the year.[16] It is said that Bali the king of the Nether world ascended the throne on this day.

15 Some are of opinion that Yakṣa-rātri is the Full Moon night of Kārttika. But I do not think that they are correct. *Vide* the commentary by Rāmchandra Śāstrī on Kandarpacūḍāmaṇi (1.4.42.).

16 *Vide* Ain Akbari :—" This they call Bulraj (Balirājya) and account it a great festival." I have dealt with festivals in detail in my Presidential address on the occasion of Dipālī Utsab (1346 B.S.) at Dinajpur, which is going to be published very soon.

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(*b*) The next is the Kaumudī-jāgara which is now called Kojāgara Pūrṇimā, *i.e.*, the Full Moon night of Āśvina. This is the most clear moon-lit night of the year. People indulge in gambling and dolā-krīḍā *i.e.*, swinging in hammocks, etc. This night is most celebrated for the worship of the goddess Lakṣmī. It is said that whoever gambles this night becomes rich. This night is also called Dyūta-pūrṇimā.

(*c*) The last is Suvasantaka. This is the fifth day of the brighter half of the month of Māgha. This is called Vasantotsava or Madanotsava. Singing and dancing are the special features of this festival. In Ain Akbari it is thus written about this festival: —"The fifth they call Bussunt. It is the commencement of spring, and they celebrate it with great rejoicings; throwing at one another different coloured powders, and singing." (Ayeen Akberi—Gladwin, p. 798). This is called Śrīpañchamī[17] in certain parts of India. Sarasvatī the goddess of learning and music is worshipped during this festival. In Bengal the students as well as the public women worship this goddess with great pomp.

The rest are provincial pastoral festivals:—(*d*) Sahakāra-bhañjikā or cūtabhañjikā or āmrabhañjikā is a festival during the spring and is performed by plucking green mangoes. Vīrabhadradeva the author of Kandarpacūḍāmaṇi, a metrical commentary on the Kāmasūtra, has explained this as the amorous festival in which crowns or ear-rings of mango blossoms are worn. We had also in our younger days assembled in the mango-groves with pen-knives and oyster-shells and salt and spent the spring mornings and noons in plucking and eating the green mangoes.

(*e*) Abhyuṣa-khādikā—In this festival slightly ripe grains such as peas, grams, maizes, etc., were burnt with the

[17] In some other parts of India the fifth day of the brighter half of Chaitra is also called Srīpañcamī. *Vide* Ain Akbari by Gladwin, p. 797.

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plants and picnic was held. Still this festival is prevalent in many parts of India. In the Murshidabad and Nadia districts of Bengal this is called "hora-poda."

(*f*) Bisa-khādikā—It is a festival in which the young people pluck out and eat the bulbous roots of lotus from the tanks. It is generally a festival of places where there are lakes or tanks full of lotuses or water-lilies.

(*g*) Navapatrikā—Yaśodhara,[18] the commentator of the Kāmasūtra, has described this as a festivsl performed in the forest region by people residing in the adjoining villages at the time when the trees bring forth new leaves after the first shower at the beginning of the rainy season. But Vīrabhadra explains this as a kind of play in which the trees are married to the creepers

(*h*) Udaka-kṣedikā—In this festival people used to sprinkle coloured water on each other by means of syringes made of bamboo.[19] Yaśodhara calls it also śṛṅgakrīḍā. He says that it is prevalent in Madhya deśa. This festival has now been incorporated into the Holaka or Holikā festival which is commonly known as Holi and is prevalent all over India. We have seen in villages boys playing with bamboo syringes during the Holi ; now-a-days these are becoming rare and tin or brass syringes are taking their place.

(*i*) Pāñcālānuyāna—This has been explained by Yaśodhara as imitating the voice or cry of all animals and birds as is prevalent in Mithilā. But Vīrabhadra has explained it as playing with dolls. Damodara Sastri has explained it as "puttalikā-vivāha." We do not think that grown up people will play with dolls. It is most probably puppet-show which is specially performed during the Rāsayātrā festival in Bengal now-a-days.

18 The famous commentator was in all probability not Yaśodhara but Śaṅkarārya (*Vide* Indian Antiquary, 1913).

19 In Bhāgavata this syringe has been termed as 'recaka'.

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(*j*) Ekaśālmali—During the spring when the śālmali (silk cotton) trees are covered with flowers young people adorn themselves with ornaments made of these flowers and some of them climb on a big tree and others surround it singing and dancing. This festival was prevalent in Vidarbha (modern Berar). It has now become the ritualistic observance of Spṛhaṇīya-vrata.

(*k*) Yava-caturthī—The citizens threw fragrant barley powder on each other during the fourth night of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha. We have already seen that in the Mughal period at the Bussunt (Suvasantaka) festival people used to throw coloured powder on each other. There is a similar custon among the Jains who throw red powder on each other during the Diwali festival. This festival is similar to Holaka or Holi which is a more popular festival, "This," says Yaśodhara, "was prevalent in the Western countries." Now-a-days people use to take barley powder on the last day of the solar month of Chaitra.

(*l*) Ālola-caturthī—It was a festival of swinging performed during the fourth day of the brighter part of Śrāvaṇa. It is also called Āndolana-caturthī. Now-a-days the Jhulan Yātra of God Kṛṣṇa is performed during the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa from the eleventh day to the Full Moon. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why the old festival of Ālola-caturthī has become obsolete now.

(*m*) Madanotsava—On the bright 14th day of Chaitra an image of god Madana (Indian Cupid) was worshiped and it was celebrated with singing and dancing by the young folk. This was like the Bacchanalian dance of ancient Greece. Now this day is observed only as a parva or festival day. (*Vide* Ain Akbari, p. 797.)

(*n*) Damana-bhañjikā—On the 12th day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra young people gathered damana (*artemisia*, commonly called 'Dona' flowers) and adorned themselves with the ornaments made of these.

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(*o*) Holākā—This is the modern Holi festival. This takes place on the Full Moon day of Phālguna. In this festival people formerly used to throw coloured powders or fragrant waters on each other by means of small pots made of lac which burst as soon as they come into contact with the human body. This festival of the olden times has been mixed up with the Udaka-kṣveḍikā and has developed into the Holi festival, which has now become a Madanotsava.

(*p*) Aśokottaṃsikā—This was celebrated during the bright eighth day of Chaitra. In this festival young people used to wear crowns made of Aśoka flowers. This has now turned into a ritualistic observance called Aśokāṣṭamī when the women usually eat the Aśoka flowers.

(*q*) Puṣpāvacāyikā—It is the play of picking or collecting flowers. In many kāvyas we get descriptions of this dalliance.[20]

(*r*) Cūtalatikā—In this festival, like many preceding ones, young people adorn themselves with mango-blossoms.

(*s*) Ikṣu-bhañjikā—When the sugarcanes become ripe for harvest young boys assemble together and hold a picnic near the field—break and chew the canes with great merriment. In Western Bengal little village boys still hold this kind of festival just before the time when sugarcane-juice is extracted for making *gur*. We ourselves participated in this kind of merry-making in our younger days while living in that part of the province.

(*t*) Kadamba-yuddha—During the rainy season when the Kadamba (*Nauclea Kadamba*) flowers blossom young boys and girls assemble together under a Kadamba tree and divide themselves into two parties and fight with each other using those flowers as missiles. In Europe young boys fight with each other with soft snow-balls during the Winter.

Vātsyāyana has named one more similar festival—Aṣṭamī-candraka (K. S., 3.3.18.; 5.5.11). It takes place on the

20 Kirātārjunīyam—8th canto. Śiśupālavadham—7th canto.

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eighth day of the black fortnight of Agrahāyaṇa. People worship the Moon at midnight after fasting for the whole day.

In the Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa (5, 93) we get a list of these festivals where we find three more names, *viz.*, Kunda-caturthī, Bhūtamātṛkā and Śakrārcā. Kunda-caturthī is celebrated on the fourth day of the bright half of Māgha. It is the day before the Suvasantaka.[21] Śakrārcā was a festival mainly intended for worship of Śakra, the king of the gods, who controlled the rains of the year. In the Purāṇas we get many references to this festival. It gradually degenerated into the observance of the Indra-dhvaja ceremony in which a pole is erected by the kings in honour of god Indra with the object of multiplication of the subjects. In the Kālikā Purāṇa there is an elaborate description of this observance. In the Raghu-vaṃśa there is a śloka mentioning this festival.[22] We could not identify Bhūtamātṛkā.

We have already seen that gambling with dice was one of the essential features of the Māhimanī festivals. This is the most ancient of all the games.

We have got proofs that it existed even before the Vedic ages.[23]

The archaeological excavations of Mohenjo-Daro have unearthed many cubical clay dice and elongated four-sided ivory dice. Most of these cubical dice are uniform cubes (1·2″/1·2″/1·2″ or 1·5/1·5″/1·5″) with one exception. The sum of the marks on the opposite sides of the modern dice is 7 but that of Mohenjo-Daro varies.[24] These dice are made of baked clay and traces of red paint are visible on most of

21 "Bietrage zur Indischen Erotik," by R. Schmidt, p. 197.

22 Raghu—IV. 3.

23 If of course the Indus valley civilisation be earlier; but Dr. R. C. Majumdar in his presidential address has pointed out that these two civilizations ran parallel which I think is the correct view.

24 Bellassis found some dice at Brahmanabad in 1824 the marks on which are arranged like modern dice (Arch. Sur. Ind., Ann. Rep., 1900-09, p. 85).

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them. From the well-preserved condition of the dice it seems that these were thrown on some soft material.

In the Vedic time people gambled using the bibhītaka fruits as dice. In the later Vedic literature there is mention of golden dice (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 5.4.46 and Taittirīya Saṃhitā, 8.16.). These were most probably used by the kings during the sacrifices. We have as yet got no definite proof that quadrangular ivory bars or cubical dice were used during the Vedic age although we have evidence that these were used in the Indus valley. In the Mahābhārata we get terms such as dyūta and dūrodara. The word pāśaka is only used in Bk. IV which is thought to be a later addition by many scholars. Cunning gamblers like Śakuni used hollow dice plugged with lead.

There is a sūtra in Pāṇini's grammar "akṣa-śalākā saṃkhyā pariṇā." In the commentary on the Nārada Smṛti (6·1) we get the meaning of 'śalākā' as a four-sided bar made of ivory, etc. Thus we are certain that in Pāṇini's time (c. 6th century B.C.) śalākā was used in gambling. In a Burmese manuscript of Bidura Jātaka we get a mention of gambling with śalākā. Moreover the cubical clay dice and four-sided bars of Mohenjo-Daro clearly prove that playing with dice and with śalākās were two separate games prevalent in India form a very ancient time.

We get a very scanty account of the mode of playing dice in Vedic time from the Vedic literature. From the Ṛg Veda (1.41.9) we can guess that generally four dice were used in gambling. From some other ṛks (10.34.8 and 12) many scholars infer that people used to gamble with many dice. But we do not think it to be possible. These suktas may refer to sāris, *i.e.*, men or pieces on the dice-board. In the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (1.7.10) we get a passage where there is a reference to playing with five dice.

Vedic literature gives us no clue about the dice-board. In the excavations at Ur Mr. Woolley found some cubical

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dice and a board like chess-board. We are certain that in later age board was used in gambling with dice. A bas-relief on the Bharhut rails depict a scene of gambling where two men are sitting face to face; there is a board in front of them which has six times five squares and six little cubes with marks on the sides lying outside the board (Cunningham, Pl. XLV. No. 9).

In Vedic time dice were thrown on a soft surface or in a hole in earth which was called adhidevana, debana or iriṇa. In the commentary on a passage of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa it is written that at the time of establishing Satyāgni priests spread a piece of ox-hide at the north side of the sacrificial fire and placed a brass pot up-side down and then used to throw dice on it. The vessel which contained the akṣas was called akṣāvapana and the man who was in charge of it was called akṣāvāpa. The throw was called glah or grabh and the throw which indicated gain was called aya ; stake was called vija. The four sides of the akṣa had different names : the side marked with one point was kali, that with two points dvāpara, that with three points tretā and that with four points was called kṛta. In some games kṛta and in other kali was regarded as the highest throw.

Nīlakaṇṭha the commentator on the Mahābhārata has given us an idea of the ancient name of dice (4.50.24). A passage in the Mahābhārata (4.1.24) clearly proves that at the time when it was written people used to play dice with the help of a board and sāris, *i.e.*, pieces or men. Nīlakaṇṭha in his commentary explained this passage very clearly.

In the Jātakas there are references to gambling with dice (I.151, 221 ; III. 61, 131 ; VI. 171, 133, 137), to a gaming song (I. 151, 137), to names of the throws of dice (VI. 137) and to magic dice (II. 175). In the Buddhist period there were several forms of dice play; we shall deal with those latter on.

Vātsyāyana in his list of 64 Kalās has named the art of

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playing Dyūta-viśeṣa and Ākarṣa-krīḍā as two different kalās (1.3.16). Dyūta-viśeṣa has been explained by the commentator as inanimate gambling such as Muṣṭi, Kṣullaka, etc.[25] Ākarṣa krīḍā has been explained as pāśaka krīḍā, which has been wrongly identified with Akṣa-krīḍā. But in the next chapter Vātsyāyana has mentioned dyūtaphalaka and ākarṣa-phalaka, *i.e.*, boards for playing dice and Ākarṣa. Here he has definitely differentiated between the two games. Dyuta here undoubtedly means dice and most probably cubical dice. We think Ākarṣa is Pāśaka-krīḍā in which little staves or bars of ivory were used.

In the Daśakumāracarita we find mention of several kinds of gambling. From the above-mentioned passage of the Nārada-smṛti we can understand that gambling with pieces of leather was also a kind of favourite game. In the classical and later literature there are innumerable passages describing the gambling with dice.[25]

In the Buddhist literature such as Sutrakṛtāṇga (1.9.17), Cullavagga (1.13.2), Tevijjasutta Majjhimasilam (2.3 4), Dighanikāya Brahmajālasutta Majjhimasilam, Suttavibhaṅga Samghādidesa (13.1.2), there are lists of amusements which were forbidden to the monks as evil ways. I shall classify these as indoor and outdoor games. First of all let us deal with the indoor games. These are: Aṭṭhapada, Dasapada, Ākāsa, Khalikā, Salākahattha, Akkharikā Manesikā and Yathāvajjam.

(1) Aṭṭhapada is a game which is now known as Caturanga or Sataranj, *i.e.*, Indian Chess. It was a kind of gambling. The great Buddhist scholar Buddhaghoṣa has explained this term in his commentary, Sumangala-vilāsinī, of Dighanikāya as game on boards with eight rows having eight squares at each row. It may mean any other game like draught from which the modern game of chess

[25] For a detailed account of gambling with dice in ancient India *vide* my article on 'Akṣa-krīḍā' in Vangīya-Mahākoṣa.

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has developed but a śloka of the Hara-vijaya Mahākāvya (12.9) by Rājānaka Ratnākara who flourished in the 9th century has left no doubt about its identity. The contemporary commentator Rājānaka Alaka has explained it more fully.

(2) Dasapada—This game is similar to Aṭṭhapada. It is played with a board of 8 lines having 10 squares in each line. In Mohenjo-Daro a lot of pieces like those used in the modern game of Pāśā, *i.e.*, the game of chess have been found. These are made of clay, shells or various kinds of stones (Pl. CLV, Nos. 11 to 25). The Sinhalese commentator says that each of these games was played with dice and with pieces such as kings and so on. The Sinhalese word for pieces is poru (from puruṣa) just like 'men' of the modern game of chess. We have already noticed the discovery of a board and some dice in Ur, which we think were used in Aṣṭapada or Caturaṅga. There is a detailed account of the old game of Caturaṅga in a book called Tithi-tattva of the 15th century.

(3) Ākāsa—Buddhaghoṣa says that this is a game similar to the two previous ones; only it is played by imagining such boards in air. It is like the modern game of Gaivi or the blind-fold chess.

(4) Khalikā—Buddhaghoṣa has explained this as gambling with dice. If Buddhaghoṣa be correct this is same as Ākarṣa. But we think it is Kṣullaka.

(5) Salākahattha—Buddhaghoṣa has explained as dipping the hand with the fingers stretched out in lac or red dye or flour-water and striking the wet hand on the ground or on a wall calling out 'what shall it be'? and showing the form required—elephants, horses, etc.[26] During the Dipali festival now in certain parts of India cattle are marked with impressions of palms coloured in red colour or yellow colour.

[26] Salākahatta on flour water as colouring matter, *vide* Jātaka I. 220.

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(6) Akkharikā—Buddhaghoṣa has explained this as guessing at letters traced in the air or on a play-fellow's back. In this play somebody writes something very quickly, whoever can guess it becomes the writer and the writer guessor. This game is still prevalent in India.

(7) Manesikā—Buddhaghoṣa has explained as manasā chintita-jānana-kīlā, *i.e.*, guessing the play-fellows' thoughts.

(8) Yathāvajjā—Buddhaghoṣa has explained this as mimicry of deformities of the blind, the deaf, the lame, etc.

In the epic age and in the Pauranic age men as well as women participated in gambling of all sorts. In Vātsyāyana's time indoor gambling such as Akṣa, Pāśaka, etc., were considered to be very laudable amusements of the citizens of both sexes. In the classical and in the latter literature we get numerous references of indoor games which were mostly of the gambling nature. Playing with cards seems to be unknown in ancient India. Some identify Pattikākrīḍā referred to in the Kāmasūtra as playing with cards, but it is unfounded. A later work called Gañjiphā-khelana published in the Kāvyamālā series of Bombay and a book called Krīḍā-kauśalya by Giridhara deal with a kind of game with cards. But the latter was not earlier than the Moghul period.

Next we shall speak a few words about the indoor games for women and boys. Vātsyāyana gives us a long list of these games. We shall give a short account of each of them.

(1) Puṣpa-grathana—Stringing garlands of flowers.

(2) Gṛhaka—Playing with clay, wood or metal household utensil.

(3) Duhitṛkā—Playing with dolls.[27] Some think this to be playing the parts of a fictitious family.

(4) Bhakta-pāka-karaṇa—Mimic cooking food with sand, grass, etc.

[27] *Cf.* Kumāra-sambhava, 1.19.

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These four games mentioned above are the games of girls less than ten years of age.

(5) Ākarṣa-krīḍā—Game of gambling with ivory bars or cowries. This was most probably played by women as friendly games.

(6) Pattikā-krīḍā—Yaśodhara explains this as Pattikā-grathana from which nothing can be inferred. Ramchandra Sastri in his notes on Kandarpa-cūḍāmaṇi has explained it as playing with the eyes blind-folded with a piece of cloth. But Vātsyāyana has already mentioned a similar game called Aṅguli-tāḍitakā. Burton has explained this as a play with cards. It may be a gambling with leather pieces or with tapes.

(7) Muṣṭi-dyūta—It is a game of "odd and even" played mostly by girls or young boys or both. Some girl takes a few cowries or seeds of fruits in her hand and asks her playmates to guess whether it contains odd or even number. If the guessor be correct then she losses those cowries or seeds in her hand if not then she takes the equal number of cowries from her opponent.

(8) Kṣullaka-dyūta—Yaśodhara has explained it as 'pañca-samayādi'; from this nothing is clear. We think that it was a kind of gambling with powdered rice, flour, or barley.

(9) Madhyamāṅguli-grahaṇa—It is a game in which a girl catches with one of her hands her own fingers of the other hand so that the tips of the fingers are only visible. The playmates are asked to find out the middle finger which she hides cleverly among her other fingers. This game is also now prevalent in India.

(10) Ṣaṭpāṣāṇa—It is a game chiefly played by girls. It is played with six pebbles or similar objects by throwing, placing and receiving them skilfully on the back of the palms of hands. This game is also very common in almost everywhere in India.

(11) Godhūma-puñjikā—In this game some coin is hidden in a heap of wheat which is equally distributed

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among the players. All except the person who receives the coin pay the stake.[28]

So far with the indoor games; now we shall deal with the outdoor games. The athletic sports, horse-racing, chariot-racing, etc., were the principal amusements of the warlike Aryan youths. We have already noticed that in the Samana festival the archers contested for their skill and there were horse and chariot races. The wrestlers must have also fought with each other. In the Epic, Buddhist, and in the later literature we get ample references of wrestling, fighting with stick in a sham fight, etc. In a sūtra (4. 2. 57) of Pāṇini we get two terms, *viz*., dāṇḍā and mauṣṭyā as sham-fights in which sticks and fists were weapons. The Buddhist suttas also refer to horse-racing, chariot-racing, elephant-racing, archery, fencing with swords, sticks, etc., and to wrestling and boxing.[29] The caṇḍālas used to play with iron balls and bamboo poles. They also showed all kinds of tricks which we now call magic.[30] We shall now give a short account of some of the games mentioned in the Buddhist Suttas :

(1) Parihārapatha—Buddhaghoṣa has explained this as keeping going over diagrams drawn on the ground so that one steps only where one ought to go. The Sinhalese commentator says that the steps must be made hopping. Now in some parts of Bengal young boys and girls take a circular flat piece made of burnt clay or stone and move it over the diagrams drawn on earth. This game they call 'Ekka-Dokka.' It may be compared with the primitive "hop-scotch" of the West.

(2) Santikā—In this game some pebbles or pieces are collected together in a place with the help of the toe without

[28] This game can be considered as an outdoor game.

[29] Suttavibhaṅga Saṅghādidesa, XIII. 1. 1; Cullavagga, 1.13.2. Brahmajālasutta Majjhimasīlam, etc. Anupapātikasutta, s. 107. Tittira Jātaka, III. 541; IV. 390; Vinaya, III. 180; II. 10; IV. 107; Milinda, 232.

[30] Citta-sambhūta Jātaka. Buddhaghoṣa's commentary on Dīgha-Nikāya.

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disturbing other pieces and also of separating those pieces similarly. Now-a-days this is also played by the boys as a variation of the previous game.

(3) Ghatikā—Buddhaghoṣa has explained this as playing by beating a short stick with a long one. This is now called "dāṇḍā-guli." It can be compared with "tip-cat" of the West. In the Mahābhārata we get reference to the Kuru boys playing with "vīṭā." "Vīṭā" has been explained by the commentator Nīlakaṇṭha as a piece of stick, a span in length, with two ends pointed like a barley corn, which is hit by boys with a stick, a cubit long.

(4) Akkha—This is not dice. Buddhaghoṣa as well as the Sinhalese commentator explains this as playing with ball which is now most probably called playing with guli (small porcelain or glass balls). In the excavation of Mohenjo-Daro balls of agate and other hard stones of various sizes have been found mostly in the courtyards of the excavated houses. These balls are not perforated, so these are not beads but toys. In some of these balls concentric circles are marked.

(5) Mokkhacikā—This is a kind of gymnastics. Buddhaghoṣa has explained this as turning some results in the air or with the help of a stick. The Sinhalese commentator has the alternative explanation that it is turning over trapeze. It is written in a Jātaka that the son of a Seṭṭhi at Benares who used to amuse himself by this game brought upon himself an entanglement of his intestines.

In Bhāgavata (Canto 10) we get a long list of sports in which the cow-herd companions of Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa indulged, *e.g.*, Vāhya-vāhaka, Setubandha, Nīlāyana, etc.

Now we shall give an account of the outdoor games of the women and boys enumerated by Vātsyāyana:

(1) Sunīmilatakā—This is hide and seek. This has been clearly explained by the commentator. In ancient kāvyas we get references of this game among the young men and women. This is also called dṛṁmīlana-krīḍā.

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(2) Ārabdhikā—In this game a girl claps her hands with another and runs away; the other then follows her. This is also a modern game.

(3) Lavaṇa-vīthikā—This game is now termed differently in different parts of India. In Bengal it is called Nuncuri or Gaji in Calcutta. In Murshidabad it is called Gadi and in Nadia Hiṅge. In Upper India it is called Lavaṇa-hār. In this game a long axis line about a foot wide is marked on the ground with many other shorter lines of equal length across it at equal intervals. These lines form so many square chambers on both sides of the axis line. Of the two chambers at the upper extremity of the axis line one is called Lavaṇ-ghar or salt chamber. The players are equally divided into two parties—one party as guards of this salt chamber and the other party as the robbers whose main aim is to rob the salt. These robbers all gather in the chamber just opposite to the salt chamber and then come out one by one to rob the salt. Each of them must go to the salt chamber once and then cross all the cross-lines and again come back to the original square. While the guards will guard the axis as well as the cross lines. If the guard can touch any of the robbers then he is 'killed.' But the guards cannot enter the squares; they can only stretch out their hands and feet in order to touch the opponents.

(4) Anilatāḍitikā—It is a game in which the girls stretch out their hands and turn round and round like a top. The boys and girls recite a rhyme when they play this game. In Bengal they say "āni pāni jāni nā, parer chele māni nā, etc.," *i.e.*, Move away everybody from this place I shall not be responsible if somebody be hurt.

(5) Aṅguli-tāḍitakā—Blindman's buff.

(6) Maṇḍūkaikapādikā—It does not appear in the text. Yaśodhara has mentioned it in the commentary. In the Bhāgavata there is a reference to a similar game (10.12.10).

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In Bengal it is called "Kumir-kumir." It may be a form of "leap and frog."

(7) In the Kandarpacūḍāmaṇi one other game is mentioned as yaṣṭi-kuntaka-vicyuti (3.3.6), *i.e.*, throwing sticks or javelins. It may be a milder form of the well-known athletic exercise.

In the Meghadūta we get the reference to another game as gūḍhamaṇi. In this game, as in godhuma puñjikā girls hide a jewel in heaps of sand and find it out.[31]

Besides the above games the ladies of ancient India played with balls called Kandūka. We get many beautiful descriptions of this game in the Sanskrit kāvyas. In the Daśakumāracarita there is a detailed description of this game (Vol. II, 6th Ucchvāsa). The game of swings or Dolākrīḍā was another favourite game of the ladies. In the kāvyas we get also many detailed descriptions of Jalakeli, *i.e.*, swiming in the lakes. Rāsa-krīḍā was a game of dancing mainly played by adolescents of both sexes. We have already mentioned the game of collecting flowers.

We shall now conclude our essay by saying a few words about the toys of ancient India. In Mohenjo-Daro innumerable toys made of baked clay have been found. At that time wood was also another material for toy-making (Pls. CLIII-CLIV and CLV). In the 13th chapter of the Bhāgavata we get mention of clay and wooden toys with detachable limbs (I, 13.43). In the Rāmāyaṇa (I.9,14; V. 16.21), Mahābhārata (III. 12.53) and the later works[32] there are ample references to toys of various shapes and materials.

In the Buddhist suttas there are mentions of some games played with toys.

31 *Vide* Bhāgavata and Bālacarita of Bhāsa.

32 Kathā-saritsāgara—17·74. Raghu, X. 14. Pañca, I.—I.155. Śakuntalā, etc., Vātsyāyana (Adhikaraṇa III, Ch. 4).

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(1) Pangacīra—Playing with toy pipes made of palm leaves. Now in the village fairs during the Ratha-yātrā festival boys still play with this primitive toy.[33]

(2) Vaṅkaka—Ploughing with toy ploughs[34]

(3) Ciṅgulaka—Playing with toy windmills made of palm-leaves. These toys also are sold in the village fairs now-a-days. In the Jaina Anupapātikasutta (s. 107, p. 77) it has been called baṭṭa-kheḍḍa. It may be compared with the whirligig of Europe.

(4) Pattālahaka—Playing with toy measures and scales made of palm-leaves.

(5) Rathaka—Playing with toy carts. In Mohenjo-Daro many toy carts made of baked clay have been found. Now-a-days during the Ratha-yātrā festival boys play with toy carts made of clay, wood or tin. In villages boys make bullock carts with bamboo sticks and clay wheels.

(6) Dhanuka—Playing with toy bows. These are also sold in the fairs in the villages.

Before conclusion I shall say a few words about the places where these games were played and by whom. The passages quoted above have in most cases given an idea of the people by whom these games were played. Some games, mostly pastoral festivals, were played by the village folk of both sexes. The manly sports were played of course by the men only and I have already mentioned certain games especially played by the young girls.

Indoor games were mostly played by the people of both sexes and it is needless to add that *puṣpāvacāyikā*, *dolakrīḍā*, *jalakrīḍā* and similar other love dalliances would be meaningless unless the young folks of both sexes take part in these.

33 In Marathi– Punzi means flute. Rev. Morris thinks it stands for Cirapunga, *i.e.*, flute made of blef. J. P. T. S. 1889, p. 205 ff.

34 Rev. Morris thinks that it has been derived from a Sanskrit word meaning plough.

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As we have already seen the outdoor games were mostly played in the courtyards, woods, gardens, fields, tanks and rivers. The indoor games were played in public and private club houses. Games of Chess, Dice, etc., etc., were played also in the houses of individual citizens. From Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra we get a vivid idea of these club houses. The houses of courtezans were in most cases rendezvous of the gamblers From the Vedic and Smṛti literature we get a clear idea that the gambling houses were properly managed under the supervision of the State. Kauṭilya's Artha-śāstra, Bṛhaspati's Artha-śāstra, Sukra-nīti, and Kāmandakīya Nītisāra also support this view. In the Buddhist, Jain and Brāhmanic literature we get mention of *Samājas* where religious, social and economic discourses as well as gambling, music, dancing and various other games and sports were performed. The instances of this kind of *Samājas* and *Sabhās* are not rare in the Vedic and Epic literature. Vātsyāyana gives us an elaborate but pithy account of the *Goṣṭhīs* or clubs which were in existence during his time. Dramas of Bhāsa and others, kāvyas, and the vast Bhāṇa literature gives us ample instances of these goṣṭhīs. I shall not tire your patience by dealing with this subject in detail. Dr. R. C. Majumdar in his "Corporate Life in Ancient India" and Mr. H. C. Chakladar in his "Social Life in Ancient India" have given us some idea of the club life of the Ancient Indians.

In conclusion I want to draw your attention to the fact that the social life of Indian villages has changed very little. There is a continuity of ideas from the very remotest time to the modern age. The only important factor is to note that the ideas have changed. From the easy peace-loving, gay valiant people we have become superstitious, conservative, lifeless remnants of our ancient glory. From these materials, which are scattered in our literature and monuments, we can easily build up an interesting chapter of the social history of Ancient India.

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SECTION II

Ancient Imperial Period Section

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

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THE CONCEPTION OF EMPIRE IN ANCIENT INDIA

Calcutta rightly holds the pride of place among the foremost centres of Indian studies, and I feel it an honour to have been called upon to preside over the proceedings of a section at a session of the Indian History Congress held under the auspices of the University of Calcutta.

As our section relates to the Ancient Imperial period, I think it proper to begin our proceedings with some reflections on the conception of Empire in Ancient India. All division of history into periods is a necessary, but arbitrary, process, and the title of our section is meant to include the fifteen centuries between the rise of the Mauryan Empire and the fall of the Cōlas.

The earliest empires of which we have any detailed descriptions are more or less legendary and may well be held to fall outside the scope of our field of enquiry. Such was the empire of the Ikṣvākus of Ayodhyā, whose sway is said to have comprised the whole earth :

sarvā pūrvam iyaṃ yeṣām āsīt kṛtsnā vasundharā.

Again the descriptions of Yudhiṣṭhira's rule in the *Mahābhārata*, particularly the *digvijaya* undertaken on his account, once before the *rājasūya* and later in relation to his *aśvamedha*, may be recalled; Yudhiṣṭhira tells Śrī Kṛṣṇa just before the *rājasūya* ;

tvatkṛte pṛthivī sarvā madvaśe Kṛṣṇa vartate,[1]

1 *Mbh.*, II. 36. 18 (Bombay).

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a statement which should perhaps be understood in the light of Arjuna's *pratijñā* at the beginning of the *digvijaya*, *viz.*,

karam āharayiṣyāmi rājñas-sarvān nṛpottama.[2]

Then we have the story of Pṛthu Vainya narrated elsewhere in the *Mahābhārata* ; this story is connected with the origin of monarchy and it was after him that the earth came to be called *pṛthivī*. How the expression 'the whole earth' must be understood in these contexts, and what the nature of the rule was in its extension to outlying lands, are questions that are not perhaps capable of being decided on the basis of evidence that modern historians will accept as decisive. Beyond a vague acknowledgement of suzerainty and a payment, either a contribution to an imperial sacrifice or a periodical tribute, these 'conquests' did not mean much. And if we may accept Kālidāsa's treatment of Raghu's *digvijaya* as an implied comment on such antique traditions, we may have to take rather modest views of such passages.

In any case, the idea of Empire in the sense of a single power extending and maintaining its rule over a number of peoples belonging to different races was unknown to Ancient India. The racial and cultural unity of the many kingdoms of India had been established before the rise of the Mauryan Empire, and nothing happened to disturb the prevalent cultural harmony till the advent of Islam into India. We shall search the annals of Ancient India in vain for any indications of Imperialism of the type developed in other lands and ages. There was no belief that the lord of big battalions had a duty to impose the culture of his people on weaker peoples ; there was no systematic attempt to exploit subject countries economically. Nothing can be farther from these than the quiet tone in which Aśoka records the despatch of his missions for the preaching of *dhamma* in alien lands.

[2] II. 26.5 (Bombay).

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The Indian conception of Empire was closely bound up with that of *cakravartin*, and it would be well worth our while to consider this term with some care. Many explanations of it have been offered, and each of them may be seen to give some one aspect of this rather complex notion. It seems to have had a long history and gathered many accretions round itself in the course of centuries : but I do not think we are yet in a position to trace the stages of this development with any precision.

With characteristic terseness Amarasiṃha defines the different classes of rulers as follows :

rājā tu praṇatāśeṣa-sāmantaḥ syādadhīśvaraḥ ।
cakravartī sārvabhaumo nṛpo'nyo maṇḍaleśvaraḥ ॥
yeneṣṭaṃ rājasūyena maṇḍalasyeśvaraśca yaḥ ।
śāsti yaścājñayā rājñas-sa samrāṭ... ॥

We have here in ascending order *rājā*, *adhīśvara*, *maṇḍaleśvara*, *samrāṭ*, *cakravartin* constituting a hierarchy of different grades of monarchs. Amarasiṃha's definitions are doubtless the reflection of a long-established tradition on the subject. A Cakravartin was a universal sovereign. The whole world was his kingdom, and Bharata was the first of cakravartins according to one line of tradition.[3] Amarasiṃha, it seems, had in his mind the verses in the *Śakuntalopākhyāna* of the *Mahābhārata* on Bharata :[4]

Duṣyantas tu tadā rājā putraṃ Śākuntalaṃ tadā ।
Bharataṃ nāmataḥ kṛtvā yauvarājye'bhyaṣecayat ॥
tasya tat prathitaṃ cakram prāvarttata mahātmanaḥ ।
bhāsvaraṃ divyamajitaṃ lokasannādanaṃ mahat ॥

[3] In *Maitrāyaṇī Up.*, I.4 there is a list of Cakravartins among Mahādhanurdharas and Bharata's name is placed last in this list. The *Ait. Br.*, VIII., 4.1 adumbrates the ideal of Sārvabhauma.

[4] *Mbh.* (Calcutta Edn., 18341), 174, vv. 3118.22=(Bombay Edn. 1906), I, end of Ch. 100 and beginning of Ch. 101, with some variations.

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sa vijitya mahīpālāṃścakāra vaśavarttinaḥ ।
cacāra ca satāṃ dharmmaṃ prāpa cānuttamaṃ yaśaḥ ॥
sa rājā *cakravartyāsīt sārvvabhaumaḥ* pratāpavān ।
īje ca bahubhiryajñairyathā Śakro marutpatiḥ ॥
yājayāmāsa taṃ Kaṇvo vidhivad-bhūri-dakṣiṇam ।
śrīmad govitataṃ nāma vājimedham avāpa saḥ ।
yasmin sahasraṃ padmānāṃ Kaṇvāya Bharato dadau ॥

Here we have all the elements making up the idea of *Cakravartin*, and the doubt about the exact significance of the *cakra* is also there. Kālidāsa, the wisest interpreter of the imperial ideals of the Gupta Age, interprets the *cakra* as the wheel of the royal chariot. He says of Bharata :[5]

rathenā'nutkhātas timitagatinā tīrṇajaladhiḥ
purā saptadvīpāṃ jayati vasudhām apratirathaḥ ।

Let us note also that he includes not only the whole of India, but the entire world in the empire of Bharata. In his *Raghuvaṃśa* again his general description of the Raghus in the phrases *āsamudrakṣitīśānām*, *ānākarathavartmanām*, and *yaśase vijigīṣūṇām* is also an unmistakable echo of the Mahābhārata passage cited above.

Such seems to be the most authoritative interpretation of the conception as it obtained in the heyday of 'Hindu Superiority.' This becomes clear also from the epithets usually applied to Samudragupta in early Gupta inscriptions, *viz.*, *sarvvarājocchettuḥ*, *pṛthivyām-apratirathasya caturudadhisalil-āsvāditayaśasaḥ*.

In the face of so much evidence on the ancient interpretation of the term, we need not hesitate to regard as mere unsubstantial guesses some of the explanations offered in modern lexicons and cyclopaedias. I have in mind such statements as *cakraṃ pṛthvīcakraṃ vartate tena* (*Śabdakalpa-*

[5] *Śākuntala*, Act VII, v. 33.

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druma), or *cakre bhūmaṇḍale vartitum, cakraṃ sainya-cakraṃ vā sarvva-bhūmau varttayituṃ śīlam asya* (*Vācaspatya*).

More respectable is the explanation of *cakra* as *maṇḍala*, a group of states related in a particular manner (of which a little more will be said presently), or, more generally, a group of persons engaged in some common enterprise as in the often-cited phrase from the *Gītagovinda*: *padmāvaticaraṇa-cāraṇacakravartī*. This explanation of *cakra* as *maṇḍala* has the high authority of Śrīdhara in its favour.

Two other interpretations of *cakra* bring it into close connection with the mythology of Jainism and Buddhism. One of them considers the *cakra* to be a lotus or wheel traced by the natural lines in the palm of a man's hand, *cakraṃ padmākāraśubhacihnam kare vartate yasya* (*Śabda-kalpadruma*), a mark of sovereignty. The *Bhojacampū* makes a striking use of this concept in the verse:

rekhā-rathāṅga-sarasīruha-śaṅkha-cihne
kṣemaṅkare tava kare jagatāṃ trayāṇām |
kāntārakandakhananaṃ racayehi nūnam
ābaddhavān pratisaraṃ bhagavān Vasiṣṭhaḥ ||

This idea of a lotus, wheel and conch marked by natural lines on the palm of a born emperor, borders on the notion of a *mahāpuruṣa* distinguished from ordinary mortals by thirty-two bodily marks, and destined to be either a *cakravartin* or a *jina*.

The other interpretation is offered by the *Abhidhāna-rājendra* in the statement: *cakreṇa ratnabhūtena praharaṇa-viśeṣeṇa vartituṃ śīlam asya*. This may well be the idea behind the verse from the Mahābhārata cited above regarding the *bhāsvaraṃ divyam ajitaṃ cakram*. This idea of the *cakra* of 1,000 radii (*sahasrāram*) preceding the conquering hero through the air on his conquest of the world occupies

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a considerable place in Jaina and Bauddha mythology.[6] On the one side this *cakra* as an instrument of war connects itself with the discus of Viṣṇu, of solar origin, and a whole cycle of solar myths. On the other, the conquering wheel of the Cakravartin is the political parallel to the wheel of Dharma (Dharmacakra) of the Buddha which too rolls freely everywhere and which no one is able to turn back. And the parallelism between the Cakravartin and the Buddha is carried, as is well known, to the disposal of their remains at their death in a stūpa.[7]

On the political side, the conquering wheel is sometimes replaced by the *ājñā-cakra*, and a famous verse at the opening of the *Silappadikāram* affirms that the wheel of command of the Cōla ruler emulates the Sun in its free revolutions round the Meru mountain.

Pali Buddhist literature bridges the gap between mythology and realism by recognising three sorts of *cakravartins*, the cakkavālacakkavatti, dipacakkavatti and padesacakkavatti, who rule respectively the four great continents comprising the entire world, only one continent, and a part of one continent.[8] Bournouf's comment on a similar classification found in the first chapter of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* is noteworthy: 'On peut dire que les trois titres *Maṇḍalin*, *Balatchakravartin*, et *Tchaturdvīpa tchakravartin*, expriment une domination de plus en plus étendue jusqu'à devenir fabuleuse. Ainsi les *Maṇḍalins* sont les souverains d'un royaume dit *maṇḍala*; ce sont probablement les rois ordinaires. Les *Balatchakravartins* sont des souverains de plusieurs royaumes et leur puissance est, à ce qu'il paraît, soutenue par une armée ou une force (*bala*) qui leur assure

[6] Jacobi in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, s. v. cakravartin. Jacobi notes that the *cakra* does not figure as such in any list of the seven or fourteen (mahā)ratnas attributed to the Cakravartin of different sects by different authorities.

[7] *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. II, pp. 92-93; Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*, p. 64.

[8] Childers.

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la victoire. Enfin les *Tchaturdvīpa tchakravartins* sont des monarques souverains dont la fabuleuse domination s'étend sur les quatre iles dont la réunion forme la terre suivant l'opinion des Buddhistes.' [9]

Was the *Cakravartin* conceived of as a divinity? *Avatāras* like Rāma being excepted, I think this question must be answered in the negative. No Indian king ever called himself 'Theos' or 'Epiphanes,' and none was worshipped as a god in his life-time. The apotheosis of dead rulers, more often found in South India and the Overseas Colonies than in the rest of India, constitutes an aspect of Śaivism, a religious phenomenon that seems to have little or no bearing on the present issue. The Indian monarch may be a '*devānāmpriya*' (the chosen of the gods), or *Dhanadendravaruṇāntaka-sama* (Samudragupta), but is never a *deva* much less a *devadeva*. The deified king of the Hellenistic period who anticipated the Emperor worship of the Early Roman Empire has no counterpart in India. It used to be said that he was a gift of the Asiatic provinces of Alexander to Hellenism; recently, it has been pointed out [10] with some emphasis that 'in Asia there was little soil for deification of rulers to germinate,' and that this was a native product of Greece, evolved to meet 'the need of finding a legal basis in a constitutional state for an extra-constitutional authority.' However that may be, India did not know a god-king. [11]

9 *Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, i, pp. 307-08.

10 By W. S. Ferguson, CAH, vii, p. 15.

11 I think the rhetorical statements in Manu, ch. vii, 4-12, and particularly the downright verse 8—*bālo' pi nāvamantavyo manuṣya iti bhūmipaḥ, mahatī devatā hyeṣā nararūpeṇa tiṣṭhati*—do not really contradict our view. The context shows that the aim of the author is only to stress the necessity of upholding monarchy; and much of what he says here should be understood not literally, but as an *arthavāda*. He is even more rhetorical in praise of *Daṇḍa* (14-28) and goes so far as to say that it destroys the king himself when he fails in his duty: *dharmādvicalitaṃ hanti nṛpameva sabāndhavam* (28). The other books on polity sail clear of all this, particularly the great work going under the name of *Yājñavalkya* (I. 309-11). Manu himself frankly repudiates the

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Bharata is said to have performed the aśvamedha, and this gorgeous sacrifice was always looked upon as the symbol of the imperial position of its performer. [12] Puṣyamitra Śuṅga is the first monarch known to have performed this sacrifice in historical times, and since his time many a conqueror has taken credit for having revived the ceremony after it had gone out of use for a time, and Samudragupta gloried in calling himself '*Aśvamedhaparākramaḥ.*' This sacrifice was, however, not popular in South India, and the Cōlas performed it but once.

The ideal of the Indian king was that of a *vijigīṣu*, conqueror of neighbouring powers. The *Mahābhārata* roundly asserts: *Kṣātraṃ dharmaṃ śreṣṭhatamaṃ vadanti*, [13] and *vīryaśreṣṭhā rājadharmā matā me* [14]; the *Manusmṛti* speaks of *yodhadharmaḥ sanātanaḥ*. [15] Preparedness for war and exhibition of valour are enjoined on kings at all times:

nityamudyata-daṇḍaḥ syān nityaṃ vivṛta-pauruṣaḥ. [16]

A king can easily be too much of a peace-lover, and then the excess of his virtue would cause sure trouble to himself and his state:

sadaiva tvāṃ mṛduprajñam
atyāryam atidhārmikam |
klībaṃ dharmaghṛṇāyuktaṃ
na loko bahumanyate || [17]

notion of *plenary imperium* like all the rest when he comes to discuss the duties of the king and says; *sve sve dharme niviṣṭānāṃ sarveṣāmanupūrvaśaḥ, varnāṇām āśramāṇāṃ ca rājā sṛṣṭo' bhirakṣitā* (vii. 35).

12 The *locus classicus* on the earliest performers of Aśvamedha is doubtless—*Aitareya Br.*, VIII. 4-7 ff.—Keith, R. V. Brāhmaṇas, pp. 336 ff, The Rājasūya and Viśvajit were other sacrifices also signifying the imperial position of the performer.

13 Bombay Edn, Śānti. 63. 21.

14 *Ib.* 64. 12.

15 VII. 98.

16 *Ib.* 102.

17 *Mbh.*, Śānti., 75. 19.

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The diplomatic relations among states conformed to this simple view of the king's duty that he must ever be the hammer to his neighbours in order to escape himself becoming the anvil, and the quasi-academic theory of the *maṇḍala* is just a mechanical arrangement of the neighbouring states in relation to the *vijigīṣu* in the order of *arirmitram-arermitram* [18] and so on. Every king has a duty to be a *vijigīṣu* and his *maṇḍala* is constituted in the same manner as that of another. This was no mere maxim of text-books; it seems actually to have influenced the conduct of Indian kings, and its influence goes a long way to explain the history of war and peace in India through long stretches of time. Indian history is, quite a good part of it, a chaos of conflicting *vijigīṣās*. The underlying motive of it all is the discharge of the *kṣatriya dharma*, the quest of glory (*yaśas*) by exhibition of valour (*parākrama*).

Let us now turn to war as an instrument of policy and a means of conquest. A surprising realism characterises the treatment of this subject in our books. The king is advised to avoid risking the chances of war:

varjanīyaṃ sadā yuddhaṃ rājyakāmena dhīmatā [19]

says the *Mahābhārata*, and the *Manusmṛti* is even more explicit:

anityo vijayo yasmād-dṛśyate yudhyamānayoḥ |
parājayaśca saṃgrāme tasmād yuddhaṃ vivarjayet ||

These statements do not mean that the *vijigīṣu* is asked to turn pacifist, or forgo his aims of aggression; but only that he should secure his ends preferably by other means, and in the *Mahābhārata* Bhīṣma completes the statement just cited by adding:—

upāyaistribhirādānam arthasyāha Bṛhaspatiḥ.[20]

18 *Kāmandaka*, VIII, 16; *Yāj.*, I., 345.
19 *Mbh.* Śānti., 68. 25.
20 *Cf. Manusmṛti*, VII. 198.

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Again, the king is frankly advised to direct his energies against his weaker neighbours, leaving the strong ones alone :

abalānabhiyuñjīta na tu ye balavattarāḥ.[21]

Lastly, once war begins, there are practically no limits to what may be done to secure victory. Violence, oppression, corruption, propaganda are all permitted.[22] It is often said that while wars were being fought by the Kṣatriyas among themselves in India, the peasant continued to till the land peacefully and the merchant to trade undisturbed. Only the other day a military correspondent reported from the Western Front that even in Hitler's war the French peasant goes on tilling the soil as the guns are going off within his earshot. Such observations may be a compliment to the patience of the peasant or the enterprise of the trader ; they can hardly be accepted literally and must be held to underrate the suffering and misery caused by war. Rules of war, constituting an excellent code of honour among combatants, there were ; and we have no reason to believe that good soldiers did not observe them. But this did not affect the general population.

This frank realism of our political treatises on war as an instrument of policy is in striking contrast to the constant pre-occupation of modern European nations to give themselves a better character than their practices warrant. The cold abstract statements of our books seem to cast a deeper shade of darkness on a picture sufficiently dark in itself. We find states often enough intriguing and fighting against neighbouring states in the course of Indian history ; and I do not wish to gainsay the influence of theory and practice on each other. But the annals of ancient India, with all their strife and war, fall far short of the cold-blooded code

[21] *Mbh.*, Śānti., 93. 23.
[22] *Manusmṛti*, VII. 195-97.

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adumbrated by the theories of *maṇḍala* on the one side, and the employment of *daṇḍa* (war) as an *upāya* on the other. Logic and system-making occasionally lead to results strangely out of touch with the facts of life; the theory of mixed castes elaborated with meticulous care in our law books is a case in point; this may be just another. However that may be, sufficient mischief was done by the notion of *maṇḍala*, and India remained permanently divided against itself.

We turn next to the policy of the conqueror in the conquered states. Both theory and the facts of history enable us to gain a satisfactory view of this aspect of our subject. Our books on Polity explain the nature of Ancient Indian Imperialism both by their omissions and by their express statements. On the processes by which empires were formed they have little to say, and on methods of Imperial administration, nothing—which, by the way, shows that no inference regarding the date of the *Arthaśāstra* can be based on the fact that it deals with the polity of a small state. We have in fact no books on the polity of a large state or empire, and the *Arthaśāstra*, at least, contains a unique statement about *cakravartikṣetra*,[23] which clearly envisages India as a geographical and cultural unit, and rescues the conception of *Cakravartin* from its vague mythical associations by confining it to India proper.

When an Indian empire was established, it made little difference to the lives of the people of its component parts, which went on as before. Yājñavalkya expressly states that when the conquest of a country was completed nothing

[23] Adhīy, IX, Chapter i : 'Deśaḥ pṛthivī tasyāṃ Himavatsamudrāntaram udīcīnaṃ yojanasahasraṃ tiryak cakravartikṣetram.' Both Jolly and Shama Sastri read *atiryak* for *tiryak*; but I think it is a mistake. Both Mādhava Yajva (*Nayacandrikā*) and J. J. Meyer read *tiryak*. I would follow the *Nayacandrikā* and translate the passage as follows: 'Deśa refers to the Earth. And in it, the land which extends north to south from the Himālaya to the Sea, and measures a thousand yojanas across, is the field of the Cakravartin.'

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in it was to be changed, and the king was to respect local customs and institutions as if they were those of his home country :

ya eva nṛpaterdharmaḥ svarāṣṭraparipālane |
tameva kṛtsnam āpnoti para-rāṣṭraṃ vaśaṁ nayan||
yasmin deśe ya ācāro vyavahāraḥ kulasthitiḥ |
tathaiva paripālyo'sau yadā vaśam upāgataḥ||

To some extent this is true of all types of imperialism. 'Rome consistently refrained from wanton interference with the native institutions of her people' ; [24] British rule in India has been no less chary of unduly meddling with ancient customs and practices. But ancient Indian imperialism went farther in the direction of non-interference. There was no consciousness of cultural superiority on the part of the conqueror and his followers over the conquered ; and in a social *milieu* which exalted stability above change, the conqueror was strictly enjoined to maintain the *status quo*. It was thus that three centuries after the conquest of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom by Parāntaka I, there was still a Pāṇḍya ready to turn the table on the Cōḷas when he got the chance.

Samudragupta's victorious march into the Deccan and Rājendra Cōḷa's expedition to the Ganges are the most conspicuous examples of the sheer exhibition of *parākrama* on the part of great rulers ; they led to no permanent results : they were not meant to do so. But the vanity of the conqueror was satisfied ; witness the eulogium of Hariṣeṇa, or the gusto with which the construction of the great tank Cōḷagaṅgam, a *jalamaya jayastambha*, is celebrated in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates.

The Mauryan, Gupta and Cōḷa empires were the most important imperial polities that flourished in our period ;

[24] Hugh Last in CAH, xi, p. 448,

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most of the other 'empires' were more or less local and short-lived expansions of particular kingdoms that followed the same lines of organisation as the larger empires. At its best, the Indian imperial organisation was a sort of sheath encasing the pre-existing political institutions of the original kingdoms that had been drawn into the empire: when the empire came to an end, the old states continued their normal existence. The emperor, an army and a bureaucracy controlled from the centre were the chief bonds of unity in the empire, princes of the emperor's family holding viceregal positions and carrying the pomp and circumstance of imperial royalty into the provinces.

The empires did maintain standing armies adequate to their needs, and whenever necessary they were expanded by levies from vassals and warlike tribes and by the employment of mercenary forces. Long and well-made roads for the movement of troops and military colonies at strategic points were not unknown. But on the whole the empires of India excelled not so much by the strength of their military organisation or the ubiquity of the cleruchy as by their pursuits in the realms of culture and art. What the cleruchy was to the military empires of the ancient Western world, the agrahāra was to their Indian counterparts. Not soldiers, but groups of learned men, were enabled, by the multiplication of these foundations, to go and spread the light of their learning and the ideals of the good and noble life in almost every township and village in the country. The temple, the vihāra and the maṭha were other creations of our culture that gained greatly by the rise of empires, and repaid a hundredfold the pious attentions lavished on them by our rulers. The results of the wider peace established by the Indian empires and the fuller opportunities opened out by them for the self-expression of the people are to be traced, not in the political subjection or economic ruin of other nations, but in the eagerness of our people to seek

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contacts with the outside world, to learn from the foreigner as well as to teach him—all in a friendly way, in the greater refinement of our architecture and the arts, and in the maturer forms of our literary creations. Among the most characteristic contributions of the empires of Ancient India to the sum of human happiness must be counted things like the religious and artistic influence that flowed on the kingdoms of the Southern Sea from the Pāla empire of Bengal, and the interesting and durable pattern of autonomous village government fostered and perfected, if not originated, by the Cōḷas.

The Āndhras, Pallavas and Cōḷas are to be counted among the Indian powers known to have pursued an active naval policy. From the sixteenth century onwards the command of the world's seas has been held almost exclusively by European nations, and this has led to a depreciation of the maritime achievements of non-European peoples in earlier times. But from the first centuries of the Christian era, perhaps from many centuries earlier, the Indian Ocean served as a great highway of migration and trade, and the numerous colonial kingdoms of the Malay peninsula and archipelago that fully reproduced comtemporary Indian conditions, in fact, formed an India across the seas, were the products of a steady maritime enterprise on the part of the peoples of India sustained over many generations. We do not yet know the full details of the story : what we know is enough to show that this enterprise 'had behind it no driving force of politically powerful commercialism, no persistent state support for overseas expansion,'[25] but was the natural efflorescence of the most creative period of Indian culture, a continuation of the process by which Southern India was Aryanised, and, let me add, the Aryans were Indianised. The details differ with time and locality; but the main trends are the same.

[25] Hudson, *China and Europe.*

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With this extended cultural empire of India the Cōḷas maintained active contact, and at least on one occasion they came into conflict with one of its most important states. The naval war between the Cōḷa empire and that of Śrīvijaya-Kaḍāram was a war between two rival sea powers, and forms an important chapter in the naval history of Ancient India.

The conception of *Cakravartin* might have led to an all-India state, and in the Mauryan empire this condition was nearly attained. But the intense love of social and local autonomy on the part of the people forbade the rise of a centralised administration in state or empire. The pattern of peace-time life in ancient India was that of a number of closely-knit autonomous group contributing, each in its measure, to a fairly rich and harmonious culture, richer and more harmonious perhaps than ever before or since, but maintained on somewhat slender means. The ruling classes, however, cherished, besides a passion for autonomy, a false ideal of glory which fostered a love of intrigue and a perverse desire for strife directed against their neighbours. The ideal of the political unity of the country formulated for a moment in Kauṭilya's conception of *cakravartikṣetra* was forgotten; we became too ready to lay hands on one another, and we fell.

I have reached the end, and I am conscious how imperfectly I have just sketched the outlines of a vast subject. I do not claim finality for anything I have said here. And it may well be that its very shortcomings may lead to more adequate efforts; and in that case, even this feeble attempt on my part would have served some purpose.

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1

CONTEMPORANEITY OF THE KINGS OF INDIA AND CEYLON

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The late lamented Dr. Wickremasinghe's "Chronological Table of Ceylon Kings" [1] has been followed by Dr. Wilhelm Geiger's suggestive list of synchronisms between the kings of Ceylon on the one hand and those of India, China and Burma on the other.[2] As Geiger points out, the main drawback of Wickremasinghe's table lies in the fact that he "makes no attempt at reconciling the two chronological computations of 483 B. C. and 544/3 B. C."[3] In this paper I propose to consider the acceptability of Geiger's list of synchronisms between the kings of India and Ceylon in the light of some relevant facts that have escaped his attention, with a view to rectifying or supplementing it.

The first traditional synchronism to be noted is one between the landing of Vijaya on the island of Laṅkā and the demise of the Buddha. The synchronism establishes the contemporaneity of Vijaya, the first Indian king of Ceylon, and Ajātasattu, the king of Magadha.[4]

Next an unbroken line of Ceylon kings, all successors of Vijaya, is recorded in all the extant chronicles of Ceylon in order to establish the synchronism between the consecration

1 Epigraphia Zeylanica, III, p. I ff.

2 Geiger, Cūḷavaṁsa, P. T. S., Transl. Series, No. 20, Introd., p. xvi ff.

3 Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. iv.

4 Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. xvi.

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of Devānaṁpiyatissa as king of Ceylon and the 18th year of Asoka's reign. Taking 483 B. C. to be the date for the Buddha's demise, one gets the year 247/6 B. C. as Devānaṁpiyatissa's coronation year, and it confirms his contemporaneity with the great Asoka of India.[5]

The third point of synchronism noted by Geiger is one between the reign of Samudragupta, the king of India, and that of Sirimeghavaṇṇa, the king of Ceylon.[6] The former reigned from 326 to about 375 A.D., and the latter from 362 to 389 A. D. According to a notice quoted by Sylvain Levi[7] from Chinese sources, a king of Ceylon Chi-mi-kia-po-mo (Śrī Meghavarman, Siri Mehhavaṇṇa) sent an embassy to the Indian king Samudragupta (San-meon-to-lo-kiu-to) asking permission to erect a monastery at Mahābodhi (Bodh Gayā)[8] for the accommodation of Buddhist monks from Ceylon. Though the name of the Sinhalese king is not mentioned, the fact of erection of a large and magnificent monastery at Bodh Gayā by a king of Ceylon for the residence of the Sinhalese monks is attested by Hiuen Tsang.[9] The plinth of this monastery survives to the present day.[10]

The fourth point of synchronism to be noted, according to Geiger, is one between the death of a very eminent śramaṇa of the Mahāvihāra of Ceylon and the arrival in the island of Fa-Hien from India.[11] Geiger places this synchronism in the reign of Mahānāma, the king of Ceylon (409-431 A. D.),[12] and takes the śramaṇa mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim to be no other than the saintly Dhammakathin who

5 Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. xvi.

6 Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. xvii.

7 Sylvain Levi, Les Missions de Wang Hiuen Ts'e dans l'Inde in J. A., 1900, p. 401 ff

8 Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. v.

9 Beal, Records, II, pp. 134-5; Watters, On Yuan Chwang, II, p. 136. Fa-Hien noticed three monasteries at Bodh Gayā, one of which is taken by Barua (Gayā and Buddha Gayā, I, pp. 149-'50, 178) to be the monastery built by the king of Ceylon.

10 Cunningham, Mahabodhi, pp. 5-7, Pl. II; Barua, Gayā and Buddha Gayā, I, p. 192; II, p. 26, Fig. 23.

11 Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. xvii ff

12 Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. xi.

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had translated the Pali Sutta Piṭaka into Sinhalese during the reign of king Buddhadāsa [13] (362-409 A. D.).[14] The suggested synchronism, if accepted, will make the three kings of Ceylon, Buddhadāsa, Upatissa I, and Mahānāma, the contemporaries of Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta during whose reign Fa-Hien visited India and Ceylon.[15]

Referring to Mahānāma's reign, Geiger observes. "for Mahānāma's reign Chinese sources furnish us with an exact date A. D. 428.[16] For the arrival of Buddhaghosa in the reign of Mahānāma tradition furnishes us with a date which assuming 544/3 as the year of the Nirvāṇa, yields 412/3 A. D."[17]

Granted this, one has got to admit that arrivals of Fa-Hien and Buddhaghosa in Ceylon took place almost in the same year, which as I may maintain, is altogether unlikely. Fa-Hien indeed records that when he was residing in Ceylon, he heard a Buddhist priest from India reciting a sacred book and narrating the course of transmigration of an alms-bowl of the Buddha from country to country. The countries mentioned include even the western Yu-chi, Khotan and Kouché. The description leaves no room for doubt that the Buddhist priest from India was a śramaṇa of the Mahāyāna faith, [18] while Buddhaghosa was avowedly a Theravādin or Hīnayānist. This Indian monk is evidently no other than Guṇabhadra, a noted scholar, of the Mahāyāna school, [19] who on his way to China visited Ceylon.[20] Guṇabhadra came

13 Cūḷavaṃsa, xxxvii, 175.

Tass'eva rañño rajjamhi Mahādhammakathī yati suttāni parivattesi Sīhalāya niruttiyā.

14 Geiger, *op cit.*, p. xi.

15 According to Geiger, Fa-Hien went to Ceylon 411-412 A. D., *op. cit.*, p. xvii.

16 Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. xviii.

17 Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. xviii. Note that the Cūḷavaṁsa does not mention the date of Buddhaghosa's arrival in Ceylon. According to Ceylonese tradition, Buddhaghosa came to Ceylon in 965 A.B. (Malalasekera, Pali Literature of Ceylon, p. 81).

18 Beal, Records, i, p. lxxviii ff.

19 Nanjio, Catalogue, pp. 415-16.

20 Taisho edition of the Vimuttimaggo in the Chinese Tripiṭaka, 50. 344 a. 18.

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to China in 435 A. D. and worked on translations till 443 A.D.[21]

The Cūḷavaṃsa account of Buddhaghosa's arrival in, and departure from, Ceylon during the reign of Mahānāma [22] seems guilty of an anachronism. Buddhaghosa in the Nigamana to his Vinaya-commentary, says that he commenced his work in the 20th year and completed it in the beginning of the 21st year of the reign of king Sirinivāsa Siripāla.[23] Rev. A. P. Buddhadatta has failed to give any convincing proof of the identity of Mahānāma and Sirinivāsa Siripāla.[24] The Cūḷavaṃsa account is in many respects nullified by the internal evidence of Buddhaghosa's own works. [25] It cannot tell us precisely from which part of India he came to Ceylon,[26] while Buddhaghosa himself tells us that when he was residing in Kāñcīpura and such other places in South India, he was urged to go to Ceylon. The Cūḷavaṃsa gives the name of the Thera under whose instruction he went to Ceylon as Revata,[27] while Buddhaghosa himself mentions him by the name of Bhadanta Jotipāla.[28]

Among the kings of Ceylon incidentally mentioned by Buddhaghosa, Muṭasiva, Devānaṃpiyatissa, Duṭṭhagāmaṇ, Abhaya[29] and Vaṭṭagāmaṇi reigned all in pre-Christian times. The reign of Coranāga, [30] son and successor of Vaṭṭagāmaṇ,

21 Bapat, Vimuttimagga and Visuddhimagga, Introd., p. xvi.

22 Cūḷavaṃsa, xxxvii, 246-7.

23 "Rañño Siri-nivāsassa Siripāla-yasassino
Samavisatime kheme jayasaṃvacchare ayam
araddhā ekavīsuṃhi sampatte pariniṭṭhitā."

24 Such as the composition of the Ñāṇodaya and the Atthasālinī, a commentary on the Dhammasaṅgaṇi before his leaving India for Ceylon.

25 Cūḷavaṃsa, xxxvii, 216-17, indefinitely refers to a vihāra in India.

26 *Ibid.*, xxxvii, p. 249.

27 Cūḷavaṃsa, xxxvii, 218.

28 Manoratha-pūranī, Nigammana :
"Āyācito sumatinā therena Bhadanta-Jotipālena
Kāñcīpurādisu mayā pubbe saddhiṃ vasantena."

29 Atthasālinī, p. 80.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 399.

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is reckoned by Geiger from 6 B.C. to 9 A.D. King Mahānāga, noted for his 'magnificent gifts in connection with the art of healing at Penambarigana,'[31] may be identified either with Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga (67-79 A.D.)[32] or with Mahallanāga (196-202 A.D.), [33] more probably with the former.[34] He has mentioned none whose reign might be assigned to a period beyond the third century A.D.

Among the Indian kings, those who find mention in his writings and who may be taken to stand nearer to his age are the Sātavāhanas [35] and Rudradāmans ; there is none belonging to the Gupta and later Ages. The Rudradāmans come in connection with a new type of Indian coins, called Ruddadāmaka and standardised by them, [36] evidently in the days of Buddhaghosa.

It may perhaps be suggested without any great risk that Buddhaghosa came to Ceylon either during the reign of Sirināga I (249-270 A.D, assuming 21 years as the length of his reign),[37] who was a contemporary of some king of the line of Rudradāman I and Caṣṭana, or during that of Sirimeghavaṇṇa (362-380 A.D.), who was a contemporary of Samudragupta and Rudradāman II (348-364 A.D.). The second alternative is more acceptable on the ground that Buddhaghosa has quoted the Dipavaṃsa[38] which brings the chronicle of Ceylon kings to a close with the reign of Mahāsena (334-361/2 A.D.), the father and predecessor of Sirimeghavaṇṇa.

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31 *Ibid.*, p. 399. Penambangana is a different reading.

32 Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. x.

33 Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. x.

34 The identification of Mahānāga with Buddhadāsa, father of Mahānāma in my *Life and Work of Buddhaghosa*, p. 22, is untenable.

35 Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī, Pt. I, p. 302.

36 C. D. Chatterjee, Some Numismatic Data in Pali Literature, in my *Buddhistic Studies*, p. 384 ff.

37 Mahāwanse, Edward Upham's transl., p. 229. According to the Pali *Mahāvaṁsa* 19 years.

38 Kathāvatthu-Comy., Introd.

Now, according to the Buddhaghosuppatti and Buddhadatta's Vinaya-vinicchaya, Buddhaghosa and Buddhadatta were contemporaries.[39] Buddhadatta in the Nigamana to his three works states that he wrote those works during the reign of Accuta Vikkanta or Accuta Vikkama of the Kaḷamba family, the king of Coḷa. Here the Pali Kaḷamba is not to be equated with Kadamba, for it stands for Kaḷambhra. As Professor Nilakanta Śāstrī points out, "Accuta could have been no other than the king of the same name who is reputed in literary tradition to have kept in confinement the three Tamil kings, the Cera, Coḷa and Pāṇḍya."[40]

Thus the contemporaneity of Buddhaghosa and Buddhadatta may be taken to establish the contemporaneity of Sirinivāsa Siripāla, the king of Ceylon, and Accuta Vikkanta, the king of Coḷa.

A notable omission on the part of Geiger is that of the fact of a matrimonial connection established by Vijayabāhu I (*c.* 1054-1109 A.D.),[41] through his marriage with Tilokasundarī, a highly accomplished Indian princess, born of the royal family of Kaliṅga,[42] serving as a chronological basis of contemporaneity of the Indian and Sinhalese kings. An attempt has recently been made on the evidence of the Belava copper-plate of king Bhojavarman of the Vaiṣṇava Varman dynasty of East Bengal that Tilokasundarī, the second queen of king Vijayabāhu I, mentioned in the Cūḷavaṁsa, is no other than Trailokyasundarī praised in the Belava plate as the daughter of king Sāmalavarman, the father and immediate predecessor of Bhojavarman. It is rightly pointed out that in the Belava copper-plate the Varmans of East Bengal claim to have their descent from the royal family of Siṁhapura, and Bhojavarman expresses in pathetic terms his solicitude for

39 My Life and Work of Buddhaghosa, p. 43.

40 The Coḷas, p. 121.

41 According to Geiger, 1059-1114 A.D.

42 Cūḷavaṁsa, lix, 29 ff.

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the contemporary Ceylon king in his difficulties arising from an inimical action on the part of the *rākṣasas*. Once the personal relationship between Bhojavarman and Vijayabāhu I is assumed as a historical fact, it becomes easy to understand why the former should express this solicitude for the lord of Laṅkā.[43] It is evident from a Manimaṅgala inscription of 1053 A.D. that the Coḷa kings of the age were bringing heavy pressure to bear upon the kings of Ceylon.[44] The possibility of the matrimonial connection of the Ceylon king Vijayabāhu I with the Varmans of East Bengal lies in the fact that Vijayabāhu and his successors themselves felt proud in claiming their descent from the royal family of Siṃhapura which was most probably a place in Kaliṅga.[45]

[43] N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, p. 19 ff.; Pramodelal Paul in Indian Culture, July, 1939, pp. 58-59.

[44] The actual fact stated is that the Coḷa king Parakeśarīvarman *alias* Rājendradeva imprisoned two sons of the Ceylon king Manabharṇa (Mānābharaṇa or Mānabhūṣaṇa of the Cūḷavaṃsa). It is still open to dispute if the Manabharṇa-Mānābharaṇa of the inscription may be identified with Mānābharaṇa, mentioned in the Cūḷavaṃsa as one of the two nephews of Vijayabāhu I. He is nowhere mentioned as a king.

[45] Hultzsch, JRAS., 1913, p. 518., E. I., XII, p. 4; H. C. Ray, Dynastic History of Northern India, I, pp. 333-34.

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2

THE COMMEMORATIVE INSCRIPTION OF THE ANANTA-VĀSUDEVA TEMPLE OF BHUVANESWAR

(Rectification of a century-old mistake)

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I. *Introduction*

The following four stone inscriptions are known to belong to temples of Bhuvaneswar which were "carried thence by Major-General Charles Stuart of the Bengal army."[1]

I. Inscription of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva[2] now fixed on the western compound wall of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple.

II. Megheśvara inscription of Svapneśvaradeva,[3] now fixed on the western compound wall of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple.

III. Brahmeśvara inscription of Kolāvatīdevī,[4] mother of Mahārājādhirāja Udyota Keśarī, now lost.

1 E. I., Vol. XIII, p. 150.

2(*a*) Prinsep—J.A.S.B., Vol. VI, 1837, pp. 88-97.
(*b*) Mitra—Antiquities of Orissa, Vol. III, 1880, pp. 85-87.
(*c*) Kielhorn—E. I., Vol. VI, 1900-01, pp. 203-207.
(*d*) N. G. Majumdar—Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, 1929, pp. 25-41.
(*e*) N. N. Vasu —Castes and Sects of Bengal, Vols. I & II.

3(*a*) Prinsep—J.A.S.B., Vol. VI, 1837, pp. 278-288.
(*b*) N. N. Vasu—*Ibid.*, Vol. LXII, 1897, pp. 11-23.
(*c*) Kielhorn—E.I., Vol. VI, 1900-01, pp. 198-203.

4(*a*) Prinsep—J.A.S.B., Vol. VII, 1838, pp. 557-562.
(*b*) Mitra—Antiquities of Orissa, Vol. II, pp. 87-89.

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IV. Inscription of Chandrādevī,[5] now preserved in the hall of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.

The first three inscription-slabs were kept in the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal from where they were returned to Bhuvaneswar by the orders of the Committee of the Society in 1837 at the suggestion of Major Markham Kittoe.[6] From the "List of donors and donations to the Museum of the Asiatic Society from January 1822" published as Appendix III of the Vol. XV (1825) of the Asiatic Researches, it is found that "General Stuart" donated eight Sanskrit stone inscriptions belonging to India out of which there were "two stones from Bhuvaneswar in Orissa with Sanskrit inscription."[7] "The Indian Museum is the offspring of the Asiatic Society of Bengal which was founded in 1784. The question of the storage and preservation of various curiosities received from its members came up before the Society as early as 1796, but it was not until 1814 that the Society resolved to establish a Museum in the Society's premises to be divided into two sections, *viz.*, (*a*) archaeological, ethnological and technical and (*b*) geological and zoological." No list of antiquities, presented to the Society before 1814, is available and the first list was published as an appendix to the Asiatic Researches, Vol. XI (1816) and all the subsequent volumes contain such a list up to the year 1836. No list mentions the name of Col. Mackenzie who visited Bhuvaneswar and halted there from 5th to 11th of April, 1815, or of any other donor presenting anything from Orissa. Mackenzie made several drawings of sculptures belonging to temples of Chandreśvara, Megheśvara, Kedāreśvara, Kapileśvara and Gośvareśvara of Bhuvaneswar as is found from his manuscripts and drawings.[9]

5 Barnett—E.I., Vol. XIII, 1915-16, pp. 150-155.
6 J.A.S.B., Vol. VI, p. 319 & Vol. VII, p. 557.
7 Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV, App. p. xxxv.
8 The Museums of India, 1936, p. 123.
9 J. & P.A.S.B., Vol. IV, 1908, pp. 299-321.

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Now the doubt naturally arises as to how the committee of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, who only got "two stones from Bhuvaneswar" could identify three stone inscriptions belonging to that place and return them there for restoration to their original places? So it can safely be said that at least one slab containing Sanskrit inscription does not belong to Bhuvaneswar.

In the present article I have made an attempt in correctly identifying the commemorative slab which originally was fixed to Ananta-Vāsudeva temple of Bhuvaneswar. In 1929 I wrote the following in an article entitled "A note on the Bhuvaneswar Inscription of Chandrā Devī" [10] :—

"It is not exactly known from which temple this inscription was removed by 'Colonel Stuart' to whose collection it belongs. The Editor of the Epigraph wrote the following in this connection :—

"'The contents shew that it was brought from Bhuvaneswar and it is impossible to discover from which of these temples it came. It belongs to a Vaishnava sanctuary and this fact excludes the Liṅgarāja and other Śiva temples of the place.' But it does not exclude the beautiful Rājarāṇī temple and the Anantavāsudeva temple, but the latter bears an inscription of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva.

"I am inclined to suggest that this slab containing the inscription was removed from the Rājārāṇī temple which has no cult-image within it. The inscription states that the temple built by Chandrā Devī stood on the bank of Vindusāgar and so an objection may naturally be raised against the identification proposed above."

After writing this I have been informed that there is a tradition at Bhuvaneswar that the Rājārāṇī temple was built by a wealthy prostitute for the God Śiva, and the gate-keepers

[10] J.B. & O.R.S., Vol. XV, 1929, p. 282.

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Chaṇḍa and Prachaṇḍa on the door jambs of this temple prove that it is a Sivaite temple. As the result of subsequent investigation, I venture now to put in writing the following accounts which will show that Chandrā Devī, and not Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, is the real builder of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple of Bhuvaneswar.

II. Criticism of the story of Identification

Inscriptions Nos. 2, 3 and 4 contain passages describing the locality, family and persons well known in the history of Orissa. On the other hand the inscription No. 1 "mentions the three geographical divisions of old Bengal, Gauḍa, Rāḍha and Vaṅga. The village Siddhala, the beauty of Rāḍha and the granted village of Hastinībhiṭṭa are untraceable. According to some Siddhala lies in the Kalna sub-division of Burdwan district. It is very curious that the inscription makes no mention of Bhuvaneswar where the temple was erected, or of the tract within which Bhuvaneswar lay, or of the king of this tract."[11] The records of the Asiatic Society of Bengal do not furnish us with any definite information as to how it came to the Museum of the Society. The editor of the journal notes that "we cannot discover by whom the stone was presented to the Society".[12] The slab was "marked No. 2" in the collection of the Society's Museum.

James Prinsep's following note published at page 724 of Vol. V, 1836, of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal clearly gives an idea about this question. "Many of the inscriptions in our Museum bear no record, either of the places whence they come, or of their respective donors. Unless therefore they contain in themselves such information

[11] M. M. Chakravarti—J. & P.A.S.B., N. S. Vols. VIII, 1912, pp. 340-41.
[12] J.A.S.B., Vol. VI, 1837, p. 88.

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as may supply a clue to their origin, the greater part of this work is lost. Publication in some cases may lead to their recognition, and this is one of my motives for including them in my present series of lithograph. . . . . The inscription, marked No. 5, in the Museum (Plate XXXIII) is neatly cut on a stone, about 3½ feet long by 1½ feet broad. . . . . ."

The manner in which its identification as belonging to Ananta-Vāsudeva temple has been made, will convince any one that there was not any datum to identify it with an inscription of a temple of Bhuvaneswar. Leiut. Markham Kittoe who was Curator and Librarian to the Asiatic Society at Calcutta until 1838 [13] visited Bhuvaneswar and Khandagiri during the cold weather of 1836 for examining the inscription published by Stirling in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV, p. 313 and on that occasion he was fortunate to discover the Dhauli edict of Asoka. In the proceedings of the Society's meeting, dated the 3rd May, 1837, the following finds mention :—

" Lieut. Kittoe had met with obstructions in his enquiries from a mistrust of the resident Brahmins, which he found to originate in their temple having been robbed some years ago of slabs containing inscriptions, by some officers; and he strongly urged the justice of restoring any such that might have come into the Society's possessions. One he suspected, from its dimensions, [14] was the identical one published in the journal for February.

" The Secretary stated that on examination he found this to be the case as a second inscription of precisely the same character, now under publication, containing the name of

[13] A memoir of the Indian Surveys, London, 1878, p. 244.

[14] " Dimension of the slab 3 feet by 1½ feet, marked No. 2." *Vide* plate VII, J.A.S.B., Vol. VI. The inscription slab of Chandra Devi is " 3 feet 10 inches in width and one foot 8½ inches in height." It is not known why Kittoe stressed so much on the dimensions of the slab, but they are not identical as are found now.

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the Raja of Orissa, who founded Bhuvaneswar temple.' The meeting resolved unanimously, that the slab should be restored and that Lieutenant Kittoe had their warmest thanks for the suggestion." [15]

The following quotations from the notes of James Prinsep, the then Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal on the inscription of Svapnesvara Deva and 'Brahmesvara inscription, from Cuttuck' throw further light on this point.

"The subject selected for this month's (April, 1837) illustration is a slab of dark stone marked No. 6 in the Society's Museum. Nothing is there recorded of its origin but the character in which it is cut (as may be seen by the lithographed specimen in pl. XVII), from a similar stone of somewhat smaller size; and which publication has led, in rather a singular manner, to the discovery of the source whence both were derived.

"Lieutenant Kittoe, as I have before mentioned, was lately requested on the part of the society to re-examine the inscription on the Khandagiri rock, published in Stirling's memoirs on *Cuttack* (As. Res., XV). In doing this he came most unexpectedly upon a number of highly curious ancient temples and inscriptions of which he hastened to make drawings and facsimiles. He found himself impeded and foiled by the Brahmans of the spot, who even went so far as to abstract one of the copies which had cost him the most labour. Upon seeking the cause of so unusual a want of courtesey, the priests told him how their images and relics had been carried off by former antiquaries, and pointed out whence the commemorative slab had been actually cut out from the temples of Ananta-Vasudeva at *Bhubaneswar* by late *Colonel Saheb*. The dimensions of the slab and the subject of invocation tallied so exactly with the inscription translated by Captain Marshall, that Lieutenant Kittoe wrote to me on the

15 J.A.S.B., Vol. VI, 1837. p. 319, Proceedings dated 3rd May, 1837.

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subject and on referring to the list of donations at the end of the eleventh volume [16] of Researches, I find General Stewart set down as the donor of 'two slabs with inscriptions from Bhubaneswar in Orissa.'

"There was nothing in the first of the two whence we could guess its locality; the person noted as the founder of the temple being a private individual, named Bhatta Sri Bhava-Deva, but in the slab, now confidently conjectured to be its companion, we have a Raja's name and ancestry which ought to afford a better clue. . . . The date of Raja Ananga Bhima (1174 A.D.) also agrees closely with what was assumed from the style of the alphabet, and the 'Samat 32' of the Basudeva slab. It will hence become a question whether the figures are, in all cases, to be referred to a *Cuttack* era, or whether the same Deva-nagiri alphabet was in use from *Shekawati* to Benares, Dinajpur and Orissa, in the 12th century, while each prince had then an era of his own.

* * * *

"I cannot conclude these preliminary remarks without animadverting upon ruthless spoliation which is often carried on by *soi-disant* antiquaries, to the perversion of the true object of research—the preservation of ancient monuments, and their employment to elucidate the history of the country. The facts told by these two Bhubaneswar stones were utterly unintelligible, until accident pointed out whence they had come and the local history of the temples was or would have been equally lost in another generation. It is to be hoped

16 I found the list in the 15th volume of the Researches.

That the reference given here is wrong can also be proved from the following note given at page 881 of the Journal, Vol. VI of 1837. "The subject now to be explained is inscribed on an oblong slab of sandstone 4½ ft. by 2½ which I conjecture to be one of those presented by General Stewart and inserted in the Catalogue of Vol. XV of the Asiatic Researches as 'a stone slab from *Ajayagarh* in *Bundelkhand* with a Sanskrit inscription' or a 'stone bull from Kalinjar with a Sanskrit inscription'."

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therefore that the Asiatic Society will hasten to restore them to their former positions. Such an act will contribute tenfold to the true objects of our institution by the confidence it will inspire in the minds of the people who now watch our explorers with jealousy, and withold valuable information lest it should only yield to fresh acts of plunder and demolition.

"Since writing the above, I am happy to perceive that the Society has determined on the immediate restitution of the two slabs through Lieutenant Kittoe who has been requested to explain that their removal was the act of an individual and never have had their sanction, unless they had been assured that the objects were going to decay, or held in no estimation where they were."[17]

"Besides the two slabs of stones identified last year as belonging to the *Bhubaneswar* temples, in *Cuttack*, and consequently returned to the Brahmans after perusal, there was a third broken into two pieces, which Mr. Kittoe pointed out as being in the same character and from the same localily. Before returning this he kindly took for me a very exact impression, whence I have copied the reduced facsimile in plate XXIV. The stone was, as stated above, returned to Bhubaneswar; but Mr. Kittoe did not find as he anticipated any resulting cordiality or good-will among the priesthood of the place, on the contrary, they brought him a long list of purloined idols, and impetuously urged him to procure their return as he had done that of inscriptions."[18]

Mr. Kittoe did not lose any time in giving effect to the restoration of the inscription slabs of Bhuvaneswar according to the decision of the Asiatic Society arrived at the meeting of the 3rd May of 1837 quoted above. The following from the proceedings of the Society, dated the 7th June and 2nd

[17] J.A.S.B, Vol. VII, 1837, pp. 278-80.
[18] *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, pp. 557-58.

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August, 1837, show that the inscription slabs of Bhuvaneswar were despatched to and arrived at Bhuvaneswar from Calcutta.

" Read a letter from Lieutenant Kittoe, stating that he had dispatched a cart to Tamlook to take down the Bhubaneswar slabs, the restoration of which had given the greatest satisfaction to the priests and people." *Vide* Journal, Vol. VI, p. 402.

" Lieutenant Kittoe announced the safe arrival of the Bhubaneswar inscription slabs which he was about to return to their respective temples." *Vide*, p. 617.

These extracts read with Prinsep's note on the Brahmeswara inscription, go to show that the inscription slab was returned along with inscription slabs of the Ananta-Vāsudeva and Meghesvara temples to Bhuvaneswar from Calcutta in 1837. As the inscription slab of the Brahmesvara temple is not found now, it may be inferred that either it was not despatched from Calcutta at all or it was left at some intermediate station by the cart driver on his way to Bhuvaneswar or it has been subsequently removed from the compound wall of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple and replaced with the Meghesvara slab by some one after the visit of Dr. Rajendralal Mitra in 1880 who found the slab struck to the wall. It is now impossible to discover the truth until the rediscovery of the Brahmesvara slab is made.

However Lieutenant Kittoe's keen interest in the matter of restitution of the inscription slabs of Bhuvaneswar has done great harm in its ' employments to elucidate the history of the country ' and has put a veil over the eyes of the scholars for a period of one century and thereby the ' true object of research ' has been frustrated.

The above quotation leaves enough room for doubting the identification of the inscription slab of Bhatta Bhavadeva ever belonging to the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple of Bhuvaneswar. Neither Kittoe nor Prinsep has left any note to show as to how they identified the slab under reference that it originally

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was fixed to the said temple; and the inscription itself does not furnish us with any independent evidence in this connection. Their single evidence was the similarity of character with another inscription from Bhuvaneswar. The knowledge in palaeography, a century ago, was in its infancy and even a versatile scholar like Prinsep did not know that the character in north-eastern India or Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was the very same in form in that remote period.

It is not understood how Major Kittoe 'suspected' the inscription slab of Bhatta Bhavadeva to have originally belonged to the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple. He was only informed at Bhuvaneswar "that the commemorative slab had been actually cut out from the temple of Abanda (Ananta?) Basudeva of Bhubaneswar by a Colonel Saheb." Perhaps the invocation —Namo Bhagavate Vāsudevāya— of the inscription misled him. Prinsep had also such a notion as he described it as the 'Bhasudeva slab.'

It has been stated above as to how the register of antiquities of the Society's Museum was maintained. Bhatta Bhavadeva's inscription was 'marked No. 2' whereas that of Svapnesvara-deva was 'marked No. 6.' It is unfortunate that the number of the Brahmesvara slab was not noted by the editor. Its number would be either 5 or 7 as two stone inscriptions from Bhuvaneswar were presented by Stuart in one occasion and therefore the recording of serial numbers would have been made at the time of donation. In the list of donations by "General Stewart" mentioned above, the following stone inscriptions of India are noted :—

1. "A stone slab from Ajayagerh in Bundelkhand with Sanskrit inscription.

2-3. "Two ditto from Burro Pitari near Bhilas with ditto.

4. "Another ditto from Oudipoor near ditto.

5. "Another ditto from Mahoba in Bundelkhand near ditto.

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6-7. " Two stones from Bhubaneswar in Orissa with Sanskrit inscriptions.

8. " One ditto from Ajayagerh."

Two inscriptions from Bhuvaneswar are to be identified with the inscriptions of the Meghesvara and Brahmesvara temples and their numbers were marked 6 and 7 in Stuart's collection.

It seems that Prinsep was in doubt about Kittoe's identification when he wrote that " there was nothing in the first of the two whence we could guess its locality." If any one of them would have questioned the propriety of identification of *three* slabs out of two from Bhuvaneswar, the mistake done would have been detected and rectified in 1838 just a century ago.

It will not be out of place here to mention two other instances of committing a similar mistake unknowingly like Prinsep and Kittoe, that have been repeated at a later period in connection with these inscriptions of Bhuvaneswar. Since 1837 the inscription slabs have been fixed on the western compound wall of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple.

In 1880 Dr. Rajendralal Mitra did not write anything about the inscription of Svapnesvara Deva although the inscription slab was stuck to the same wall of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple. He thus writes :—

" There are existing two large slabs stuck on the western wall of the courtyard of the famous temple (of Ananta-Vāsudeva) bearing Sanskrit inscriptions. One of these was originally intended for the temple of Brahmesvara, and the other for that of Ananta and Vasudeva Both of them had been removed from their proper places by General Stewart, and deposited in the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal at about the early part of this century. When Major (then Lieutenant) Kittoe visited Bhubaneswar in 1838 the priests complained bitterly of the sacrilege, and he suggested the restitution of the stones. The society readily

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permitted this, but in replacing them through some mistake or other, the Major selected the outer wall of the temple for both of them, instead of their respective places. Before making the restitution James Prinsep published transcripts and translations of both the records in the journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal." [19]

Writing on the Meghesvara inscription of Svapnesvara Deva of Orissa Mr. N. N. Vasu quotes the above extract and writes :—

" I went personally to inspect those two slabs and made rubbings of both. Both the slabs now lie at the identical place where Dr. Rajendralal saw them. I was assured by the old Pandas of the temple that they remained at the very spot from before the time of the Doctor's inspection, without suffering a change of place or alteration of any kind.

" It is, indeed, surprising that there is no conformity at all of the Brahmesvara inscription described by the learned Doctor with the inscription I inspected. In fact, there is no Brahmesvara inscription at all in the temple. I am quite at a loss to determine how he identified this with the Brahmesvara slab.

" As far as I am aware nobody has yet deciphered this inscription under notice." [20]

Dr. Kielhorn's note on these two inscriptions runs as follows :—

" The two inscriptions, of which I give an account here from excellent impressions prepared for Dr. Hultzsch by Mr. Krishna Sastri, are on the slabs of dark stone which are now in the Western wall of the courtyard of the temple of Ananta-Vāsudeva at Bhubaneswar in the Puri District of Orissa, two stones were taken away from Bhubaneswar and presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by General Stewart about 1810,

19 Antiquities of Orissa, Vol. II, p. 84.

20 J. A. S. B., Vol. LXVI, 1897, pp. 11-12.

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but to please the people, they were returned to their original place in 1837. In the latter year the inscriptions were both edited with specimen of facsimiles of the character by Mr. Prinsep in the *Jour. Bengal. As. Soc* , Vol. VI, p. 89 ff. and p. 280 ff., the one here marked A · · · , and the inscription A has been edited again (*ibid*, Vol. LXVI, Part I, pp. 11 ff.,) by Mr. Nagendra Nath Vasu, who was not aware of its having been published sixty years before." [21]

In 1912 Mr. M. M. Chakravarti in his article entitled " Bhatta Bhavadeva of Bengal " published a photograph of the inscription of Svapnesvara-deva and wrongly described the same as the inscription of Bhatta Bhavadeva.[22] If either Dr. Mitra, Mr. Vasu or Mr. Chakravarti could make a mistake inadvertantly, it is easy to imagine the difficulty of Prinsep and Kittoe.

Raghavendra Kavisekhara's genealogical account has been cited as a corroborative evidence in support of the identification of Bhatta Bhavadeva's inscription belonging to Bhuvaneswar and so I like to discuss below its historical value.

Prāchyavidyāmahārṇava N. N. Vasu had first some doubt as to the exact temple from which the inscription of Bhatta Bhavadeva was removed. He wrote :—

" When we first read the contents of this eulogium, it struck us as to how a Bengali Brahmin of Rāḍha country could have built this magnificent monument in a foreign country like Utkala." [23] But this doubt was removed when he unexpectedly found a passage in the genealogical account composed by Raghavendra Kavisekhara in 1660 A.D., which mentions that Harivarmadeva whose valour was proclaimed in many countries like Anga, Vanga and Kalinga [24]

21 E. I., Vol. VI, p. 198.

22 J. and P. A. S. B., Vol. VIII, pp. 338 and 342 and pt. XIX.

23 Castes and Sects of Bengal, Vol. II, pp. 6, XIV-XV in Bengali.

24 *Ibid.*, p. 6 (ii).

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(Vaṅgāngakaliṅgādyaseshajanapadabahumatādbhutakarmā) erected one hundred and eight temples for various gods at Ekāmrakshetra. Raghavendra Kavisekhara's account runs thus :—

"Śrī Ekāmra-kānana-pratishṭhāpita Hari-hara-vaidehi-rāghavalakshmaṇahanumatādyashṭottaraśatādbhūta- vaijayantī-vibhūshitamanda - gandhaprasū-prasūna - paṭalasaundaryadinyakṛta Nandanakānana-vaibhava-paramāmodamayodyāna - samalaṃkṛta-surapatha-saṃsparśi- Sundara-mandira-mandākinī- vimalakilala- kamala- kalhārendīvara-sonaravindavṛndasaṃśobhita-suviśāla-sarovara-saṃhatiḥ." [25]

On the authority of this account Mr. Vasu came to the conclusion that " when Harivarmadeva erected hundreds of temples at Bhubaneswar, it was no wonder on the part of his chief minister to build the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple during his reign." [26] At page ix of this book we find that the title Gauḍoḍravaṅgādhipa or the over-lord of Gauḍa, Oḍra and Vaṅga, has been applied to Maharaja Harivarmadeva. On the other hand these titles are not found either in the account of Raghavendra Kavisekhara or in the copper-plate grant of Harivarmadeva which was published by him. Commenting on the copper-plate grant of Harivarmadeva Mr. N. G. Majumdar has written the following :—

" A very indistinct photograph of only one side of the plate is given by Mr. N. N. Vasu in his *Castes and Sects of Bengal*, Vol. II, frontispiece. On pages 215-17 he also has given an extremely tentative reading of a portion of the document, which I am afraid, is too conjectural to be utilised for historical purposes." [27] Nowhere in Mr. Vasu's tentative reading of the copper-plate of Harivarmadeva we find any title like *Gauḍoḍravaṅgādhipa* or any information of erecting

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 6ii.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 6xv.
[27] Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 168.

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temples at Bhuvaneswar as are met with in Raghavendra's account which was composed, it is stated, on the basis of traditions and older genealogical accounts. The annual report of the Dacca Museum for 1936-37 mentions that the Samantasar copper-plate of Harivarmadeva has been acquired for the Museum and Dr. N. K. Bhattasali remarks that the text of Mr. Vasu " was vitiated by preconceived readings."

Mr. M. M. Ganguli took this unreliable account of Raghavendra to be a " copper-plate inscription " and wrote thus :—

" We learn from a copper-plate inscription composed by Raghavendra Kavisekhara that Harivarma Deva was a king of Bengal, and the seat of this government was Vikramapura." [28]

" On going through the inscription of Raghavendra Kavisekhara referred to at page 379, I am convinced that the palace with the temple of Rameswara was built by Harivarma Deva, the king of Bengal, in the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. We learn from the inscription that Harivarmadeva built 108 temples of Hara, Hari, Rāma, Sītā, Lakshmaṇa and Hanumān in Ekāmra Kānana and laid out flower gardens, etc. The site, now in a ruinous state, was occupied by his garden and garden houses. The temples of Sītā, Lakshmaṇa and Hanumān still cluster round the temple of Rāmeswara." [29]

Commenting on the authenticity of genealogical accounts of Bengal which narrate that Adi Sura brought Brahmins of five *gotras* to Bengal, Mr. R. P. Chanda is of opinion that " on the contradictory evidence that we meet in the eulogium of Bhatta Bhavadeva of Bhuvaneswar against the story of bringing Brahmins belonging to Svavarna Gotra, doubts naturally arise in our mind as to the historical truth of the story of Adi Sura. So long as any copper-plate or stone inscription dispel this doubt, it is quite useless to make an

[28] Orissa and Her Remains, 1912, p. 379.

[29] *Ibid.* pp. 390-91.

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attempt in compiling the history of Adi Sura on the authority of self-contradictory genealogical accounts." [30] So until and unless any genuine and contemporary records of Harivarma Deva showing his supremacy over Orissa is found, it is equally useless to accept the views advanced by some scholars on these points.

It is quite possible for any Hindu monarch or his minister to erect temples in a place of pilgrimage like Bhuvaneswar and put commemorative inscriptions in them and no one would ever object to doing such religious work even in another kingdom where question of political supremacy does not arise at all. It may be that Raghavendra Kavisekhara's Bhavabhūmivārttā was composed with historical data, but the date of the manuscript has not been clearly established and, moreover, it does not refer directly even to Bhatta Bhavadeva.

All these facts lead to the conclusion that the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple of Bhuvaneswar was not built by Bhatta Bhavadeva of the village of Siddhala in Rāḍha country, who built the temple of Narayana in his native village.

III

Deities of the Ananta-Vāsudeva Temple and their reference in the Inscriptions of Bhatta Bhavadeva and Chandradevi

The inscription of Bhatta Bhavadeva mentions in verse 3 that the village Siddhala is the ornament of Rāḍha where his forefathers dwelt. In verses 4 to 25, the poet describes versatile qualifications and fortunes of Bhatta Bhavadeva and then in verse 26 Rāḍha country is again described where, on the outskirt of a village, he excavated a tank for the supply of water to public.

In verses 27, 28 and 29 mention is made of his installing a stone image of Narayana (V. 27) and of building a temple

[30] Gauḍarājamālā. 1915, p. 59.

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for him (V. 28) and of placing the images of Narayana, Ananta and Nṛsiṃha in the niches of the said temple (V. 29). The strain of description lends support to the suggestion that all these works were done in the Siddhala village mentioned in verse 3. Mr. N. G. Majumdar rightly remarks :—" The name of the village is not mentioned. It was evidently Siddhala, the home of Bhavadeva." [31] He again notes at p. 192 that " some writers identify Siddhala with the present village of Siddhala near Ahmadpur in Birbhum district" (*vide* Birbhum Vivarana by Harekrishna Mukherji—). In the J.R.A.S., 1935, pp. 97-99, Dr. N. K. Bhattasali notes this stating that it " may be correct."

Verse 28 describes the temple erected by Bhatta Bhava-Deva. The poet compares this edifice which surpasses the charms of the abode of Indra, with Siva's abode Kailasa for its height, Hari's for its beauty, ornamentation and flashing discus. Beholding its attractiveness even Siva is desirous of abandoning Kailasa, his abode.

The above description suits well to a temple standing solitary in a place, but such description of one in the vicinity of earlier temples, such as the Great Lingaraja and Brahmesvara, is beyond the conception of any poet. Had the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple been loftier than the Lingaraja temple, there was no difficulty in accepting the truth in the fancy of the poet. The following suggestion of Mr. N. G. Majumdar would have been quite correct if the date of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple would have been earlier than that of Lingaraja or Brahmesvara :—

" It is rather tempting to suggest that the poet here is reminded of the existence of Tribhuvanesvara (Lingara) close to Ananta-Vāsudeva. According to Vaishnavite tradition Siva asked the permission of Vāsudeva to stay in Ekamra-kshetra (*i.e.*, Bhubanesvara) and the latter granted it." [32]

[31] Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 28, note No. 1.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 40., Note No. 6.

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This tradition has got nothing to do with the construction of the temples at Bhuvanesvar. It only establishes the supremacy of Vaishnavism over Saivism.

The images known as Narayana, Ananta and Nṛsiṃha by name (Narayanananta-nṛsiṃha-murtti), were installed (v. 29) in the niches of the temple of Narayana built by Bhatta Bhavadeva. Due to mistake in identifying the images of the niches of this temple with the cult images of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple, all writers have been misled in expressing their views. The views of previous writers on this point are quoted below :—

Dr. Rajendralal Mitra writes as follows about the images of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple :

"The presiding divinities of the temple are two brothers Balarama and Krishna under the names of Ananta 'the eternal' and Vāsudeva. The images are of very coarse make and about 5 ft. high. The figure of Ananta has over its head a canopy formed by the expanded hood of a many-headed cobra. Though the temple is occupied by two images, it is held to belong exclusively to Vishnu . . . ." [33]

Mr. M. M. Ganguly mentions that "the temple of Ananta-Vasudeva is a Vaishnavite one dedicated to Ananta and Vāsudeva or Balarama and Krishna, a duel image of whom is enshrined in the vimāna." [34]

Dr. Mitra's two images have been represented in a single image in the account of Mr. Gangûly who perhaps did not see the images at all. His conception of the single image of Ananta-Vāsudeva is perhaps due to the idea of the image of Harihara.

Mr. M. M. Chakravarti has written the following :—

"From the inscription one learns that Bhavadeva built a high wheel-crested temple, placed in its inner sanctum the images of Vāsudeva, Ananta and Nṛsiṃha . . . ."

[33] Antiquities of Orissa, Vol. II, p. 84. [34] Orissa and Her Remains, p. 369.

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" .....Within the inner sanctum may still be seen the three images (not two as Dr. Mitra says)." [35]

Mr. Gurudas Sarkar also supports the views of Mr. M. M. Chakravarti.[36]

The verse 29 has been translated by various scholars.

(1) Captain G. T. Marshall translated it as follows :—

" He (Bhavadeva) placed in that house of Vishnu, in the innermost sanctuaries, the images of Narayana, Ananta and Nṛsiṃha, as the Vedas in the mouths of Bramha." [37]

(2) Dr. Rajendralal Mitra published this translation in his Antiquities of Orissa, Vol. II, p. 86.

(3) Dr. Kielhorn summarised the contents of the verses as follows :—

" This Bhavadeva, then, had a reservoir of water constructed in the country of Rāḍha (V. 26). Moreover, at the place, where the inscription is, he set up a stone image of God Narayana (Vishnu) (v. 27) and founded a temple of the God (v. 28) in which he placed images of his in the forms of Narayana, Ananta and Nṛsiṃha (v. 29)." [38]

Like Captain Marshall and Dr. Mitra, Mr. N. N. Vasu interpreted the verse to mean that three images were placed in the Garbhagriha of the temple.[39]

Mr. N. G. Majumdar also translated this verse 29 in the same way as follows :—

" (Verse 29) There, in Vishnu's temple in the respective sanctums (Garbhagrihas) he ardently placed images of the god in the form of Narayana, Ananta and Nṛsiṃha like the (three) Vedas in the mouths of the creator (*i.e.*, Bramha). [40]

35 J. and P. S. B., Vol. VIII, p. 338.
36 Mandirer Katha.
37 J. A. S. B., Vol VI., p. 97.
38 E. I., Vol. VI, p. 204.
39 *Castes and Sects of Bengal*, Vol. I. p. 349.
40 Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 40.

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None of the above scholars, excepting Dr. Kielhorn, have been able to fully interpret the verse in its real sense. Mr. Majumdar's reading is not grammatically correct as he has put 'i' in place of 'ī' in the word mūrttiḥ which is mūrttīḥ, the plural form of mūrtti in the objective declension unless it is a printing mistake.

Garbhagriha is an architectural term signifying a single room with one door. But in the inscription we find the plural form in the locative of the word Garbhagrihantara situated in the Vesma erected for the god. I consider it to be a technical term of the architecture signifying the places exterior or attached to the sanctum, that is, the three niches of the temple wherein Parsvadevatas are placed. If it is taken in this sense, *i.e.*, *antara* means bahirbhāga (outside) and not inside, the translation of verse 29 will stand as follows :—

There in the Vishnu's temple, in three respective niches outside the sanctum, he ardently placed the images of gods Nārāyana, Ananta and Nṛsiṃha like the three Vedas in the mouths of Bramhā.

It may be said here that only three faces out of four of Bramhā are represented in sculpture and three parsva-devatas of this temple have been compared here with three faces of Bramhā representing three Vedas (Vedatrayī).

However none of these images with the exception of Nṛsiṃha which occupied the eastern niche but is now missing are found to occupy the temple and the priests of the temple do not know any existence of Narayana, Ananta and Nṛsiṃha in the Garbhagriha. They perform the daily worship of Ananta (Balarama), Vāsudeva (Jagannātha) and Subhadrā, and while doing so they recite the following dhyana of each god :—

1. *Dhyāna of Vāsudeva :*

Kālābhrāñjanapuñjasundaramukhaṃ padmābhilāṣhasmitaṃ
Śakrādyamaravanditapadayugaṃ Śaṃkhāribāhudvayam
Ānandaplutavāridhiṃ pradhajatām mukhaikahetuṃ vibhuṃ
Saṃsārārṇavatāraṇaṃ trijagatāṃ nāthaṃ bhaje Keśavam,

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2. *Dhyāna of Ananta or Balarāma* :

Dorbhyāṃ śobhita-lāṅgala-samuṣalaṃ kādambarī-
chañchalam
Ratnairāchita-kuṇḍalaṃ bhujabalairākrāntabhūmaṇḍalam
Vajrābhaṃ guruchārugaṇḍayugalaṃ Nāgendra-chodo-
jjvalam
Saṃgrāme chapalaṃ śaśāṃka-dhavalaṃ Śrī-Kāmapālam
bhaje.

3. *Dhyāna of Subhadrā* :

Nānābhūṣaṇabhūṣitāṃ sumanasām ānanda-kallolinīm
Phullendīvaranīlalochana-nayanāṃ śrīrāmakṛṣṇānujām
Sarvābhiṣta-phala-pradāna-niratāṃ trailokyasaṇmohinīṃ
Deveśīm bhava-duḥkha-danana-samanīm Devīṃ
Subhadrāṃ bhaje.

The description of three images, which are worshipped in the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple, is given below :—

1. The standing image of Ananta measures 55″×18″. It has a seven-hooded snake canopy and two hands. The right hand holds the Hala (plough) and left hand Mushala. There is a head-dress (Mukuta) which is very indistinct. The outer garment hangs from the left shoulder with a knot near the right knee. A similar image of Ananta is fixed to the raised wall at the bathing ghat of Bindusara in front of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple.

2. The standing image of Subhadrā measures 40″× 17.″ A temple-decoration is carved on its back slab and there are two full-blown lotuses above the head of the image. The image itself stands on a lotus pedestal. Two palms are broken. The image is decorated with Vanamala and other ornaments. Two female attendants are found standing on her each side.

3. The standing image of Vāsudeva measures 58″×18″ It has a semicircle halo. There is the mukuta on its head

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and it wears sacred thread. The image has four hands, the left upper hand holds conch or Sankha and the lower hand the discus or Chakra; the right upper hand holds Gadā and the lower hand holds Lotus-bud. The image has two silver eyes which perhaps have been put by the priests. This piece of sculpture is similar in design to that of the Bindusara tank in front of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple.

All the three images stand on one stone platform facing to the west and have been fixed at the back with the masonary construction.

The images of Mā taṅgī Mahālakshmī measuring $34'' \times 21\frac{1}{2}''$ is kept in the south-west corner of the sanctum and a stone pillar known as Sudarśana is also kept at her side.

If we take the above image of Vāsudeva to be the very same with Narayana of Bhatta Bhavadeva's inscription, we get the image of Vāsudeva and Ananta in place of "Nārāyaṇa and Ananta" of the said inscription. But how does a female image come in to occupy the place of Nṛsiṃha? On enquiry, I learnt that the priests do not know anything about the image of Nṛsiṃha and their old palm-leaf manuscripts which are read in the procedure of worship of these gods, are silent about Nṛsiṃha. The priest informed me that there are only two Nṛsiṃha images at Bhuvaneswar, one the Ugra Nṛsiṃha in the Uttaresvara temple and another the Lakshmi Nṛsiṃha in a temple facing west on the southern side of the compound of the Lingarāja temple. The image of Nṛsiṃha of the Uttaresvara temple does not originally belong to that temple as it is kept now in the Nāṭamandira. It measures $46'' \times 23''$. The width of space occupied by the image of Subhadrā is only 17" and so an image of 23" wide cannot be put in there. But the dimensions of the image of Nṛsiṃha are exactly similar to the eastern niche of the temple which is generally in all Vaishṇava temples occupied by the image of Nṛsiṃha and the carvings and dimensions of this

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image are identical with that of the images of Vāmana in the northern niche and Varāha in the southern niche of the temple. So the image of Nṛsiṃha of the Utaresvara temple can be identified with the image of the eastern niche and not of the sanctum of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple. It seems that it was removed along with the commemorative inscription by Major Stuart from the temple and left at his camp for some reason or other. The image of Lakshmi-Nṛsiṃha of the Lingarāja temple compound measuring 64″ × 32″ is in a temple occupying an independent position and for it there is no space at all on the stone pedestal of the cult images of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple.

There is also another temple known as Anantesvara facing north on the southern side of the Lingarāja temple compound. The workmanship of these images is different from that of the images of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple which are no doubt earlier. These images are also called Ananta, Vāsudeva and Subhadrā and their description is given below.

The image of Ananta measures 47″ × 19″. The back slab has a trifoliate arch with a Makara design at each end. The canopy consists of seven snake-hoods and there are two Vidyādharīs on back slab beyond the hood. The 5th and 6th hoods from left are broken. Both the hands are broken from the elbow. The image stands on two other lotuses at the extremity of each side and two devotees sit on the intermediate lotuses. All these five lotuses are carved on a single lotus pedestal. The image has mukuta, sacred thread, necklace and garland of wild flowers (Vanamālā).

The image of Subhadrā measures 32″ × 14″. There is a trifoliate arch on the back slab. At both ends of the arch there are two Vidyādharīs holding garlands. Her right hand is broken and she holds the petals of a full-blown lotus which emerges from the lotus pedestal with her left hand. The image stands on the middle one of the three lotuses and the remaining two are vacant.

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The image of Jagannātha or Vāsudeva measures 43" × 19". In the middle of the trifoliate arch a Rahumukha, is carved and on each side of the Rahumukha there is one female riding on a flying male Vidhyādhara. At the two Makara (crocodile) bases of the arch there are two images of Garuḍa. It has two hands and not four like the image of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple. As the hands are broken at the elbow no weapons are found now. The image possesses necklace of Kaustubha, sacred thread and garland of wild flowers. The image stands on the middle lotus out of five and on the right there is the image of Lakshmi holding a lotus and standing on the lotus flower at the side, and on the left there is the image of Sarasvati playing on the Vīṇā There are two devotees, now broken, on two lotus seats on each side between the middle one and the two end ones.

All the three images stand on a common pedestal which has been divided into three compartments by insertion of four pillars lending support to a projection. One pillar to the right of Ananta is missing and so also a portion of the projection.

The images of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple and that of the Ananteswar temple are found to be made according to the texts of the Hayasirsha Pancharātra, Matsya Purāṇa and Pratiṣṭhā-prasaṅga as quoted in the Haribhakti-Vilāsa. Mention of Puruṣottama, Balarāma, Śrīkṛṣṇa and Subhadrā in the epigraph of Chandrādevī also indicates that the texts of Pratiṣṭhāprasaṅga was very familiar in Orissa in the 13th century A.D.

The name of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple is very significant. Rai Bahadur R. P. Chanda writes the following in this connection :—

" In all available exposition of the Pañcharātra system Vāsudeva is mentioned first and is followed by Saṃkarṣaṇa. But in both of our inscriptions (of second century B.C.) the order is changed, Saṃkarṣaṇa is named first and Vāsudeva

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comes as the second. The mention of Saṃkarṣaṇa first and Vāsudeva afterwards in two records of such two distant places as Ghasundi in Rajputana and Nanaghat in the Deccan, shows that in those days Saṃkarṣaṇa was popularly recognised as a divinity equalling Vāsudeva in rank." [41] The names of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā of Puri on this analogy seem to be of remoter antiquity and " may perhaps be the last remnants of the primitive unVedic Pañcharātra ritual." [42]

When the images of the inscription of Bhatta Bhavadeva cannot be identified with that of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple, it can safely be said that Bhatta Bhavadeva, the minister of Harivarmadeva, did not build the temple of Ananta-Vāsudeva at Bhuvaneswar. The inscription slab, which is fixed now on its compound wall, was identified by mistake to be its commemorative slab. Then where is the inscription slab of this temple which was removed from it by Major Stuart ?

According to the text of inscription No. 4, it can be said with certainty that Chadrādevī built the present Ananta-Vāsudeva temple. The deities namely Balarāma, Kṛṣṇa and Subhadrā (Bala-Kṛṣṇa-Subhadrāṃcha) mentioned in the inscription are even now worshipped in the temple. The locality and the position of the temple at Bhuvaneswar remain the same according to the description given in the inscription of Chandrādevī. Mention is made in the inscription of Bhatta Bhavadeva that in the front of the temple he excavated a tank (verse 31) and outside the temple laid out a garden (verse 32). This vāpī or tank of the inscription of Bhatta Bhavadeva has been identified with Vindu-sāgara of Bhuvaneswar. Mr. N. G. Majumdar writes that " the tank referred to in the inscription is no longer traceable and some

41 Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No 5, p. 121.

42 Indo-Aryan Races, p. 121.

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scholars are of opinion that 'it has been probably absorbed in the tank of Vindusāgara;'' [43] The poet Vāchaspati of Bhatta Bhavadeva's inscription does not give any religious importance to the tank, but the poet Umāpati of the inscription of Chandrādevī written in 1278 A.D. puts it saying that "these holy places do not attain the divine rank of even a drop thereof" [44] and this statement of Umāpati seems to have been based on the authenticity of the Garuḍapurāṇa which mentions the sanctity of the Vindusāgara. The date of Bhatta Bhavadeva's inscription according to the calculation of Mr. Majumdar has been estimated as belonging to the "first quarter of the 12th century and even the last quarter of the 11th century A.D.," [45] and if Mr. M. M. Chakravarti's suggestion about the absorption of the tank dug by Bhatta Bhavadeva in the Vindusāgara at a subsequent period to that of the first quarter of the 12th century A.D. is accepted, the attainment of the divine rank of Vindusāgara is to be attributed to a period of less than 100 years from the time of the poet Umāpati which is perhaps untenable.

The descriptions given in the Ekāmra-chandrika, Kapilasaṃhitā, Svarṇādrimahodaya and Ekāmra-purāṇa go to show that in the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple are enshrined the stone images of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā which are known as Silābrahma whereas such images at Puri are known as Dārubrahma.

The above four Upapurāṇas faithfully record the religious traditions sacred to the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple and the Vindusāgara tank of Bhuvaneswar and it will be observed from the books that nowhere names of 'Nārāyaṇānantanṛsiṃha' or 'Nārāyaṇānanta' from the inscription of Bhatta Bhavadeva, occur, and this goes, to some extent, against

43 Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 32.

44 E.I., Vol. XIII, p. 154.

45 Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 32.

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the identification of the temple of Ananta-Vāsudeva with that built by Bhatta Bhavadeva, whereas, on the other hand, the inscription of Chandrādevī, daughter of a Ganga King of Orissa, makes distinct mention of gods Śrīkṛṣṇa, Balarāma and Subhadrā, and of Puruṣottama in verses 13, 21 and 23 which are found in the above-named Upapurāṇas. There are also two temples still standing in dilapidated condition in the compound of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple dedicated to goddesses Lakshmi and Sarasvati. These temples were built perhaps according to provision of such temples in the compound of the Jagannātha temple at Puri.

From all these points one is arrived at a definite conclusion that the inscription slab of Bhatta Bhavadeva identified as the inscription of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple and subsequently returned to Bhuvaneswar and fixed in its present position, does not belong to Bhuvaneswar; it originally belonged to the temple of Nārāyaṇa or Ananta-nārāyaṇa erected at the village Siddhala in Rāḍha or Uttara Rāḍha (according to the Belāva copper-plate of Bhojavarman) from where it was brought to the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, by some antiquarian whose name was not recorded in the list of donors of the Asiatic Society. Had it not belonged to the collection of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, there would have been left a chance of its being considered as an inscription from Bhuvaneswar, but its return from the collection of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta is unquestionable and so there is no doubt about the fact that the inscription of Chandrādevī, now preserved by the Royal Asiatic Society of London, is the original slab of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple of Bhuvaneswar. It is also desirable that if the original slab cannot be brought back from London, a plaster cast of it may be put at the place of Bhatta Bhavadeva's inscription which may be removed from Bhuvaneswar and preserved in the Indian Museum in Calcutta or in the Museum at Cuttack.

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Stone images of Ananta or Balarāma, Vāsudeva or Kṛṣṇa and Subhadrā were identified in his article on Ekānaṃśā and Subhadrā first by my friend late Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghosh to whom I owe many suggestions; it was published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters, Vol. II, 1936, No. 1, pp. 41-46, together with a plate showing a set of images preserved in the Lucknow Museum. It will appear from what I have narrated above that there are three such sets of sculptures at Bhuvaneswar. The catalogue of antiquities of the Gwalior Museum contains a photograph of images of Balarāma and it is expected that such sculptures are scattered in other parts of India. A proper survey of these three Vaishnava images will enable us to locate the area where the Pañcharātra system of worship was prevalent and popular in ancient and mediaeval periods of Indian History.

In conclusion I acknowledge with thanks various suggestions which I received from Mr. Kedarnath Mahapatra of Bhuvaneswar. Thanks are due also to my friends Pandit Binayak Mishra and Pandit Bhagavan Panda for helping me in preparing the correct reading of the text of the inscription of Chandrādevī from a photograph which was collected for the Baripada Museum of the Mayurbhanj State through the kind permission of the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society of London.

Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M.A., Director-General of Archaeology in India, visited Bhuvaneswar in early January, 1939, and I had the privilege of showing him the images of the Ananta-Vāsudeva and Ananteswar temples and on examination he was pleased to agree with my identification. I had the opportunity of discussing this matter with Dr. R. C. Majumdar who expressed his appreciation and promised me to make arrangements for its early publication in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal the General Secretary of which kept it pending for publication since June, 1937, and

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returned the same at my request in March, 1939. Out of three inscription slabs removed from the temples of Brahmesvara, Meghesvara and Ananta-Vāsudeva of Bhuvaneswar by Major Stuart, popularly called "Hindoo Stuart," two slabs belonging to the temples of Brahmesvara and Meghesvara were presented by him to the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, and the slab belonging to the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple found its way to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London, in a manner quite unknown now. The published text of the Meghesvara inscription is found to be satisfactory, but the texts of the other two inscriptions, and particularly the text of the Brahmesvara inscription, have been improved to some extent and I intend to re-edit them shortly.

Extracts from the inscription of Bhatta Bhavadeva of Siddhala in Rāḍha and that of the inscription of Chandrādevī of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple of Bhuvaneswar are given in the appendices for easy reference.

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APPENDIX I

Extracts from the Inscription of Bhatta Bhavadeva.

ओऽम् नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ।

सावर्णस्य मुनेर्म्महोयसि कुले ये जज्ञिरे श्रोत्रिया-
स्तेषां शासनभूमयो जनिगृहं ग्रामाः शतं सन्तु ते ।
आर्यावर्त्तभुवांविभूषणमिह ख्यातस्तु सर्व्वाग्रिमो
ग्रामः सिद्धल एव केवलमलङ्करोस्ति राढाश्रियः ॥ ३

* * * *

यन्मन्त्रशक्तिसचिवः सुचिरं चकार
राज्यं स धर्मविजयी हरिवर्म्मदेवः ।
तन्नन्दने वलति यस्य च दण्डनीति-
वर्त्मानुगा वहलकल्पलतेव लक्ष्मीः ॥ १६

* * * *

राढायामजलासु जाङ्गलपथग्रामो कण्ठस्थलो
सीमासु श्रममग्नपान्थ-परिषत्-प्राणाशय-प्रीणनः ।
येनाकारि जलाशयः परिसरस्नाताभिजाताङ्गना
वक्त्राब्जप्रतिविम्बमुग्धमधुपीशून्याङ्गिनीकानन: ॥ २६
तेनायं भगवान् भवार्णवसमुत्ताराय नारायणः
शैले सेतुरिव प्रसाधितधरापीठः प्रतिष्ठापितः ।
यः प्राचीवदनेन्दुनोलतिलको लोलावन् न सोत्पलं
भूमेर्भूतलपारिजातविटपो संकल्पसिद्धिप्रदः ॥ २७
तेन प्रसाद एव त्रिपुरहरगिरिस्पर्द्धया वर्द्धितश्रीः
श्रीमान् श्रीवच्छलक्ष्मा हरिरिव विहितो विस्फुरच्चक्रचिन्ह ।
जित्वा यो वैजयन्तं वियति वितनुते वैजयन्ति विलासान्
कैलासे नाभिलाषं कलयति गिरिशो यस्य संलक्ष्य लक्ष्मीं ॥ २८

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न्यवीविशद्देश्मनि तत्र विष्णोः सनिर्भरं गर्भगृहान्तरेषु ।
नारायणानन्तनृसिंहमूर्त्तीर्विधातृवक्त्रेष्विव वेदविद्याः ॥ २९
एतस्मै हरिमेधसे वसुमतो विश्रान्तविद्याधरो
विभ्रान्तिन्दधतोः शतं स हि ददौ शारङ्गशावीदृशः ।
दग्धस्योग्रदृशा दृशैव दिशतीः कामस्य संजीवनं
कारा कामिजनस्य संगमगृहं संगीतकेलिस्त्रियां ॥ ३०
प्रासादाग्रे स खलु जगतः पुण्यपुण्यैकवीर्यो
चक्रे वापीं मरकतमणिस्वच्छसुच्छायतोयां ।
मध्ये वारि प्रतिकृतिमिषाद्दर्शयन्तोव ताद्दृ-
ग्विष्णोर्द्वामाद्भुतमहिकुलस्याधिकं या चकास्ति ॥ ३१
व्यधितविबुधधान्नः सीम्नि संसारसारं
स खलु निखिलनेत्रानन्दनिस्यन्दपात्रं ।
त्रिभुवनजयखिन्नानङ्गविश्रामधाम
प्रथितरतिविभावस्थानमुद्यानरत्नं ॥ ३२

APPENDIX II

Extracts from the Inscriptions of Chandrā Devī.

अस्त्युत्कलोऽयं विषयो यत्र ते चक्षुरादयः ।
पञ्चपञ्चेषु सुहृदो भान्ति पूर्णमनोरथाः ॥ ८
तत्र च क्षेत्रमेकाम्रमाम्रारामशताश्रितं ।
एकदेवकुलं देवकुलैराकुलमद्भुतं ॥ ९
स यत्र गिरिजापतिर्वसति गन्धसिन्धोर्मिषा-
न्निधाय निकटे धूनिममर सार्थसार्थप्रपां ।
यदन्वयकृपाभराद्गधितकृत्तिवासाः श्रियं
महेन्द्रपदजित्वरिं सुभटचोडगंगेन तां ॥ १०

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यस्मिन् बिन्दुसरः सरस्वदसदृक्कट्वम्पेयपाथः पतत्-
पान्थ-श्रान्तिहरं सुधाजनितनिःस्यन्दद्वपुः शाम्भवीं ।
यद् विन्दोरपि नानुयान्ति पदवीं तीर्थानि तानि स्फुटं
भूतानुग्रहनिर्मितं पुरजिता लोकैकश्लोकापहं ॥ ११

* * * *

तत्तीर्थमण्डनस्यास्य तीरे नानावनिघने ।
श्रीकृष्णश्रीबलावासवासिते नन्दनायिते ॥ १३
अत्र व्योमवियत्फणीन्द्ररसना चन्द्रप्रमाणैर्मिता-
नीतासु क्षितिभृच्छकावधि समास्वावारिधि क्ष्मामिमां ।
भूपे श्रीनरसिंहदेवतनये भानौ चिरं शासति
प्रासादं स्थिरमारवीन्दु विदधे सेयं हरेर्भीमभूः ॥ १४

* * * *

एकाम्राह्वयवेदितं सुमहसि श्रीकृत्तिवासः प्रिये
क्षेत्रे पुण्यबले श्रुतामृतफले सर्वर्तुपुष्पोज्ज्वले ।
प्रासादं पुरुषोत्तमस्य सबलं सौधापदं वैष्णवं
गन्तुं मंगलपूर्णकुम्भशिरसं श्रद्धान्विताचीकरत् ॥ २१
पादात् शिरोवधि जगत्कमनीयरूपं
स्वत एव केशवमसौ शुभकर्मभाजं ।
सचक्रसंगतिमति प्रसरप्रसादं
प्रासादमेतमसमं स्वमिव व्यधत्त ॥ २२
मुकुटाद्यैरलंकारैः शक्त्या भक्त्या मुदान्विता ।
बलकृष्णौ सुभद्राञ्च श्रेयसेऽसावभूषयत् ॥ २३

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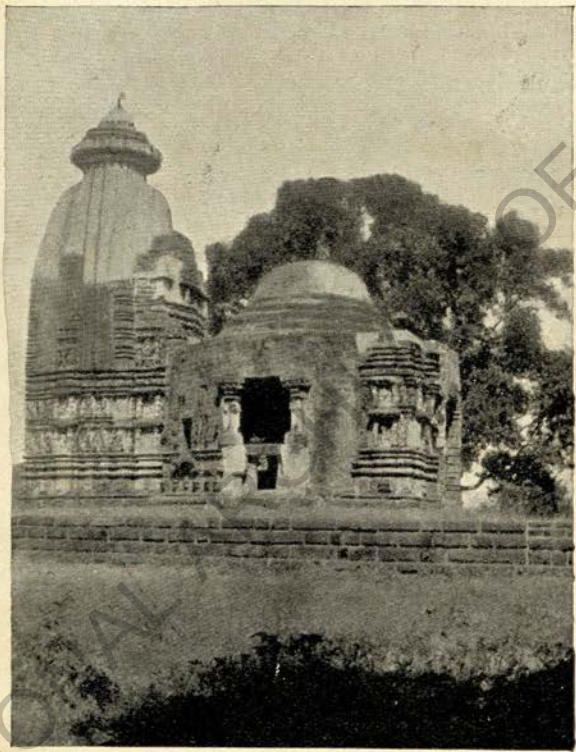

External View of the Temple of Śiva at Pali.

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3

AN ANCIENT DYNASTY OF MAHĀ-KOSALA

PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A.

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Mahākosala or Dakshiṇa Kosala comprised, in ancient times, Chhattisgarh and the adjoining territory in the Eastern States Agency and the Province of Orissa up to the boundary of the Kaṭak District. The early history of this country before the advent of the Kalachuris is enveloped in obscurity. In the fifth century A.D. the kings of Śarabhapura were ruling over the territory comprised in modern Drug, Raipur and Bilāspur Districts of the Central Provinces, while those of the Nala dynasty held portions of the Bastar State and the adjoining Vizagāpaṭam District.[1] The Vākāṭakas were their neighbours on the west. The sixth century, which saw the downfall of the Vākāṭakas brought the Somavaṁśis on the scene in Chhattisgarh. Their family originally belonged to North India. Udayana, the earliest known king of this dynasty, was ruling in Central India, as a stone inscription found at Kālañjara records his construction of a temple of Vishṇu evidently at Kālañjara.[2] He was probably a feudatory of the contemporary Maukhari king. Either he or his sons seem to have invaded Mahākosala during the campaign of the Maukhari king Īśvaravarman against the contemporary king of Āndhra.[3] In any case we find

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 153ff. Recently some gold coins of the kings of this dynasty have been found in the Bastar State

[2] Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 40 and plate IX.

[3] Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 228ff.

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Udayana's grandsons Īśānadeva and Nannadeva firmly established in Chhattisgarh; for a stone inscription of the former[4] and the copper-plates and stone inscriptions of the latter's son Tīvaradeva[5] and grandson Mahāśivagupta-Bālārjuna[6] have been found in the Bilāspur and Raipur Districts of Mahākosala. How long this dynasty continued to reign in these parts is not known. Later inscriptions of this dynasty have been found in the Sonpur and Patna States and in the Sambalpur and Kaṭak Districts of Orissa. The late Rai Bahadur Hiralal thought that only one generation intervened between Mahāśivagupta-Bālārjuna and Śivagupta the first prince mentioned in the Kaṭak plates. But the palæographical development seen in the Kaṭak plates is too great to be accounted for by two or three generations. The descendants of Mahāśivagupta-Bālārjuna may, therefore, have continued to rule in Chhattisgarh for some generations before they were ousted by another powerful family.

Who ousted the Somavaṁśis from Chhattisgarh? Rai Bahadur Hiralal thought that the kings of Śarabhapur supplanted the Somavaṁśis. He has not, however, put forward any reasons for this view except that the former kings seem to have changed the name of Śrīpura, the old capital of the latter to Śarabhapura to commemorate their victory over the Somavaṁśis who assumed the title of Kesarin; for 'Śarabha is a fabulous animal believed to be a match for a lion.'[7] This argument is merely conjectural. Besides, it is disproved by the discovery of the Thākurdiyā plates of Mahā-Pravararāja[8] who belonged to the Śarabha-

[4] *Viz.*, the Kharoḍ stone inscription of Īśānadeva, Hiralal's *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (second ed.), p. 125.

[5] See the Rājim and Balodā plates of Tīvaradeva (*Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 291ff. and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, pp. 102ff.)

[6] See the Śirpur Stone inscription, *ibid.*, Vol. XI, pp. 184ff. and the Mallār plates, *ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 113ff.

[7] *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 186.

[8] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 16ff.

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pura dynasty ; for the plates are issued from Śrīpura which shows that the kings of Śarabhapura did not change the name of the town to the last, since Mahā-Pravararāja is the last known member of his dynasty. In favour of my view that the kings of Śarabhapura ruled in Chhattisgarh prior to the Somavaṁśis, I may point out that an expression[9] which invariably occurs in the formal part of the grants of Śarabhapura kings is borrowed in the corresponding portion of the grants of Tīvaradeva. This clearly points to the conclusion that the Śarabhapura dynasty was overthrown by the Somavaṁśis.

Rai Bahadur Hiralal held further that the Śarabhapura kings were ousted by the Kalachuris. When he wrote, the records of the Śarabhapura kings and those of the Early Somavaṁśis were referred to the 8th century A.D. on the ground that the characters of their grants resembled those of the Vākāṭaka inscriptions which were referred by Dr. Fleet to that period.[10] This view is now proved to be erroneous ; for the Vākāṭakas undoubtedly flourished in the period from the third to the sixth century A.D. The king of Śarabhapura and those of the Somavaṁśī dynasty must be referred to the sixth or the seventh century A.D. on palæographic grounds ; for their charters are inscribed in box-headed characters not differing much from those of Pravarasena II's grants. So there must have been another dynasty which ruled in Chhattisgarh between the Somavaṁśis and the Kalachuris.

In many records[11] of the Ratanpur branch of the Kalachuri dynasty it is stated that Kokalla had eighteen sons of

[9] This expression is यावद्रविश्शशितारार्कि रूपप्रतिच्छतघोरान्धकारं जगदवतिष्ठते तावदुपभोग्यः। See, *e.g.*, lines 6-7 of the Āraṅga plates of Mahā-Jayarāja and lines 7-8 of the Raipur plates of Mahā-Sudevarāja, *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 193 and 198. It occurs in lines 20-21 of the Rājim plates and in lines 23-24 of the Balodā plates of Tīvaradeva, *ibid.*, p. 295 and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol VII, p 105. For further discussion see *ibid.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 174ff.

[10] *Gupta Inscriptions*, Introduction, pp. 15-16.

[11] See, *e.g.*, the Ratanpur stone Inscription of Jājalladeva I, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 34ff.

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whom the eldest became the lord of Tripurī and made his brothers the lords of *maṇḍalas* by his side. Scholars are not unanimous about the identification of this Kokalla. Some identify him with Kokalla II who flourished in the beginning of the eleventh century A.D,[12] and others with Kokalla I who ruled in the latter half of the ninth century A.D.[13] The latter view appears to be correct ; for we find a corroborative statement in some inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Tripurī. The Bilhāri stone inscription states that Mugdhatuṅga, the son and successor of Kokalla I, conquered the lines of countries along the eastern seashore and took (the country of) Pāli from the lord of Kosala.[14] The Benares plates of Karṇa say that Prasiddhadhavala (who is none other than Mugdhatuṅga [15]) took possession of Pāli, thinking that in his family there would be born men precious on account of their greatness in this world.[16] This plainly means that the Kalachuri king conquered Pāli to provide an adequate field for the activities of the illustrious princes who would be born in his family. The country of Pāli, which was conquered from the king of Kosala, was probably the territory round Ratanpur ; for there is a village named Pāli about 12 miles to the north of Ratanpur.[17] There is

12 *Ibid.*, Vol XXI, pp. 161ff.

13 *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XIII, p. 482ff.

14 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 256.

15 Both Prasiddhadhavala and Mugdhatuṅga appear to be *birudas* of this king. His personal name was probably Śaṅkaragaṇa.

16 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p 306.

17 It has been suggested that Pāli is identical with Pāliā, a village six miles from the seashore in the Balasore district of Orissa, because the verse in the Bilhāri stone inscription, which refers to Mugdhatuṅga's occupation of Pāli, speaks also of his conquest of the lines of countries near the eastern seashore. But the country on the eastern coast does not seem to have been in the occupation of the descendants of Mugdhatuṅga as is implied in the passage from the Benares plates cited above. The two conquests seem to have been mentioned in the same verse for the sake of alliteration. Besides, Pāliā in the Balasore District does not possess any signs of great antiquity, while Pāli in the Bilāspur District has an exquisitely carved temple which, as shown below, was probably erected prior to the time of Mugdhatuṅga.

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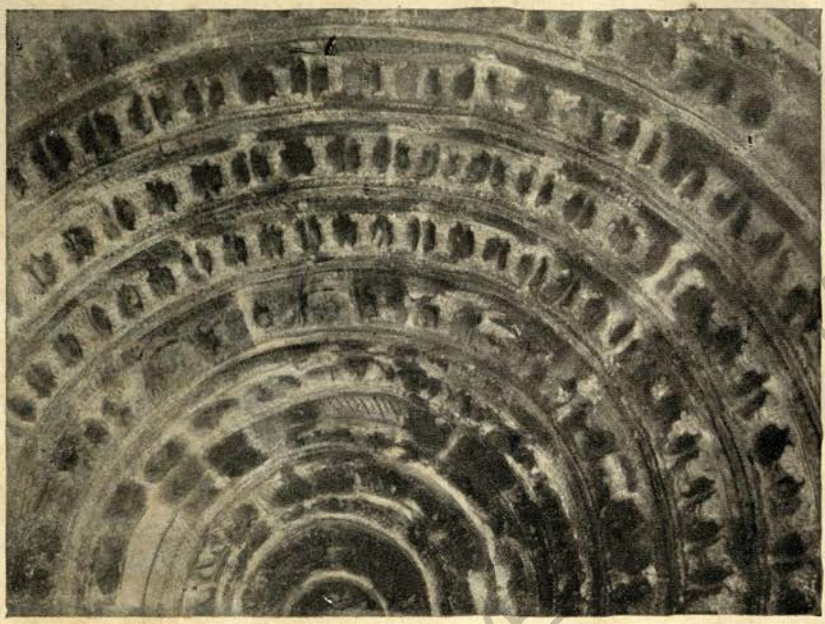

Ceiling of the dome of the Mandapa in the Śiva Temple at Pali.

Two extra Pillars in front of the doorway of the garbhagṛiha
erected by the Kalacuri King Jaya.

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even now a large tank and the remains of several temples near it at Pāli. The one remaining temple which is still in a fair state of preservation is considered to be the finest in the Central Provinces.[17a] Mr. Chisolm, the settlement officer of the Bilaspur District, has thus described it:—'What now remains is a large octagonal dome acting as the portico to an inner building which was formerly dedicated to the service of Mahādeva. As you enter the dome, you are at once struck with the minute and elaborate carvings which extend from the floor to the very summit of the building. The dome is supported by pillars on all of which are images of mythological characters famous in Hindu legend and song. Above these pillars the lower circle of the dome is a series of minute figures chiselled into most fantastic shapes. The most elaborate workmanship is, however, found at the entrance door to the inner building, where carving is most minute and elaborately executed.[18] The existence of such a magnificent temple at Pāli indicates its importance in ancient times. The surrounding country was probably known as the country of Pāli and it was this country which was conquered by Mugdhatuṅga-Prasiddhadhavala who placed one of his brothers in charge of it.

Who was ruling at Pāli towards the close of the ninth century A.D.? The aforementioned temple at Pāli has an inscription in three parts incised over three recesses in the architrave of the door of the *garbhagṛiha* which records the construction of the temple by Vikramāditya, the son of the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Malladeva. This inscription, which was disciphered by Dr. (then Mr.) D. R. Bhandarkar more than thirty-five years ago,[19] has not received from scholars the

17a See Photograph No. I.

18 *Bilāspur District Gazetteer*, p. 286. See Photograph No. II.

19 Dr. Bhandarkar read the inscription as follows:—*Śrī-Māhānagara-Vamā-purī-vasāsānagavālati(?) (Mavada?) Māhā-maṇḍal-eśvara-Śrī-Mala(lla)devas-tasya suta-Vikramāditya-prāsāda lakshitaḥ kīrtrī.* Unfortunately the name of the great city (mahānagara) is uncertain. I have personally examined the record. The first letter

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attention it deserves. As the names Malladeva and Vikramāditya occur in the dynastic list of Bāṇa kings Dr. Bhandarkar made the ingenious suggestion that this Vikramaditya may have been one of the Bāṇa kings. He could not however definitely identify him at the time; for no such Vikramāditya, the son of Malladeva, was then known. From the Udayendiram plates [20] which had been published by Dr. Kielhorn, two Vikramādityas of the Bāṇa family were, of course, known at the time; but neither of these was a son of Malladeva. About the chronology of the Bāṇa kings also there was considerable doubt. Dr. Kielhorn at first referred the second Vikramāditya mentioned in the Udayendriam plates to the middle of the twelfth century A.D.;[21] but later on he identified his friend Kṛishṇarāja mentioned in that inscription with Kṛishṇa II of the Rāshṭrakūta dynasty,[22] and thus referred Vikramāditya II of the Udayendiram plates to the end of the ninth century A.D. The discovery of the Guḍimallam plates [23] has placed the genealogy of the Early Bāṇa kings on a sound basis. As Dr. Hultzsch has shown, there were three Vikramādityas [24] in the Bāṇa dynasty, of whom the first, also called Jayameru, was the son of Malladeva. He is identical with

of the name appears to be *va* and the following one *lā*. After this one *akshara* appears to be slightly damaged. Was the name Vallāla where according to the Sholingur rock inscription the Ganga-Prithvīpati distinguished himself in a battle with the Bāṇas? The word following the name of the city was probably *vāstavya*. It would therefore seem that Vikramāditya was actually residing elsewhere and the country of Pāli was ruled by some relative or governor of his. I read the word preceding Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara as *Māvali (Mahābali)*. This epithet usually precedes the names of Bāṇa kings. See, *e.g.*, the Guḍimallam inscriptions A—D in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, pp. 224 ff.

20 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 74ff.

21 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 75.

22 *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, *Appendix* II, p. 21.

23 *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 1ff.

24 The last one of these is identical with the second Vikramāditya mentioned in the Udayendiram plates. His friend Kṛishṇarāja was probably Kṛishṇa III of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty.

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the Bāṇa-Vidyādhara mentioned in the Udayendiram plates. As the known dates of his son Vijayāditya-Prabhumeru range from Śaka 820 (A.D. 898-99)[25] to Śaka 831 (A.D. 909-10),[26] Vikramāditya I may be referred to the period A.D. 870-95.[27] He was thus a contemporary of Mugdhatuṅga-Prasiddhadhavala (*circa* A.D. 885-900). It seems, therefore, that the latter wrested the country of Pāli from Vikramāditya I of the Bāṇa dynasty and placed one of his brothers in charge of it.

The Bāṇa kings are known from records found in the North Arcot District. The province over which they ruled is called Perumbānappāḍi in later Tamil inscriptions.[28] As R. B. Venkayya has shown, this province extended from Punganur in the West to Kālahasti in the East. It is however surmised that the Bāṇas were originally settled further north in the Telugu country.[29] From there they seem to have penetrated to the north and carved out a kingdom for themselves in the Bilāspur District of Chhattisgarh where they ousted the Somavaṁśis who were obliged to move to the east and settle at Vinītapura (modern Binkā in the Sonpur State). This invasion of the country to the north of the Godāvarī appears to have occurred in connection with the northern campaign of Udayachandra, a general of the Pallava king Nandivarman II-Pallavamalla (*circa* A.D. 710-75).[30] The Udayendiram plates[31] state that Udayachandra pursued a Nishāda chief

25 *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 227.

26 See No. 99 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1899*.

27 Sewell says that Vikramāditya I's accession date (A.D. 872) is derived from an inscription which mentions the year *Vijaya* (A.D. 873-74) as being in the second year of Bāṇa Vidyādhara. See *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 328, n.

28 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 230.

29 *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 238.

30 See Gopālan's *History of the Pallavas of Kanchi*, p. 119. Mr. Jouveau-Dubreuil gives the date as 717-79.

31 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII.

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called Purushavyāghra who desiring to become very powerful was running after the horse of the Aśvamedha, defeated him and ordered him out of the district of Vishṇurāja which he subjected to the Pallava king. This Purushavyāghra may have been ruling over the country now comprised in the Bastar State. Vishṇurāja whose country he had invaded has been identified with Vishṇuvardhana III (A.D. 709-746). The Bāṇa chiefs who were feudatories of the Pallavas seem to have pressed still further to the north and established themselves in the Bilāspur District with Pāli as their capital. We have no record of the Early Bāṇa kings who founded this kingdom. Nandivarman, is the earliest king known from the Udayendiram plates.[32] As shown above, his great-grandson Vikramāditya I was ruling from *circa* A.D 870 to 890. He may therefore have flourished about A.D. 800. Either he or his father may have been the founder of the Bāṇa kingdom in Chhattisgarh. His descendants seem to have held the country down to the time of Vikramāditya I who built the aforementioned temple of Śiva at Pāli.

It is supposed by some [33] that the temple at Pāli was erected by Jājalladeva I, for there are five inscriptions of that king in the *maṇḍapa* of that temple. These inscriptions are of one line each, identical in meaning. Two of these are inscribed on the walls of the *maṇḍapa*, one on a stone built into the rebuilt doorway of the *maṇḍapa* and another on a pilaster intended to support a broken beam.[34] All of them support to register some meritorious work (*kīrti*) of Jājalladeva. The palæography of the inscription leaves no doubt that this Jājalladeva was the first king of that name who flourished about A.D. 1100.[35] As Mr. Cousens has noticed,

32 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 74f.

33 *Bilāspur District Gazetter*, p. 286.

34 *Progress Report A.S.I., W.C., for 1903-04*, p. 52.

35 His Ratanpur stone inscription is dated K. 866 (A.D. 1114-15).

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the *maṇḍapa* has been partly rebuilt, the additional walls across the corners to support the roof making it look as if it were originally octagonal in plan.[36] And it is noteworthy that it is precisely on one of these walls, the rebuilt doorway and an additional pilaster inserted to support a broken beam that the inscriptions of Jājalladeva are engraved. Jājalladeva I, therefore, did not build the temple, but only repaired its *maṇḍapa*. Since a period of more than two centuries separates the Bāṇa king Vikramāditya I from Jājalladeva I, it is not surprising that the temple had fallen into disrepair in the time of the latter.

The foregoing discussion will make it plain that the Somavaṁśis of Mahākosala were supplanted by the Bāṇa kings who held the country for a century from about A.D. 790 to 890. The latter were defeated by the Kalachuris and forced to retreat to the south where we find them ruling till they were overthrown by Parāntaka Chola I some time between 909 and 916 A.D.

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36 *P.R.A.S.I., W.C., for 1903-04*, p. 28. Dr. Bloch mentions, besides, two extra pillars added in front of the doorway to support an architrave which had failed. *P.R.A.S., E.C.*, for 1907-08, p. 38. See Photograph No. III.

37 K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cholas*, Vol. I, p. 151.

4

TROGUS' SOURCE: A LOST (?) HISTORIAN OF THE HELLENISTIC EAST

MR. SAURINDRANATH ROY, M.A.

Imperial Records Department, Delhi

In an enlightening chapter of his recent work on 'The Greeks in Bactria and India,' Dr. W. W. Tarn claims to have brought to light the existence of a 'lost' author and a 'lost' work of Indo-Greek History. "Neither his name," he says, "nor his city is known; his very existence has been forgotten and I have to refer to him throughout by the clumsy appellation of 'Trogus' source' meaning the source used by Trogus Pampeius for Parthia and the Far East. *But he survived in other works besides Trogus and there is no doubt* that he wrote a comprehensive history of the Greek and Parthian East . . . Certain facts in our Historian's life can be ascertained. He had travelled widely. He had seen and admired the first Parthian capital Dara in Apavarktikene and he had spent some considerable time in India . . . (He) . . . knew of the Jain dating and can only have got it from some Greek in India . . . unless he could read Sanskrit and Prakrit for himself . . . Plutarch's story of Menander shows that 'Trogus' source' not only understood what a stūpa was and not only knew the story of Buddha's death as told in the Book of the Great Decease, but also knew that stūpas were raised to dead Chakravartins. He knew, therefore, a great deal about India and must have lived there for some time; probably to him too goes back the introduction into the Western literature of the name of the Pāṇḍus of the Mahā-

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bhārata. Indeed it seems to me an open question whether he was a Greek of Parthia who had lived for some time in India, or whether he was not rather a Greek of India who perhaps late in life settled in one of the Greek cities in Parthia to write his book . . . " (chapter II).

The above sums up the salient points of Dr. Tarn's theory in his own words. But it does not reveal the importance of his ' discovery ' to the thesis of his book and he has a novel thesis to offer. That thesis is plainly to prove that the history of the Euthydemids was really the history of a huge experiment—the experiment of building an empire on the basis of partnership between Greek and Indian, thereby translating into reality the great dream of Alexander—' the dream of human brotherhood.' Let us quote his own words: " Hellenistic history would be imperfect, had no dynasty made some sort of an attempt to put into practice, not anything which Alexander had done but the greater thing which he had dreamt, and that is the importance of the Euthydemid dynasty during the three generations of its power " (p. 413).[1] Now the thesis has one great recommendation. It gives a unity and a meaning to a history which has hitherto appeared chaotic and meaningless. But it requires proof. It is vital to it to show that the Hellenic incursions into Āryāvarta about the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. were not haphazardly planned raids but well-organised campaigns with a definite programme and with a brain behind all. It is no less fundamental to it to prove that these campaigns like those of Alexander culminated in a well-knit empire and that its author had as his colleagues illustrious lieutenants who like Alexander's colleagues continued his policy after his death.

[1] *Cf.* p. 181 ' Demetrius was consciously copying Alexander; but in this matter is inspiration was not the Alexander who had cut his blood-stained way to the Beas but ıe Alexander who had imagined something better; and who had dreamt of a union f peoples in a human brotherhood. It is to the lasting credit of the Euthydemids ıat they made an attempt to put this into practice. And that was more than what was one by any other Hellenistic dynasty.'

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The author [2] of the plan according to Tarn was Demetrius, who had as his colleagues Apollodotos and Menander [3] and the Empire all of them succeeded in building up embraced what once had been the Empire of Chandragupta Maurya.[4] Whether this interpretation of history will bear examination is beyond the scope of the present paper to discuss. What is relevant here to point out is that it is the necessity of justifying this theory that has led Dr. Tarn to appeal to a supposed Indo-Greek or Indo-Parthian source of Trogus so far unknown to history.[5]

[2] 'It was a plan which could have originated in some definite man's brain, and that man v as quite certainly Demetrius.' P. 131.

[3] 'He meant to govern his new city of Taxila with Apollodotos and Menander as his viceroys in Ujjain and Pāṭaliputra.' P. 152.

It may be pointed out in this connexion that Dr. Tarn makes not only Menander and Apollodotos contemporaries of Demetrius but also Demetrius II, Antimachus, Pantaleon, Agathocles, and Euthydemus II of whom all except Antimachus was, according to him, sons of Demetrius. The obvious object is to reduce the distance between Demetrius and Menander. The absurdity of this claim need not be discussed here.

[4] 'Demetrius was the monarch of the Maurya Empire.' P. 154.

[5] There are two passages in Trogus which, according to Tarn, supports his theory: Prologue XLI and Justin XLI 6, 4. The former uses the expression, 'Indicae quoque res additae, geste per Apollodotum et Menanderum' which leads Tarn to conclude that both were not only contemporaries but colleagues. Read together with a passage in Strabo which says 'These (Indian conquests) were achieved partly by Menander and partly by Demetrius,' the passage yields to Tarn the interpretation that Demetrius, Menander and Apollodotos, all belonged to the same time and worked in concert. It may, however, be pointed out that it may merely mean that Menander made only important additions to the empire of Demetrius and that the conquests of both the chiefs were two separate phases of events belonging to two different dates. As to Apollodotos, it should be borne in mind that in the last 41st book, Trogus professes to describe the Indian reign of Apollodotos and Menander and commonsense would refuse to believe that Trogus meant that both were joint rulers (the title 'England under Edward I and Edward II' does not mean that both ruled together). It is again fatal to the theory of Menander's contemporaneity with either Demetrius or Apollodotos that the statement in Milinda-Pañho that Menander flourished 500 years after Parinivvāṇa points to a date in the 1st century B.C. for Menander. The passage belongs to 'Part I' of Milinda Pañho (Trenckner, p. 3) whose author according to Tarn was very near in time to Menander (p. 420). The 2nd passage in Trogus (Justin XLI, 6, 4) describes Demetrius as 'King of the Indians.' On this Tarn comments :— "the only part of India with which Greeks had been in contact since Alexander's death was the Mauryan Empire of Chandragupta . . , It is . . . in-

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No contemporary historian has left any account of the exploits of Demetrius or Menander, but in much later writers there occur passages referring to both. The value of such passages will increase tremendously if it could be shown that they are derived from writers who were much nearer in time to the persons concerned. But if it can be established that all these passages are only fragments of a single writer who knew the age of the clime intimately, their authenticity as historical evidence becomes almost conclusive. And that is what Dr. Tarn has attempted to do. He has collected together a number of isolated passages from different writers of different dates and wants to have us believe that they are all from one source and that source is the 'forgotten' Indo-Greek or Partho-Greek historian who had a first-hand knowledge of things Indian.

One of the greatest weakness of Dr. Tarn's theory is that it rests on the belief that Trogus used only one source for matters relating to the Farther East. The passage in Justin XLIII, 1.1. "Parthicis Orientalibusque ac totius propemodum orbis rebus explicitis" does not necessarily indicate that Trogus incorporated in his book "A Comprehensive History of Greek and Parthian" written by another (p. 46). He might himself have composed it basing his accounts on different writers. If it be "a sound canon of history" that "sources are not to be multiplied beyond necessity," it is scarcely a less sound canon that they should not be simplified beyond necessity. It would have been rather unique had he not utilised in his book all the materials available in his day and had he confined himself to one source only. It is a certainty that Apollodorus'

conceivable that India should not have had a political meaning . . . so India must have been used in the sense of the Mauryan Empire (p. 154). But if Trogus used 'India' in the above sense in the case of Demetrius, he must have used it in the same sense in the case of Apollodotos and Menander also. But Dr. Tarn himself does not believe that the dominions of any one of them coincided with the Maurya Empire.

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(87 B.C.) 'History of Parthia' was available in his day (20 B.C.-14 A.D.), since it had been utilised by Strabo (64 B.C.-19 A.D.) before him and was drawn on by Pliny after him (77 A.D.).[6] One reason given by the author against the possibility of Trogus having drawn on Apollodorus is that Strabo[7] (who usually depends on Apollodorus) and Trogus have different accounts of the Nomad Conquest of Bactria and that the same nomad people (Yue-chi) has been called differently by two—*viz.*, 'Asii' by Strabo and 'Asiani' by Trogus. But the conflict between the two accounts is more apparent than real. If Trogus used the Iranian form Asiani instead of the Greek form Asii, Strabo used the Iranian form Pasiani in place of the form Pasii or Parsii. This shows that just as Strabo had no special predilection for Greek form, Trogus' source had none for Iranian forms.[8] It would be putting too much strain on one's credulity to make this consideration the basis of the assumption that the two sources were different. As to Strabo's account of the Nomad Conquest of Bactria it will be seen that he enumerates the different ethinic groups who were responsible for that culmination, without revealing the locality to which each belonged. The peoples in his list are Asii, Pasiani, Tocharii, and Sacarauli. Trogus, however, names the geographical regions whose inhabitants played a prominent part in the ruin of the Bactrian Greeks. The passage in question says "the Bactrians harassed by several wars lost not only their dominions but their liberty ; for having suffered contentions with

[6] Pliny, Bk. I.

[7] Strabo, XI, 58, 2 and 3 does not mention Apollodoros at all.

[8] There are reasons to believe that classical writers were more often than not indiscriminate in the use of the different forms of the same name. Some examples are :—Surastrene (Ptol. VII. 8.2) and Saraostos (Strabo); Koa Ptol. VII. 1.96)—Kophes (Strabo)—Kophen; Hydaspes—Bidaspes; Hypasis—Hyphasis—Hypanis—Bibasis; Zaradros—Hydraotes—Zadrades- Hesydrus; Paribothra—Palibothri—Palimbothra; Methora—Modoura; Daradrai (Ptolemy)—Derdai (Strabo)—Dardœ (Pliny)—Dardanoi (Dionys.); Peukelaotis—Peukoloitis,—Peukelas—Proklais.

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the peoples of Sogdiana, Drangiana, Arachosia Aria and India, they were at last overcome as if exhausted by the weak Parthians." In another passage Trogus says Sarancae (Saraucae ?) and Asiani occupied Bactria and Sogdiana which would mean that at the time when Asiani or Yue-chi occupied Sogdiana the Saraucae who had been displaced by them from Sogdiana occupied Bactria or some Bactrian possessions. Now if this view be correct, then the peoples of Sogdiana referred to in Justin, XLI. 6.3 are the Yue-chi[9] and the Saraucae and are the same people as the Asii and the Sacarauli of Strabo. Indeed we are told by a Chinese historian[10] that when the Yue-chi subjugated Ta-hia (Bactria) the Saiwang (*i.e.*, Saka chiefs) went to the south and ruled over Kipin (Kabul or Paropanisadae). Strabo also mentions a people called the Tochari, but if Trogus is to be believed the Tochari had been absorbed by the Asiani or Yue-chi,[11] which indicates that Trogus included this people in the general term the people of Sogdiana. It remains only to take up the question of the people called by Strabo the Pasiani. Tarn has shown good grounds for accepting that the Spalirises-Azes-Azilises group of rulers did not belong to the Saka race proper but to the Pasiani stock, evidently the same as the Parsii of Ptolemy.[12] But Spalirises was undoubtedly[13] brother of Vonones, the ruler of Drangiana which proves that the latter also belonged to the Pasiani stock. If Rapson is correct in representing Vonones as the Suzerain of Eastern Iran,[14] he must have ruled not only in Drangiana but also Aria. His rule in Arachosia is proved

[9] At the time the Yue-chi were invading Bactria they might be regarded as Sogdianians because of their long habitation in Sogdiana.

[10] *J.R.A.S.*, 1903. The Chinese work referred to is Panku's History of the Early Han Dynasty.

[11] Prologue, XLII, Rageo Thocarorum Asiani.

[12] VIII. 18.3.

[13] Raychaudhuri, *Pol. His. Anc. Ind.*, 2nd edn., p. 271.

[14] C.H.I., I, p. 572.

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by his and Spalirises' coins.[15] Thus the Pasiani ruled not only Drangiana, but also Aria and Arachosia and might be regarded as the people who inhabited those localities. It is interesting to note that Ptolemy places the Parsii [16] in south-west Kabul and also a people called Parasuatai occupying the southernmost part, namely the part bordering on Arachosia, as well as the northern part of the latter place.[17] Pāṇini's Pārśusthāna[18] thus would seem identical with Northern Arachosia ; and if the 'Parautai' of Aria [19] be really a mistake for Parsutai it becomes established that the Pārśus, the Parsii or the Parsuêtai inhabited Aria, Arachosia as well as Drangiana. This consideration gives point to the statement of Justin that the people of Drangiana, Aria and Arachosia played not an unimportant part in the overthrow of the Bactrians. There is thus no conflict between the sources of Strabo and Trogus and both may have drawn on the same work. This removes the ground on which rests Dr. Tarn's hypothesis that Trogus necessarily relied on a historian different from Apollodoros of Artemita.

Dr. Tarn further claims that writers other than Trogus utilised the (according to him) lost work on the Hellenistic East. Among such writers he has mentioned Plutarch, Ptolemy and Pliny. But strangely enough none of these writers shows any indication that they had followed such an authority. The silence seems most strange in the case of Pliny who in his first book gives an exhaustive list of the authorities used by him for his different books. Hardly less inexplicable is the silence of Strabo (64 B.C.-19 A.D.) about the 'lost' author who according to Tarn must have died sometime after 80 B.C. (p. 50), *i.e.*, within 16 years before

15 Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 271.
16 Ptolemy, VIII. Ch. 18.3.
17 *Ibid.*, VIII. Ch. 20.3.
18 Beal, *Bud. Rec. Wn. Country*, Vol. II, p. 285 n.
19 Ptolemy, VIII. 17.3.

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Strabo's birth. Strabo was an Asiatic Greek and a much travelled man (*vide* Book I of his Geography). It would be unique if he had not heard of this author.

The hypothesis that Trogus had a well-informed source for the history of the East, rests in the last analysis, on a passage in Justin (XV. 4.20) which, according to Tarn may be rendered as : " Chandragupta got his kingdom at the time when Seleucus was laying the foundation of his future greatness."[20] Commenting on the passage Dr. Tarn says "that is the year 312, the year in which Seleucus returned to Babylon, the starting point of the Seleucid Era. Now . . . the Jains had a version of their own about Chandragupta's accession which made the year either 312 or 315 ; Trogus' source therefore knew of the Jain dating" (p. 47).

But there are reasonable doubts, if Dr. Tarn's interpretation of the passage is the right one. The word greatness (Magnitudinis) here evidently means celebrity, celebrity as a leading political figure of the Hellenistic world. The passage in question assigns Chandragupta's accession about the time when Seleucus was making preparations for playing the great rôle for which destiny had chosen him. Now Seleucus had become a well known political figure about 321. At the 2nd partition of Alexander's empire at Triparadisos he secured the position of the Satrap of Babylon. Adolf Holm characterises this event as the most pregnant in consequences of the decisions arrived at there (Triparadisos).[21] It is interesting to note that Seleucus had received no share of the Empire at the first partition (323) on which occasion not only people like Ptolemy, Leonnatus and Antigonus had each received a share but the claims of lesser figures like Menander, Asander and Laomeda has been recognised.

[20] Watson translates the passage as "Sandrocottos having thus acquired the throne was in possession of India when Seleucus was laying the foundation of his future greatness."—*I.H.Q.*, XI. 1935, p. 211.

[21] Holm, Vol. IV, p. 22.

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No better proof of his having been an unimportant man at that time can be adduced than that the Satrapy of Babylon had on that occasion been given to a man called Archon who is otherwise unknown to History. But Seleucus had received Chilliarchy which marked the opening of his career. The position gave him military power and he utilised it in instigating the murder of the Regent Perdiccas, thereby necessitating a second partition of the Empire. That he was given Babylon at this time proves that the proposal must have come from him and his colleagues had no choice but accept it. The conclusion, therefore, is irresistible that 323-21 were the years when Seleucus was laying the foundation of his future greatness. After 321 his celebrity was guaranteed. Nothing, not even reverses could alter the fact. It is true, that Seleucus had to fly from Babylon in 316, but this flight did not, as Tarn believes (p. 47, n. 2), reduce him to the position of a "homeless fugitive" 'who owned nothing but his sword.' What happened to him in 316, was a temporary military set-back, not a relapse into obscurity. If Diodorus is to be believed he bade farewell to military tactics for the time being and took recourse to diplomacy. The proof of this is to be seen in the fact that while staying with Ptolemy he stirred up among the Hellenistic rulers a general disaffection against Antigonus, his chief enemy in Asia. The diplomatic move bore fruit in Seleucus' re-occupation of Babylonia in 312. This would not have been possible, had Seleucus been thrown back into political incompetence between 316-312.[22]

[22] A proof of that he had not lost his celebrity as a leader between 316-12 is the account related by Diodorous that on his way to Babylon people in large number volunteered to join his army. This would not have been the case, had he been an unknown figure (Holm, Book IV).

Incidentally, this illustrates what has been described by Toynbee as 'the withdrawal and return motif,' which supplied the key to the career of many great men. The term means the temporary withdrawal of the creative personality from his place of activities and his subsequent return there, transfigured in a new capacity and with new powers. The same motif reveals itself in the career of Lenin who withdrew from Russia after

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This should remove Dr. Tarn's objection to the date 323-321. But if the date is objected to on the ground that it was followed by the reverse of 316, the same objection should also apply to the year 312 as Seleucus was expelled for the second time from Babylon in 312 and could not return there before 308.[23] If, on the other hand, we are to understand that the term 'greatness' relates to the time when he had become absolutely secure in Asia, we have to accept the date 301, the date of the battle of Ipsus which removed Antigonus from the scene. In view of the above, it is difficult to believe that Trogus referred to the year 312.

A second objection of Tarn to the date 323-1, viz. that the existence of Peithon in Gandhāra up till 316 precludes the possibility of Chandragupta gaining his throne in 321 has already been anticipated and answered in Indian Historical Quarterly, 1935, p. 220 and the arguments need not be repeated here. The passage in Justin is clear enough on the point and definitely establishes that the Prasii revolution preceded the war with Alexandar's prefects.[24]

Equally difficult it is to prove the existence about 87-86 B.C. of a Jain reckoning assigning 312-3 B.C. to Chandragupta's accession. The Jains never counted their years from Chandragupta's accession but from Vardhamāna's death. So, any Jain enlightening a Greek historian of 87 B.C. on the date of Chandragupta must have explained the event to him in terms of the Vīra era, if any such era was current at that time. Apart from the fact that Justin's passage does not show any indication whatsoever that the

his abortive attempt of 1907 to re-emerge in 1907 to carry out the great experiment of translating the Marxian Utopia into real life (*A Study of History*, Vol III, p. 284). Certainly this fact of withdrawal cannot be regarded as an objection to his having entered on the revolutionary career in 1893.

[23] Diodorus, 19. 105. Seleucus is not mentioned in the piece of 311.

[24] Justin XV. 4. "... he (Sandracottos) drew together a band of mercenaries and solicited the Indians to (accept) his *new sovereignty*. *Sometime after* as he was going to war with the generals of Alexander a wild elephant of great bulk ..."

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information was derived from Jain sources, there is hardly any proof that any Vīra era was actually in vogue about that date. Whatever notices of the Vīra era we get are from writers of very late dates and even then there is no unanimity among them as to the year in which the era began. It will be putting too much strain on our imagination to think that there was no such lack of unanimity in the first century B.C., which means that the Jains did not start an era of their own until they had lost the data on which to build up a reckoning.

The most important Jain work to contain a notice of the chronological relation between Chandragupta and Mahāvīra is the Pariśishṭa-Parvan.[25]. One verse in it,—'Evamca Śrī-Mahāviramuktervarsha-śate gate Pañcapañcāśadādhike Candragupto-bhavannṛpah'—places an interval of 155 years between Mahāvīra's death and Chandragupta's accession. As the date of Mahāvīra's death is unknown, no clue to the Maurya accession can be had from the verse. But, taking the year 313 for the latter event, the beginning of the Vīra era may be fixed about 468 B.C., a date which makes him die rather too late for becoming a contemporary and preceptor of Bimbisara and for predeceasing Buddha. About two centuries later than the Pariśishṭaparvan another work [26] recorded a different tradition about the Vīra era which placed the Maurya accession at 215 V. Dating the Maurya accession as before, we arrive, according to this tradition, at 528 B.C. for Mahāvīra's death. There is nothing to recommend this date any more than the date given in Hemachandra's Pariśishṭaparvan. It is still more improbable, because the total of years representing the interval between Mahāvīra and Chandragupta has been arrived at in this case by adding together reign-periods which are most probably fictitious. Among other notices of the Vīra era those contained in the Paṭṭāvali

25 VIII, 339.

26 Merutuṅga, Vicāra-Śreṇi (14th century A.D.).

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of the Kharataragachcha (1816 A.D.) and that of the Tapāgachcha (C. 1810 A.D.) are worth mentioning. Some of the important records are given below: [For the sake of convenience let the former be called (A) and the latter (B).]

(1) Sthūlabhadra, a contemporary of the last Nanda died according to 'A' in 219 V and according to 'B' in 215 V. If it be correct that he became a monk after the overthrow of the last Nanda (313B.C. according to Tarn) he must have died about 244B.C. *i.e.*, the 69th year of his asceticism). This would bring Vīra's death to C 463 or C 459 B.C.

(2) According to 'A', Samprati's accession fell about 235 V. As Samprati could have begun his reign only 92 years after Chandragupta's accession, this equates 235 V, with 221 B.C. and thus brings the Vīra era still further down to 456 B.C.

(3) Kālakāchārya whose date is given as 453 V, in both 'A' and 'B' according to tradition contemporary of Gardabhilla (dated according to Merutuṅga as 62 B.C.). This would make the Vīra era fall about 515 B.C.

(4) 'B' proposes the following equations :—

1055 V = V.S. 585 (*i.e.*, A.D. 643)
1170 V = V.S. 700 (*i.e.*, A.D. 758)
1272 V = V.S. 802 (*i.e.*, A.D. 860)
1464 V = V.S. 994 (*i.e.*, A.D. 1052)

All these would bring the era of Mahāvīra still further down, *i.e.*, 412 B.C. The different dates of Mahāvīra's death that tradition has preserved for us then may be given as 628 B.C., 515 B.C., 468 B.C., 463 B.C., 459 B.C., 456 B.C., 412 B.C. There is hardly any choice from among them and it will be absurd to seek in any of these a key to the year of Chandragupta's accession.

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There is, of course, in the passage of Merutuṅga [27] referred to already, an indication that a total of 255 years intervened between Chandrapupta and Vikramāditya which, if we date the latter about 58 B.C, would bring the former's accession to the year 313 B.C. But the total 255 [28] is made up of the reign periods of fictitious kings who had either no existence or did not follow the chronological order as propounded by Merutuṅga. Besides History does not know any king of the name of Vikramāditya who ruled in Ujjain about 58 B.C. The earliest record known to be definitely dated in the era of 58 B.C. does not refer to any Vikrama, but calls the era simply as Kṛita.[29] The earliest mention of the term 'Vikrama Samvat' occurs in an inscription from Dholpur of the date A.D. 842, and the oldest literary mention of Vikrama in connection with an era seems to be afforded by Dhanapāla's Pāiyalacchi (dated A.D. 972).[30] In view of this evidence it is difficult to give any

[27] Merutuṅga's chronology may be summed up as folows:

Name	*Year*	*Reign period*
Pālaka	V. 1	60 years
Nandas	V. 61	155 ,,
Mauryas	V. 216	108 ,,
Pushyamitra	V. 324	30 ,,
Balamitra-Bhānumitra	V. 354	60 ,,
Nahapāna	V. 414	40 ,,
Gardabhilla	V. 454	13 ,,
Śaka	V. 467	4 ,,
Vikrama	V. 571	

[28] This scheme of chronology is of a piece with two other schemes offered by Prabhākara-charita (1278 A.D.), Chap. IV and Chap. VIII respectively. According to the former, while the Śātavāhanas were ruling in Paithan and Murundas in Pāṭaliputra a Gardabhilla was ruling in Ujjain. The second scheme makes Vikrama contemporary of Balamitra of Broach, Bhīma of Lāṭa, King Krishna of Mānakheṭa, Nāgārjuna, the alchemist, Vijayavarman of Kāmarupa and Devapāla king of Karmāranagar!

Cf. also the Vishṇupurāṇa chronology, *viz.*, " After these various races, will reign seven Ābhīras, 10 Gardabhillas, 16 Śakas, 14 Tushāras, (Tukhāras ?) 13 Muruṇḍas, 11 Maunas (Huṇas according to Vāyu), 79 princes who will be sovereigns for 1399 years "

[29] Nandsa (Udaipur) pillar inscr., dated V. S. 282 (Ind. Ant , LVIII, p. 53).

[30] *Ind. Ant.*, XX, pp. 397ff., XLIII, pp. 111ff., 125ff 167ff.

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credence to the tradition recorded in Merutuṅga's verse.[31] This should dispose of the hypothesis that the source on which Trogus depended for the passage relating to Maurya accession, knew of the Jain dating. It is quite possible that the information was drawn from a writer who was nearer in time to Chandragupta than Trogus. It is common knowledge that both Megasthenes and Deimachos left elaborate accounts of contemporary India. Is it not possible that the date of Chandragupta was obtained by Trogus from any of these sources ? Their works are lost and we are completely in the dark as to what they actually contained. But it is better to admit our ignorance. We do not know what actually happened.

Dr. Tarn claims for Trogus' source not only a knowledge of Jain literature, (this is absurd, as the earliest Jain works, *viz.*, the canonical works were not put to writing before 454 A.D.) but also an acquaintance with the Mahābhārata (p. 381). The proof offered by him is a very curious one. Ptolemy, VIII, 1·6 calls the country between the Jhelum and the Ravi 'Pandoouon or Pandaouon.' "The word is certainly Pāndava" (p. 511). The same word appears in the form Pandai in the Bassarica of Dionysius (p. 512). They are the Pāṇḍava-Pāṇḍus of the Mahābhārata. "The point is that they do not appear in later history, they belong solely to the epic. The name therefore came to Ptolemy and Dionysius from some Greek who knew the Mahābhārata; this was its ultimate source." The fallacy in Dr. Tarn's argument lies in his assumption that the Pāṇḍavas did not re-appear

31 One reason why Merutuṅga's dating of Mahāvīra's death about 470 years before the starting of V.S. should be regarded as unreliable is that the Paṭṭāvali of the Tapāgachcha shows unmistakable indications that the Jains did not begin to use the Vikrama era before 643 A.D. The earliest instance of their use of the era is afforded by the dating of Haribhadra Sūri who died V.S. 584. This shows that the Jains, according to the Paṭṭāvali became aware of the relationship between V.S. and the Vīra era only after 643 A.D. The tradition found in Merutuṅga must have started after this date, and could not have been current in the first century B.C.

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in history in the post-epic times, and that the Pauravas occupying the region between the Jhelum and the Ravi were a people different from the Pāṇḍavas. According to the epic, the Pāṇḍavas were a branch of the Paurava family and the Rigvedic hymn (X. 33) makes the Kuru king a scion of the Puru family.[32] The Mahābhārata represents Janamejaya as having conquered Taxila, a fact which undoubtedly proves the Pāṇḍava control over Madra, or the region between the Chenab and the Ravi. In Alexander's time, we find the Pauravas occupying the same region, the elder branch being placed between the Jhelum and the Chenab and the younger between the Chenab and the Ravi. This proves that the Pāṇḍava-Pauravas were not unknown to later times. A corroboration of this comes from the Tibetan version of the Vinaya-Piṭaka, Mahāvagga, VIII, 1, found in Kah Guyr which refers to a king Pushkarasārin (Pukkusāti) of Taxila, contemporary of Buddha, who was harassed by the Pāṇḍavas. The kingdom of the Pāṇḍavas lay on the border of the kingdom of Taxila and beyond the Pāṇḍava land in the direction of Rohitaka (Rohtak) and Mathurā lay the kingdom of Udumbaras.[33] This is a description which is in full consonance with that given by the classical writers about the Pauravas. It is interesting to note that the state of Taxila was the traditional enemy of the Pauravas. In the epic time Janamejaya was in war with Taxila. The conflict did not cease in the time of Buddha and was still persisting in the 4th century

[32] *Mbh.*, XVIII, 5-34. *Mbh.*, VII, 45 refers to Karṇa's conquest of the Kambojas and *Mbh.*, II, 27, 15-17 refers to a city ruled by a scion of the Puru family lying north far from Kashmir.

[33] Numismatic evidence places Udumbaras in or about the district of Kangra (*J.A.S.B., Num. Supp.*, XXII, 247ff.). Allan, in his *Catalogue of Coins in the Br. Museum*, LXXVII,' says that they should be located in the area formed by the eastern part of Kangra and the Gurudaspur and Hoshiarpur districts, *i.e.*, the region between the Sutlej and the Ravi. Pāṇini places them near Jalandhara, a location supported by coins (IV, 2, 5, 3).

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B C. The location of the Pāṇḍavas between the Jhelum and the Chenab is also supported by the Bṛihat-Saṁhitā (XIV. 27) which places them near Madraka. It is not improbable that the region was known as the country of the Pāṇḍavas even as late as Ptolemy's day just as the name Sakasthāna continued to designate the region known in classical times as Drangiana, long after its original meaning had been lost. In any case, Dr. Tarn has not been able to prove any knowledge of the Mahābhārata on the part of Ptolemy's source, whoever he might be.

Another ground on which Dr. Tarn has based his claim as to Ptolemy's indetedness to Trogus' source is afforded by the latter's inclusion of Abiria (Ābhīra), Patalene (Lower Indus Valley) and Surastrene (Kathiawad and parts of Northern Gujrat)[34] in the kingdom of Indo-Scythia, a fact which according to Tarn is not applicable to Ptolemy's own time but to the Hellenistic period. But this account of Indo-Scythia is in full agreement with what we know of it from the Junagarh inscription of 72 S.E. (150 A.D) which includes in Rudradāman's kingdom Kathiawad (Ānartaśurāshṭra and Maru-śvabbha-sindhu-sauvira—Abiria and Patalene) together with several regions. The natural inference is that those regions, *viz.*, Mālava, Anupanivṛit, Kukura, Śvabhra, Aparānta had not yet been annexed by Rudradaman when Ptolemy or his source wrote the account. It is a certainty that Surāṣṭra, Kukura, Śvabhra,[35] Anupa, Aparānta and Eastern and Western Mālava belonged to the Śātavāhana Empire during Gautamīputra's reign whose last year cannot be placed earlier than 130 A D.[36] and that of these at least

[34] Unless we are to imagine that N. Gujarat formed a wedge between Kathiawar and the Lower Indus Valley we have no alternative but including it in Ptolemy's Surastrene.

[35] Gautamīputra's conquest of Kukura necessarily presupposes his conquest of Śvabhra (Ep. Ind., VIII).

[36] The record of his eighteenth year which alludes to his conquest of Nahapāna's kingdom must be placed later than 46 S. E. (124 A.D.) latest known date

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Anupa, Śvabhra and Aparānta continued to be Śātavāhana possessions till the 19th year of Pulumāyi (*i.e.*, 149 A.D.)[37] Ptolemy himself supplies a corroboration of this in VII. 62-63 which places Lārike (meaning, undoubtedly, Gujrat and Northern Konkan; *cf.* Lāta of Sanskrit and Lāḷa of Pali literatures, Lari of Masudi [38] and Raṭhika of the inscriptions) clearly outside Indo-Scythia. Ptolemy also places Ozene (Ujjain) in Lārike which implies that it was not a Scythian possession in his time, though it once formed according to him the capital of Chaṣṭana. Gautamī-putra who ruled both Western and Eastern Malwa must have held Ujjain from 124 to 130 A.D. It is not improbable that it had come to Chaṣṭana's possession sometimes after 130 A D. But, it must have been lost soon after (*i.e.*, sometimes between 130-149 A.D.). This fixes the date of Ptolemy's source for the relevant section as between 130-149 A.D.

Dr. Tarn further claims that the names of the provinces which once formed part of the Greek Empire of Menander are given by Ptolemy as invariably ending in '-ene', '-iane' '-ia' or '-itis' and that Ptolemy in quoting them must have been using a Hellenistic source. "It may be taken," says he, "that, east of the Euphrates, names ending in '-ene' and '-iane,' the forms which provide a touchstone, are practically never used for anything but the Seleucid eparchies or the Satrapal (primary) provinces of some kingdom which had either possessed Seleucid organisation or was copying that organisation whether at first hand or second hand . . . The usage of Ptolemy himself is both strict and consistent, and therefore if he locates a group of '-ene' names in India . . . it does not

of Nahapāna. As the latest notice of Gautamiputra is afforded by a record of his 24th year it is reasonable to argue that his death did not take place earlier than 130 A.D. (Ep. Ind., VIII).

37 In the Praśasti of the 19th year Pulumayi is called Lord of the Deccan which would be pointless had he been deprived of Aparānta and Anupa by that time. (Ep. Ind., VIII.)

38 Yule, *Marco Polo*, II, p. 353.

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seem open to doubt that they are the provinces of a Greek kingdom . . . for Indian districts which were never ruled by Greeks he uses a different form of ending in '-ke,' as Lārike. . . . (p. 231) : . . . the Greek names of the provinces . . . were not obviously given to them by the Sacas but by the Greeks before the Sacas came; the names are therefore 2nd century B.C. . . . There is no reasonable doubt that the list (of names) referred to the flourishing period of Greek rule. . . . (The) writer who reproduced the list . . . was the historian whom I have called Trogus' source."

The first objection to the formula that all '-ene' names necessarily date from the 2nd century B.C. is given by Tarn himself, when he admits the possibility that these names could have been given by a power which had nothing to do with Greeks but was merely copying the Seleucid organisation (*vide* p. 231, 2. 5, App. 2). The name 'Sacastene,' for instance, must have been given to the province now called Seistan not by the Greeks but by some other power, after it had ceased to have any connection with the Greeks. It is common knowledge that the Greek name for it was Drangiana. Once this is admitted, we cannot put any faith in the formula that an '-ene' name necessarily signifies 2nd century B.C.

Secondly, Dr. Tarn is wrong in supposing that Ptolemy is consistent and strict in using '-ene' names. As a matter of fact so far as the Indo-Greek region is concerned he gives only 3 '-ene' names—Patalene, Surastrene and Souastene. Of the other province—names connected with that region only three end in '-ia' (Goruaia, Abiria, Kaspeiria),[39] but none of the rest seems to follow Dr. Tarn's formula, *e.g.*, Lambatai, Kulindrine,[40] Daradrai, Gandarai, Arsa, Pandoouoi,

[39] 'Ia' names according to Dr. Tarn signify Seleucid Satrapies and therefore referred to Hellenistic times (p. 3).

[40] Kulindrene is evidently not an '-ene' name as Dr Tarn would have us believe.

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Kasparaioi.[41] If Ptolemy or his source had before him a list dating from 2nd century B.C., how is it that these regions did not receive '-ene' names? The obvious answer is that such suffixes are not unmistakable proofs of the words formed with their help having been created by some Greek ruler in the 2nd century B.C., just as the names having other final syllables than '-ene' do not mean, that the places designated by them had never been under Greek rule. The name 'Dosarene' in the Periplus which, according to Tarn himself, is much later than the Hellenistic period (p. 443) and the name 'Eirene' (an island belonging to the Taprobane group) in Ptolemy (VII. 4.11) are instances which put out of court Dr. Tarn's formula. It may also be pointed out that the region round Barygaza which according to Tarn formed part of Menander's empire appears in Ptolemy under the appellation Larike a fact which undoubtedly negatives also the obverse of the great historian's proposition.

One other question remains to be discussed, namely, whether Plutarch's source for Moralia 821 D. F. had any intimate acquaintance with Buddhist literature or Buddhist practices. According to Dr. Tarn, the Moralia 'story of Menander's ashes being divided among the cities of his kingdom, each one of which raised a stūpa over its portion' is 'a transfer to him of the story in the Book of the Great Decease that the relics of Buddha were divided among eight peoples and enshrined in eight stūpas' (p. 266). It is also a proof, according to him, of Plutarch's source knowing that stūpas could be raised to dead Chakravartins. But the argument seems to be a little strained. What Dr Tarn fails to see is the unmistakable folklore element in the Moralia story. Fight over the corpse of an illustrious dead is a

41 It may be pointed out in this connection that Apollodors who belonged to the same period as "Trogus" uses the expression Patalene, Saraostros and Sigerdis while enumerating the regions included in Menander's Empire.

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motif, not of very rare occurrence in popular tales. Witness, for instance, the legend relating to the fight over the dead body of Kabir. But should we be justified in tracing all such stories to the Buddhist Book of Great Decease? Moreover, the actual word used by Plutarch to denote the monuments raised over Menander's ashes is 'mnema,' which is a general term signifying a building or a memorial raised to the dead (Herodotus, 7.167). The Buddhists were not the only people to practise the custom of erecting monuments over the dead. The same custom was even more general among the Greeks who did not confine their solicitude for the deceased to the illustrious only. From what one reads in Aeschylus (Persian, 401ff.) one may easily infer this general respect for tombs. As Sergi points out (p. 472, Encyclopaedia of Religion, the article on Burial) this solicitude for the dead did not end with the burial. On the 3rd and the 9th day, sacrifices were offered to the tombs. Similarly at the annual commemorations, there were sacrifices, offerings and commemorations. The same writer also informs us that monuments could have different forms. Horizontal slab stones, posts, columns, or even temples were erected on the tombs. In view of the above it will be difficult to accept thatthe word 'mnema' has any Buddhistic association or that it does mean Stūpa. The passage in Moralia thus need not have been derived from one who knew Buddhist literature or myths intimately.

In summing up, it requires to be said that much of the argument offered by Dr. Tarn in support of his Hellenistic dating is based on the internal evidence of the passages quoted by him. The only passages which seem to be confirmed by external evidence, either refer to a time much earlier or much later than that fixed by Dr. Tarn for Trogus' source. One has, accordingly, no alternative but to conclude that Dr. Tarn has not been able to make out his case.

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5

ALEXANDER'S INVASION OF INDIA : A REVISED STUDY

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Alexander's cautious advance eastward—

After the collapse of the Achaemenian power in the battle of Gougamela or Arbela in the spring of 331 B.C. and the burning of the magnificent palace at Persepolis in 330 B.C., Alexander formed plans to realise his ambition of conquering India, and thus outrivalling Herakles and Dionysos whose achievements were the subject of many a popular song and legend. Accordingly, unmindful of the rigours of climate and the numerous obstacles presented in his progress by man and nature alike, Alexander set himself with his habitual foresight to the task of subjugating the lands that lay on his route in order to maintain free and uninterrupted communication with his distant base. He first occupied Seistan, and then emerged into the regions of southern Afghanistan, where " at a point commanding the roads" he founded a city called Alexandria-among-the Arachosians, now represented by Kandahar. The following year, he appeared in the Kabul valley with his invincible hosts, but before he could direct his energies towards India he had to reduce Bactria and other adjacent territories, which upheld the Persian cause under a prince of the blood royal. Alexander found no difficulty in subduing them, and when all opposition was laid low, he recrossed the Hindu-Kush in

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ten days and arrived at the strategic outpost of Alexandria-under-the Caucasus, which he had founded in 329 B.C., two years before his hurricane campaign beyond the mountains. He then advanced towards Nikaia, situated "between Alexandria and the Kabul river;"[1] here or somewhere "on the way to the river Kabul"[2] Alexander divided his army into two sections. One was placed under the command of his trusted generals, Hephaestion and Perdiccas, with instructions to go ahead and construct a bridge over the Indus for the safe passage of his forces; and the other was led by Alexander himself against the warlike tribes and recalcitrant chiefs of the frontier.

The Aspasioi routed—

The Aspasioi (*cf.*, Iranian *Aspa* or Sanskrit *Aśva*=horse) of the Alisang-Kunar valley were the first to be subdued by Alexander, who captured 40,000 men and 2,30,000 oxen transporting the choicest among the latter to Macedonia for being employed in agriculture. Arrian (IV, 25), however, deposes that with these people "the conflict was sharp, not only from the difficult nature of the ground, but also because the Indians were . . . by far the stoutest warriors in that neighbourhood."[3]

Nysa—

Alexander next attacked the hill-state of Nysa, which probably occupied a site on the lower spurs and valleys of the Koh-i-Mor.[4] It was governed by a body of aristocracy consisting of 300 members, Akouphis being their chief. The Nysaeans readily submitted to Alexander, and placed at

[1] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol I, p 348. Smith locates Nikaia to the west of modern Jalalalad (*Early History of India*, 4th ed., p. 53), whereas Holdich puts it at Kabul.

[2] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 348, note 3.

[3] M'crindle, *Ancient India. Its Invasion by Alexander the Great*, p. 65.

[4] *Early History of India*, 4th ed., p. 57 note.

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his disposal a contingent of 300 cavalry. They claimed descent from Dionysos, and in proof of it pointed out that the ivy grew in their country and the mountain near the city was the same as Miros. This gratified the vanity of Alexandar, and he, therefore, allowed his weary troops to enjoy rest and Bacchanalian revels for a few days with their alleged distant kinsmen.

Defeat of the Assakenoi—

Continuing his advance, Alexander defeated the Assakenoi (Sanskrit Aśvakas or Aśmakas, perhaps a branch of, or allied to, the Aspasioi), who opposed him with an army of 20,000 cavalry and more than 30,000 infantry,[5] besides 30 elephants.[6] Their main stronghold Massaga[7] was considered almost impregnable, being protected on the east by " an impetuous mountain stream with steep banks," while to the south and west nature had piled up gigantic rocks, at the base of which lay sloughs and yawning chasms."[8] These natural fortifications were reinforced by a deep ditch and a thick wall. The citadel appeared to baffle the military ingenuity of Alexander, but it could not hold out long after its chief Assakenos had been killed by a chance shot.[9] Thinking further resistance useless, his wife Kleophis[10] surrendered herself to Alexander, and it is said that as a result of their romance she subsequently gave birth to a son bearing the name of the great conqueror.[11] It is interesting to note here

[5] 38,000 infantry, according to Curtius (VIII, 10, M'crindle, *Invansion by Alexander*, p. 194).

[6] Arrian, IV, 26, *Ibid.*, p. 66. The siege of Massaga is put before the capitulation of Nysa by Arrian, and after it by Curtius.

[7] Identification uncertain. Was it the same as Sanskrit Masakavati ? Vincent Smith places it " not very far to the north of the Malakand pass " (*EHI*, 4th ed., p. 57).

[8] Curtius, VIII, 10, M'crindle's *Invansion by Alexander*, p. 195

[9] Arrian, IV, 27, *Ibid.*, p 68.

[10] Curtius, however, calls Kleophis the mother of Assacanus, who is said to have died before ' lexander invested Massaga (VIII, 10, *Ibid.*, p. 194)

[11] Justin, XII, 7, *Ibid.*, p. 322.

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the part played by nearly 7,000 Indian mercenary soldiers in the defence of Massaga. We learn that Alexander guaranteed them safe passage if they evacuated the city, but when they had actually retired to a distance he suddenly fell upon them and made "a great slaughter of their ranks." Diodoros says that the Indian mercenaries at first "loudly protested that they were attacked in violation of sworn obligations, and invoked the gods whom he had desecrated by taking false oaths in their name."[12] To this, Alexander retorted that "his covenant merely bound him to let them depart from the city, and was by no means a league of perpetual amity between them and the Macedonians."[13] Undaunted by this unexpected danger, the Indian mercenaries fought with great vigour and "by their audacity and feats of valour made the conflict, in which they closed, hot work for the enemy."[14] When many of them had been killed, or were in the grips of deadly wounds, the women took the arms of the fallen and heroically defended the citadel along with the men. After fighting desperately they were at last overpowered by superior numbers, and in the words of Diodoros "met a glorious death which they would have disdained to exchange for a life with dishonour."[15] The episode, no doubt, reveals to us that India had her own Joans of Arc in those bygone times, but it does not speak well of Alexander's chivalry and sense of respecting agreements, and Plutarch rightly observes that it "rests as a foul blot on his martial fame."[16] After the fall of Massaga, Alexander advanced further, and in the course of a few months' hard fighting captured the important and strategic fortresses of Ora, Bazira, Aornos, Peukelaotis (Skt. Puṣkarā-

12 Diodoros, XVII, 84, M'crindle's *Invansion by Alexander*, p. 269.

13 *Ibid.*

14 *Ibid.*, p. 270.

15 *Ibid.*

16 Plutarch, Ch. LIX, M'crindle's *Invansion by Alexander*, p. 306.

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vatī, modern Charsadda in the Yusufzai territory), Embolima and Dyrta.[17]

Situation in North-Western India—

Thus having subjugated the frontier regions and posted adequate Greek garrisons to maintain his authority there,[18] Alexander felt himself free to press onward to India. The odds were undoubtedly in his favour. The Panjab and Sindh, which were to bear the brunt of his arms, presented the sorry spectacle of a disunited house. There was no towering personality of the type of Candragupta Maurya, who successfully repelled the invasion of Seleukos Nikator two decades afterwards, but on the other hand north-western India was parcelled out into a number of states, monarchies as well as clan oligarchies, engaged in petty internecine feuds and jealousies, due to which some of them found their chance in seeking alliance with an alien aggressor. Indeed, the gates of India were, so to say, unbarred by the Raja of Taxila, who lost no time in proffering allegiance to Alexander, and who also rendered every assistance to the advance body of the Macedonians under Perdiccas in bridging the Indus and securing the submission of the tribes and chieftains, like Astes (Hasti or Aṣṭakarāja ?),[19] whose territories lay on their route.

Taxila and Abhisāra—

About the beginning of spring 326 B.C. after offering the customary sacrifices and allowing his tired troops a short respite, Alexander crossed the Indus safely somewhere near

[17] The identification of these places is not quite certain. Minor towns of the lower Kophen (Kabul) valley were occupied with the help of local chiefs named Kophaios and Assagetes (Aśvajit ?)—Arrian, IV, 28, *Ibid.*, p. 72.

[18] For instance, Nikanor was appointed satrap of the country to the west of the Indus, and Philippos was put in command of garrison at Peukelaotis (*Ibid.*).

[19] The capital of Astes was stormed by Hephæstion in thirty days, and his principality was given to one Sanggaios (Skt. Sañjaya)—Arrian, IV, 22, *Ibid.*, p. 60.

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Ohind (modern Und, a few miles above Attock), and was welcomed at Taxila by Omphis or Ambhi,[20] son of the deceased Taxiles, with rich and attractive presents consisting of silver and sheep and oxen of good breed.[21] Gratified at these gifts, Alexander returned them, adding his own, and thus won not only the loyalty of the ruler of Taxila but also a contingent of 5,000 soldiers from him.[22] Similarly, Abhisares, the astute king of Abhisāra (Poonch and Nowshera districts), and other neighbouring princes like Doxares [23] surrendered to Alexander of their own accord, thinking resistance would be of no avail.[24]

However, when the latter reached the Hydaspes (Jhelum) he found the great Poros (Paurava?) on the other side of the river ready, no doubt, to meet him its response to his summons from Taxila, but at the head of a vast army eager for the fray.[25] Alexander finds it difficult to cross the stream, and there ensues a battle of wits between the two august opponents. Ultimately, the invader decided "to steal a passage" (Arrian), which he did with about 11,000 of his picked men near a sharp bend several miles up the river from his camp in the dead of night when a severe storm accompanied by rain and thunder had lulled the vigilance of Poros. Further, Alexander camouflaged his intentions and movements by leaving a strong force under Krateros in his camp and another with Meleager midway between it and the place where the river was crossed.[26] Detecting that he had been foiled in his attempt not to allow Alexander to land his troops on the

20 Sylvain Levi, *Journal Asiatique*, 1890, p. 234.

21 Arrian, V, 3, M'crindle's *Invansion by Alexander*, p. 83 ; Curtius, VIII, 12, *Ibid.*, p 202.

22 Arrian, V, 8, *Ibid.*, p. 93.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 92.

24 Diodoros would, however, have us believe that Embisaros (Abhisares) had made an alliance with Poros and was preparing to oppose Alexander (XVII, 87, *Ibid.*, p. 274).

25 Curtius, VIII, 13, *Ibid.*, p. 203.

26 Guards were also posted all the way to ensure free communication.

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eastern side of the Hydaspes, Poros despatched his son "at the head of 2,000 men and 120 chariots"[27] to obstruct the advance of his audacious adversary. The young Poros was, however, easily routed and killed by Alexander.

Alexander and Poros face each other—

At last, Poros himself moved and put against Alexander 50,000 foot, 3,000 horse, above 1,000 chariots, and 130 elephants. In the centre, the elephants formed a sort of front wall, and behind them stood the foot-soldiers. The cavalry protected both flanks and in front of the horsemen were the chariots. As Alexander viewed the equipment of the Indian forces and their disposition in the Karri plain,[28] he was constrained to remark: "I see at last a danger that matches my courage. It is at once with wild beasts and men of uncommon mettle that the contest now lies."[29] In the engagement which opened with the furious charges of the Macedonian horsemen, the Indians fought with great vigour, and, as Plutarch says, "obstinately maintained" their ground till the eighth hour of the day,[30] but eventually the fates went against them. The main strength of Poros lay in the chariots, "each of which was drawn by four horses and carried six men, of whom two were shield-bearers, two, archers posted on each side of the chariot, and the other two, charioteers, as well as men-at-arms, for when the fighting was at close quarters they dropped the reins and hurled dart after dart against the enemy."[31] On this particular day, however, these chariots were of no use at all, for the violent storms of rain "had made the ground slippery, and unfit for horses to ride over, while the chariots kept sticking in

27 Arrian, V, 14, *Ibid.*, p. 101. According to Curtius, the detachment was commanded by Poros' brother, Hages (VIII, 14, *Ibid*, p. 207).

28 *E.H.I.*, pp. 69, 88.

29 Curtius, VIII, 14, M'crindle's *Invasion by Alexander*, p. 209.

30 Plutarch, Ch. LX, *Ibid.*, p. 308.

31 Curtius, VIII, 14, *Ibid.*, p. 207.

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the muddy sloughs formed by the rain, and proved almost immovable from their great weight." [32] Besides, owing to the slippery condition of the ground it became difficult for the archers to rest their long and heavy bows on it and discharge arrows quickly and with effect.[33] Furthermore, the Indian army was far too unwieldy to withstand the masterful manoeuvres of the mobile Macedonian cavalry, or the attacks of the disciplined phalanxes. And lastly, the elephants, on whom Poros had put so much reliance, got frightened when the Macedonians began to hack their feet and trunks with the axes and choppers. Thus the beasts fled from the field of battle "like a flock of sheep" and they spread havoc among their own ranks and threw their drivers to the ground, who were then trampled to death." [34] Whatever may have been the causes of this disaster, Poros, a magnificent giant of over six feet in height, did not shrink from the stress of battle, or abandon the field like Darious Kodomannos of Persia, but true to the injunction of Manu 'संग्रामेष्वनिवर्तित्वं' (VII, 88) he stuck to his post in spite of the "nine wounds" that he had received, and continued hurling darts against the enemy with dogged tenacity, perhaps thinking to himself :

"With fame though I die, I am content,
Let fame be mine though life be spent."

When Poros was ultimately captured and brought before Alexander, he was not at all "broken and abashed in spirit" [35] but boldly met him as one brave man would meet another brave man after a trial of strength, and he made the

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 208.

[33] Arrian deposes that the bow "is made of equal length with the man who bears it. This they rest upon the ground, and pressing against it with their left foot thus discharge the arrow having drawn the string for backwards; for the shaft they use is little short of being three yeards long . . ." (*Indika*, Ch. XVI, M'crindle's *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 225).

[34] Curtius, VIII, 14, M'crindle's *Invasion by Alexander*, p. 211.

[35] Arrian, V, 19, *Ibid.*, p. 109.

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proud demand, "Treat me, O Alexander! as befits a king." [36]

Re-instatement of Poros—

Justin informs us that Alexander "out of respect for his valour restored him (Poros) in safety to his sovereignty." [37] Perhaps the chivalrous instincts of Alexander were to some extent responsible for the generous treatment he accorded to Poros, but there must have been stronger reasons as well, for politics hardly knows of any such magnanimity. In the first place, the stout resistance of Poros, which is further apparent from the high casuality list,[38] must have conveyed its own lesson to Alexander. The latter also knew that as he was hailing from distant Greece it was impossible for him in the very nature of things to compel all the conquered lands to continue rendering him obedience without enlisting local loyalty, assistance and co-operation. Then again, his ambition to found a permanent empire in the east largely remained unfulfilled, and it was, therefore, necessary for him to pursue a policy of conciliation, to adopt, so to say, the method of capturing wild elephants by means of tame ones. Accordingly, Alexander extended to Poros the olive branch

[36] *Ibid.* In a recent paper (*Proceedings of the Second Indian History Congress*, Allahabad, 1938, pp. 85-91), Dr. H. C. Seth of the Nagpur University has tried to show on the basis of a dubious passage occurring in the Ethiopic version of the *Life and Exploits of Alexander* (E.A.W. Badge's Translation, p. 123) that the great invader received his first set-back in the battle of Jhelum and he sought peace with Poros. It is difficult to appreciate the force of the learned Doctor's observations, for firstly we do not know with certainty the date of the Ethiopic Text. Secondly, it utterly goes against the uniform testimony of all the five classical authors, and there is no reason to believe that they deliberately conspired to record what was untrue. Thirdly, if Poros was the victor, as Dr. Seth would have us understand, how could Alexander then advance right up to the bank of the Hyphasis? A consummate general like him would never have done so, if at the very gate of India he had to bow to the arms of Poros.

[37] Justin, XII, 8, M'crindles *Invasion by Alexander*, p. 323.

[38] Diodorus says that 12,000 men were killed and 9,000 captured (XVII, 89, *Ibid.*, p. 276). According to Arrian, however, the loss in killed was 20,000 infantry and and 3,000 cavalry and all the chariots were broken to pieces (V, 18, *Ibid.*, p. 107).

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of peace and friendship by re-instating him in his former dignity and sovereignty. And in doing so, Alexander was not only acting in consonance with the dictates of diplomacy and statecraft, but strangely enough he was also following the traditional policy of Hindu conquerors, advocated by Manu[39] and Kauṭilya,[40] of placing either the vanquished monarch or some scion of his family upon the throne instead of resorting to direct annexation.

Foundation of two towns—

Alexander then founded two towns ; one was called Boukephala after the name of his faithful charger which died in India,[41] and the other, Nikaia, meant to commemorate his victory, arose on the site of the battle with Poros.

Defeat of the Glausai and younger Poros—

Next, having propitiated the Greek gods, Alexander marched into the territory of a nation called the Glausai or Glaukanikai (=Sanskrit Glaucukāyanaka of the *Kāśikā*), taking thirty-seven of their cities " the smallest of which contained not fewer than 5,000 inhabitants, while many contained upwards of 10,000."[42] At this stage Alexander heard of revolts against him ; Nikanor, the satrap of " India—West of the Indus," was assassinated and Sisikottos, *i.e.*, Sasigupta, who held the citadel at Aornos on behalf of Alexander, too, sent urgent massages for help. The neighbouring satrap Tyriaspes and Philip, the ' Resident ' in the kingdom of Taxila promptly responded and thus averted any immediate danger to Macedonian authority. After the arrival of Thracian reinforcements and the re-submission

39 *Cf.* Manu (VII, 202):

सर्वेषां तु विदित्वैषां समासेन चिकीर्षितम् ।
स्थापयेत्तत्र तद्वंश्यं कुर्याच्च समयक्रियाम् ॥

40 Book VII, Ch. XVI, p. 313.

41 Boukephala stood on the Hydaspes at a point where it was crossed.

42 Arrian, V, 20, M'crindle's *Invasion by Alexander*, p. 112.

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of the ruler of Abhisāra, Alexander crossed the Akesines (Skt. Asiknī or Chenab) and subdued the younger Poros, nephew of the great Poros. His territory, known as Gandaris,[43] as also that of the Glausai, was added by Alexander to the kingdom of his quondam enemy—the senior Poros (Paurava).

Capture of Pimprama—

By August, 326 B.C., the Macedonian arms penetrated beyond the Hydraotes (Paruṣṇi or Irāvatī, *i.e.*, modern Ravi), and Alexander won fresh laurels by capturing Pimprama belonging to the Adraistai (Ariṣṭas of Pāṇini ?).

Sangala stormed—

Soon afterwards Alexander invested Sangala, the stronghold of the Kathaians (Skt. Kaṭhas), who " enjoyed the highest reputation for courage and skill in the art of war." [44] Strabo, quoting Onesikritos, informs us that among the Kathaians beauty was highly valued and " the handsomest man was chosen as king." [45] Every child was examined by public authority two months after its birth to determine " whether it has the beauty of form prescribed by law and whether it deserves to live or not." [46] Men and women among them chose their own partners, and the wives burnt themselves along with their deceased husbands.[47] These Kathains fought with great dash and stubbornness, so much so that even Poros came to the aid of Alexander with " a force of 5,000 Indians." [48] At last when the fortress fell no less than 17,000 of the defenders gave up their lives and more than 70,000 were captured together with 300 wagons and 500 horsemen.[49] This resolute resistance

[43] *Cf.* Strabo, M'crindle's *Ancient India*, p. 37.
[44] Arrian, V, 22, M'crindle's *Invasion by Alexander*, p. 115.
[45] *Cf.* Strabo, M'crindle's *Ancient India*, p. 38.
[46] *Ibid.*
[47] *Ibid.*
[48] Arrian, V, 24, M'crindle's *Invasion by Alexander*, p. 119.
[49] *Ibid.*

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of the Kathaians incensed Alexander to such an extent that he razed Sangala to the ground. Then with a view to guarding the rear he sent Greek garrisons to the conquered cities, and himself marched towards the Hyphasis (Beas) to realise his cherished dreams of planting the Hellenic standards in the easternmost ends of India.

The Greek army refuses to advance—

But when Alexander reached the river a strange thing happened. His ever-victorious troops, which had braved many a danger and privation so far, suddenly laid down arms and refused to go further for the sake of fame or plunder.

Its causes—

Before we follow the fortunes of Alexander in the course of his return journey, let us pause here to consider and analyse the causes of this unexpected change in the attitude of the Greek soldiers. What was it owing to which the war-drum failed to produce an echo in their hearts, and there was no response to the impassioned entreaties and eloquent exhortations of their supreme commander and king except streaming tears and loud lamentations ?[50] What was it due to that all their enthusiasm and eagerness to establish Greek supremacy in distant lands at once melted away on reaching the Hyphasis ? It is true the Greek soldiers were war-worn, home-sick, disease-stricken, and destitute ;[51] and many of them were ill-equipped, for it was now increasingly difficult to transport and supply garments from Greece, and not a few were depressed because their friends had perished by disease or fallen victims to sanguinary

[50] Plutarch, Ch. LXII, M'crindle's *Invasion by Alexander*, p. 310; Arrian, V, 28, *Ibid.*, p. 127.

[51] *Cf.* Koinos: " We have conquered all the world, but are ourselves destitute of all things. "—Curtius, IX, 3, *Ibid.*, p. 229.

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battles. But was there any other ground for their conduct which doubtless savoured of mutiny ? Plutarch gives us some clue to this mystery, for he indicates that even after the contest with Poros the Macedonian forces were considerably dispirited, and it was with reluctance that they had advanced as far as the Hyphasis at Alexander's bidding. He says : " The battle with Poros depressed the spirits of the Macedonians and made them very unwilling to advance farther into India. For as it was with the utmost difficulty they had beaten him when the army he led amounted only to 20,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry, they now most resolutely opposed Alexander when he insisted that they should cross the Ganges." [52] The Greeks had been impressed by the heroism and skill of the Indian soldiers. Indeed, according to Arrian, " in the art of war they were far superior to the other nations by which Asia was at that time inhabited." [53] That is perhaps why the Greeks showed even after fighting against Poros that they had " no stomach for further toils in India." But when Alexander egged them on to march onward it was like putting the proverbial last straw on the camel's back. During their progress towards the Hyphasis Alexander's troops had heard all sorts of alarming rumours that beyond it there were extensive and uninviting deserts, impetuous and unfathomable rivers, and what was more disquieting, powerful and wealthy nations maintaining huge armies. Curtius represents Phegeus (Phegelis ?),[54] identified with Bhagala, [55] as giving the following information to Alexander : " The farther bank of the Ganges was inhabited by two nations, the Gangaridae, and the Prasii, whose king Agrammes kept in the field for guarding the

[52] Plutarch, LXII, *Ibid.*, p. 310. Plutarch has here under-estimated the strength of the army, and instead of the Hyphasis he has mentioned the Ganges.

[53] Arrian, V, 4, *Ibid.*, p. 85.

[54] Curtius, IX, 2, *Ibid.*, p. 221.

[55] *Cam. Hist. of India*, Vol. I, p. 372.

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approaches to his country 20,000 cavalry and 2,00,000 infantry besides 2,000 four-horsed chariots, and what was most formidable force of all, a troop of elephants, which ran up to the number of 3,000." [56] Similarly, Plutarch says that " the kings of the Gangaritai and Praisiai were reported to be waiting for him with an army of 80,000 horse and 200,000 foot, 8,000 war-chariots and 6,000 fighting elephants." Nor was this any exaggeration, for not long afterwards Androkottos who had by that time mounted the throne, presented Seleukos with 500 elephants and overran and subdued the whole of India with an army of 600,000 men." [57] The substantial truth of these statements is also borne out by indigenous sources, which tell us of the enormous riches and power of the Nanda monarch holding sway over the Gangaridai and Prassii nations.[58] Arrian's deposition, too, is much to the same effect, but he seems to refer to the country immediately beyond the Hyphasis. He observes: "It was exceedingly fertile, and the inhabitants were good agriculturists, brave in war, and living under an excellent system of internal government ; for the multitude was governed by the aristocracy, who exercised their authority with justice and moderation. It was also reported that the people there had a greater number of elephants than the other Indians, and that those were of superior size and courage."[59] These details spurred the indomitable spirit of Alexander and made him all the more keen to advance into the heart of India. The Macedonians, on the other hand as affirmed by Arrian, "now began to lose heart when they saw the king raising up without end toils upon toils and dangers upon dangers."[60] Indeed, the army held conferences " at which the more mode-

56 Curtius, IX, 2, M'crindle's *Invasion by Alexander*, pp. 221-22.

57 Plutarch, LXII, *Ibid.*, p 310.

58 See Raychaudhuri, *Pol. Hist. of Anc. Ind.*, 4th ed., pp. 188-91.

59 Arrian, V, 25, M'crindle's *Invasion by Alexander*, p. 121.

60 *Ibid.*

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rate men bewailed their condition, while others positively asserted that they would follow no farther though Alexander himself should lead the way."[61] Alexander made a fervent appeal to his comrades to divest their minds of these false rumours and follow him with " alacrity and confidence." He declared : " I am not ignorant, soldiers, that during these last days the natives of this country have been spreading all sorts of rumours *designed expressly to work upon your fears*, but the falsehood of those who invent such lies is nothing new in your experience."[62] This assurance was, however, of no avail. The troops persisted in their refusal to enter into further contests with the Indians beyond the Beas, " whose numbers," so answered Koinos, " though purposely exaggerated by the barbarians, must yet, as I can gather from the lying report itself, be very considerable."[63] Alexander made his last desperate attempt to rouse the spirits of his forces by threatening to march on even if forsaken by them : " Expose me then to the dangers of rivers, to the rage of elephants, and to those nations *whose very names fill you with terror.* I shall find men that will follow me though I be deserted by you."[64] But the Macedonian troops were so struck by the energetic resistance and bravery of the Indians, whom they had met on the battlefields, and they were so unnerved and terrified by the reported military strength of the nations beyond the Hyphasis that even this threat, this grim prospect of Alexander plunging headlong into the depths of the enemy's country, and may be losing his life there, was simply met by silent tears. This brought the situation home to Alexander, who exclaimed in utter dismay : " I have all along been knocking at deaf ears. I am trying to rouse hearts that are *disloyal and crushed with craven fears*."[65] He

61 *Ibid.*
62 Curtius, IX, 2, *Ibid.*, p. 222.
63 Curtius, IX, 3, *Ibid.*, p. 229.
64 Curtius, IX, 2, *Ibid.*, p. 226.
65 *Ibid.*

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then gave orders for retracing their steps homewards. Thus the cherished dreams of Alexander to found an eastern empire vanished, and that brilliant military leader and the hero of a hundred fights had to give way to the fears of his troops, although such fears were altogether foreign to his own dashing nature. And when Diodoros Siculus informs us that the greatest nation in India was the Gangaridai, " against whom Alexander did not undertake an expedition, being deterred by the multitude of their elephants,"[66] we are not to understand that he himself had any misgivings about his strength, or reluctance to embark upon further adventures, but it was chiefly due to the pusillanimous attitude of his troops that his progress was arrested and he was forced to retreat.[67]

Altars—

It is said that with a view to marking the extreme point of his advance eastward, Alexander gave directions for the construction of twelve colossal stone altars, dedicated to the chief Greek gods.[68] When these massive monuments were completed, Alexander offered sacrifices, accompanied by appropriate ceremonies, for a safe return home.

Retreat : Scheme of administration—

The Macedonian storm having swept over the Panjab receded in September, 326 B.C., and probably beyond hearing its rumblings the peoples of the Gangetic plains knew nothing of its devastating fury. Soon Alexander reached the bank of the Hydaspes (Jhelum), which was the scene of his conflict with Poros. Here Alexander made proper arrangements for keeping the conquered parts of the Panjab under his subjection. He placed his new ally, Poros, in charge of

66 *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, p 201.

67 See also *J.A.S.B.*, New Series, XIX, 1923, pp. 765-769.

68 These altars must have been on the right bank of the Hyphasis and not on its left side, as Pliny would have us believe (VI, 62).

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all the tract between the Hydaspes and the Hyphasis, and Omphis or Ambhi of Taxila was given full jurisdiction over the Indus-Hydaspes Doab. Likewise, the ruler of Abhisāra had his authority extended over Kashmir with Arsakes of Urasā (Hazara district) as his vassal. And as a counterpoise to the rule of these Indian princes, Alexander stationed adequate Greek garrisons in cities founded by himself on the Indian soil. These Greek settlers were meant to be the sentinels or guardians of his overlordship, so that no enterprising Indian monarch may be able to hatch the egg of revolt in order to shake off the alien yoke.

Sophytes—

Alexander then made preparations for sailing down the rivers, but before the voyage actually began he cleared the path of all potential enemies by bringing about the submission of Sophytes (Saubhūti ?), whose kingdom had "a mountain of fossil salt which could supply all India."[69] He was thus the chief of the country of the salt range.[70] Incidentally, it may be noted that according to Strabo the land of Sophytes had dogs of "astonishing courage" and mettle and Alexander even witnessed their fight with a lion.[71] Curtius further avers that the people of Sophytes "excelled in wisdom, and lived under good laws and customs,"[72] Like the Kathains, they held beauty in great esteem and marriages were contracted not with high birth but by looks. Each infant was medically examined and if they found "anything deformed or defective in the limbs of a child they ordered it to be killed."[73]

69 Strabo, M'crindle's *Ancient India*, p. 38.

70 According to Curtius, however, the kingdom of Sophytes was on the west of the Hyphasis (IX. I, M'crindle's *Invasion by Alexander*, p. 219).

71 *Ibid.*, p. 120; Strabo, *Ancient India*, p. 38.

72 Curtius, IX, I; M'crindle's *Invasion by Alexander*, p. 219

73 *Ibid.*

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Voyage down the river—

Towards the close of October the signal for the departure was given with the sound of the trumpet, and the Macedonian boats glided down the river in grand array, protected on both banks by troops under the command of Hephaestion and Krateros respectively, until they reached the confluence of the Akesines and the Hydaspes.

The Siboi and the Agalassians—

Here Alexander disembarked to measure swords with the Siboi (Skt. Śivis), who were preparing to oppose him with an army of 40,000 infantry[74] and the Agalassians (Agraśreṇis), who had mustered an equally great force of 40,000 foot and 3,000 horse.[75] The Siboi, who "dressed themselves with the skins of wild beasts, and had clubs for their weapons," were routed; but the Agalassians gallantly defended their capital and at first repulsed Alexander with serious losses. Curtius observes that realising their desperate position the defenders "set fire to their houses, and cast themselves along with their wives and children into the flames."[76] Thus the Agalassians anticipated the medieval Rajput custom of *Jauhar*.

The Malloi and the Oxydrakai—

Close upon the heels of the Agalassoi operations followed Alexander's campaign against the Malloi (Mālavas) and the Oxydrakai (Kṣudrakas), the "most numerous and warlike of all the Indian tribes in those parts, who were ready to give him a 'hostile reception' after having conveyed their children and their wives for safety into their strongest cities."[77] Curtius says that these two nations were formerly at enmity,

74 Curtius, IX, 4, *Ibid.*, p. 232.
75 Diodoros, XVII, Ch, XCVI, *Ibid.*, p. 285.
76 Curtius, IX, 4, *Ibid.*, p. 238.
77 Arrian, VI, 4, *Ibid.*, p. 137.

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but when the gravity of the peril threatening their liberty dawned upon them, they coalesced together and gathered an army of 90,000 foot-soldiers, besides 10,000 cavalry and 900 war-chariots. The Macedonian soldiers, who had begun to think that they had come to an end of all hazardous tasks, were struck with " an unexpected terror " at the prospect of meeting fresh opposition, and in the words of Curtius " began again to upbraid the king in the language of sedition,"[78] saying that he had not ended war, but only shifted its theatre. Fully determined not to allow a repetition of the story of the Hyphasis, Alexander made a moving appeal to them " to permit him to return from India with honour, and not to escape from it like a fugitive."[79] This time it had the desired effect; the troops were galvanised into fresh activity and they rose to such a high pitch of war-frenzy that without giving any warning Alexander suddenly swooped down upon the Malloi, when they were working unarmed in the fields.[80] A large number of them were mercilessly slain, but this did not break the backbone of their resistance. Some of the Malloi shut themselves up within the city, but it was stormed and 2,000 persons lost their lives. Others took shelter in a city of the Brachmans or Brahmans, where Alexander hotly pursued them. Arrian remarks: " As they were men of spirit, a few only were taken prisoners " and most of them perished by the sword.[81] Next, Alexander assailed the main stronghold of the Malloi, situate somewhere near the boundary of the modern Jhang and Montgomery districts.[82] Here Alexander received a dangerous wound,[83] which spread fury and consternation

[78] Curtius, IX, 4, *Ibid.*, p. 234.

[79] *Ibid.*, p. 235.

[80] Arrian, VI, 6, *Ibid.*, p. 140.

[81] *Ibid.*, VI, 7, *Ibid.*, p. 144.

[82] *E.H.I.*, 4th ed., p. 100 and note.

[83] Arrian distinctly mentions that the accident befell Alexander among the Malloi and not the Oxydrakai (Arrian, VI, 11, M'crindle's *Invasion by Alexander*, p. 149).

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among his troops, for their safety mostly depended upon his leadership and prowess. Consequently, they perpetrated a ferocious massacre of the Malloi sparing "neither man, woman, nor child."[84] The indiscriminate slaughter of women and children was undoubtedly an act of wanton cruelty, which casts a slur on the war-code of the Greeks in India. When Alexander recovered, the submission of the Malloi became a *fait accompli*. The confederacy being thus dissolved, the Oxydrakai saw no better alternative than to send ambassadors to negotiate peace with Alexander. They declared that "they were attached more than others to freedom and autonomy,"[85] and it was due to the will of the gods, and not through fear, that they had bowed to his steel.[86] Alexander appreciated their dignified bearing and entertained their leading men with marked courtesy and lavishness, which even excited the jealousy of some of his generals. Next, to impress upon these two nations that Greek authority had come to stay, Alexander appointed Philippos[87] as satrap over them. The invader then moved down the rivers until he reached the junction of the Akesines and the Indus, where he waited for Perdikkas, who during the course of his march had subdued the Abastanoi or Sambastai (Skt. Ambaṣṭhas). Diodoros deposes that they were "inferior to none in India either for numbers or for bravery. They dwelt in cities in which the democratic form of government prevailed."[88] Like the other tribes, they also collected a large force consisting of 60,000 foot-soldiers, 6,000 horse and 500 chariots to oppose Alexander, but fortune was no more favourable to them.

84 *Ibid.*

85 Arrian, VI, 14, *Ibid.*, p. 154.

86 Curtius, IX, 7, *Ibid.*, pp. 248-49.

87 The jurisdiction of Philippos was subsequently extended much further southwards.

88 Diodoros, XVII, Ch. CII, *Ibid.*, p. 292.

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Subjugation of the lower Indus valley—

Among other communities which submitted to Alexander during his progress to the Indus delta were the Xathroi (Kṣatri of Manu), Ossadioi (=Vasāti of the *Mahābhārata*), Sodrai (Śūdras?) and the Massanoi; unfortunately we do not get any details about their hostilities. Alexander also subjugated a number of kings, *viz.*, Mousikanos (lord of the Mūṣikas?), Oxykanos,[89] and Sambos (Śambhu),[90] who were too proud to acknowledge Alexander's suzerainty, despite their being mutually at war. Mousikanos had his capital at Alor (Sukkur district), and according to Onesikritos, his people were distinguished for their healthy living and longevity their term of life extending to 130 years.[91] Some of their other characteristics have also been noted: "to have a common meal which they eat in public . . ., their food consisting of the produce of the chase; to use neither gold nor silver though they have mines of those metals; to employ instead of slaves young men in the flower of their age; to study no science with attention except that of medicine; to have no actions at law but for murder and outrage," for if contracts were violated one must pay the penalty for reposing too much trust on the other party.[92]

Brahmanic opposition—

One interesting feature of the political situation in this part of the country was the enormous influence wielded by the Brahmans and their active participation in politics. For instance, we are told that they instigated Mousikanos and Oxykanos to revolt and shake off the ignominy of foreign thraldom. They followed their advice and lost their heads

89 Diodoros *(Ibid.)* calls him Portikanos. For the site of his capital see M'crindle's *Invasion by Alexander*, p. 158, note 1.

90 The capital of Sambos was Sindimana or Sihwan.

91 Strabo, M'crindle' s *Ancient India*, p. 41.

92 *Ibid.*

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along with a large number of Brahmans. The suppression of Brahmanical opposition must not have been an easy task for Alexander, since they were not only respected throughout the land, but they were themselves, in the words of Arrian, "men of spirit."[93] The taking up of arms by the meek Brahmans must not be regarded as a strange phenomenon or a mere figment of Greek imagination. Apart from the epic examples of such Brahman warriors as Paraśurāma, Droṇācārya and Aśvatthāmā, we know that Kauṭilya actually refers to Brahman armies which were distinguished for their mildness towards the prostrate enemy.[94] Besides, the Hindu law-givers explicitly permit them to exchage the *Śāstra* for the *Śastra* in evil times and in defence of their country and Dharma. Thus says Manu :[95]

शस्त्रं द्विजातिभिर्ग्राह्यं धर्मो यत्रोपरुध्यते ।
द्विजातीनां च वर्णानां विप्लवे कालकारिते ॥

i. e., 'The Brahmans may take up arms when they are hindered in the fulfilment of their duties, or when, destruction threatens the twice-born in evil times.' The country was menaced with such a calamity during the Macedonian avalanche, and so the Brahmans valiantly rose to defend their honour and hearths and homes.

Pattala—

Having overcome the opposition of the Brahmans and kings of the lower Indus valley, Alexander reached Tauala or Pattala, "a city of great note, with a political constitution drawn on the same lines as the Spartan; for in this community the command in war was vested in two hereditary kings of two different houses, while a council of elders

93 Arrian, VI, 7, M'crindle's *Invasion by Alexander*, p. 144.
94 See Shamasastri, *Arthasastra*, 3rd ed., p. 373.
95 VIII, 348.

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ruled the whole state with paramount authority." [96] According to Curtius, one of its kings was named Moeres.[97]

Homeward route—

About the beginning of September 325 B. C., Alexander finally quitted the scene of his memorable exploits. He divided the army into two sections; one was led by Nearchos by way of sea, and the other marched with Alexander along the southern coast of Gedrosia (Baluchistan). A part of it had, of course, already been sent under the command of Krateros through the Bolan Pass. Alexander chose the most difficult and cheerless route for himself through the territories of the Arabitae and the Oritae, and he reached his destination after a good deal of anxiety and suffering.

Conclusion—

It would be evident from the foregoing account, which is based entirely on the evidence of the Greek and Roman authors, that the progress of Alexander's arms in India was by no means easy or smooth. No doubt, some of the Indian potentates and autonomous communities

> "……bowed low before the blast,
> In patient deep disdain,
> And let the legions thunder past."

But others fought bravely, and this coupled with the prospect of unending wars in India even created apprehensions in the minds of the Greek veterans, who had blown off the mighty Persian forces almost like chaff. Nor did India "plunge in thought again" after the great meteor had flashed across her political skies, and within a few years of Alexander's departure and death in June 323 B. C., all vestiges of Greek occupation were destroyed and swept away.

[96] Diodoros, XVII, Ch. CIV, M'crindles *Invasion by Alexander*, p. 296. Pattala has been identified with modern Bahmanabad.

[97] Curtius, IX, 8, *Ibid.*, p. 256.

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6

BEGINNING OF CANDRAGUPTA MAURYA'S REIGN

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The two limits within which the date of Candragupta Maurya's accession to the throne would lie are the retirement of Alexander from India about 325 B.C., before which Candragupta's reign had not commenced, and 305 B.C. the probable date when Seleucus came to terms with Candragupta, who was then the Emperor of Indians. The exact year of the beginning ot Candragupta's reign is far from certain. Various dates have been suggested by different scholars. Charpentier on the basis of Jain traditions suggested 313 B.C.[1] Recently Bhattasali has pleaded for the same date.[2] O. Stein argues on the basis of classical sources for 318 B.C.[3] Fleet suggested about 320 B.C. Hultzsh following Fleet accepted 320 B.C.[4] Barnet suggests 321 B.C.[5] F.W. Thomas also suggests the same date.[6] Vincent Smith suggested 322 B.C.[7] Kern also argued for 322 B.C.[8] Radhakamal

1 Cam. History of India, Vol. I, p. 156.

2 J. R. A. S., 1932, Part II, p. 273ff.

3 Journal of the Czecho-Slovakia Oriental Institute, Vol. I, 3.

4 C. I. I., Vol. I, p. XXXV.

5 Antiquities of India, p. 39.

6 Cam. History of India, Vol. I, p. 471.

7 Early History of India, p. 116 (3rd ed.). In his monograph on Asoka, Vincent Smith suggested 325 B.C. as the date of Candragupta's accession.

8 Ind. Ant. Vol. III, p. 79f.

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Mukerjee argues for 323 B.C.[9] Sourindranath Ray suggests 324 B.C.[10] Cunningham had suggested 325 B.C.[11] Jayaswal also worked out 325 B.C. as the probable date of Candragupta's accession.[12] Recently J. Sen has also suggested 325 B.C.[13]

The conflicting evidence of the various Indian traditions, Buddhist, Jain and Brahmanic, and particularly the absence in the last of the use of any fixed era in reckoning earlier events, makes it difficult to arrive on the basis of these at a satisfactory date for Candragupta's accession. Amongst the classical writers the statement of Justin that Candragupta fought against the Prefects of Alexander and was the liberator of the country suggests that the rise of Candragupta followed close on the heels of Alexander's retirement from India. This suggests that the date of Candragupta's emergence into power and the beginning of his reign in the north-west coincided with the retirement of Alexander from India. The main argument against such an early date for the beginning of Candragupta's reign and in favour of a later date is the assumption that the Greek control over the parts of India invaded by Alexander lasted much after his retirement, and the revolt of the Indians against the Greek authority could not have occurred until his death in 323 B.C. As Vincent Smith remarks, " his death in June, 323 B.C., dispelled all fears of his return, and the native princes undoubtedly took the earliest possible opportunity to assert their independence and exterminate the weak foreign garrisons. The news of Alexander's decease was known in India probably as early as August, but no serious fighting would have been undertaken by ordinary commanders

9 Journal of the U. P. Historical Society. (?)

10 I. H. Q., Vol. XI (1935), p. 211ff.

11 Bhilsa Topes, p. 75f.

12 J. A. S. B., Vol. 9, p. 317ff; and J. B. O. R. S., Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 67ff.

13 I. H. Q., Vol. V, p. 6ff.

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until the beginning of the cold season in October . . . We may feel sure that as soon as the news of the conqueror's death had been confirmed beyond doubt, and the season permitted the execution of military operations with facility, a general rising took place, and that Macedonian authority in India was at an end early in 322 B.C., except the small remnant to which Eudemos continued to cling." Vincent Smith concludes that the leader of this revolt against the foreigners was Candragupta, who having collected a formidable force of the warlike and predatory clans on the north-western frontier attacked the Macedonian garrisons after Alexander's death, and conquered the Punjab.[14]

The whole of the above argument of Vincent Smith is based on an entire misreading of the nature of Alexander's campaign in India. Alexander's tenure of the parts of India he invaded was most unstable. We know of irreconcilable attitude right from the very beginning of the warlike Aśvakas west of the Indus. The fight against Porus had completely damped the ardour of his army, after which mutinies and disintegration started in his ranks; his retreat by way of Sindh and Makran desert was nothing but a flight to save life. Where was the need to wait for his death to revolt against the forces left by him in India ? As a matter of fact even before Alexander had actually left the confines of India most of the Greek satraps he had appointed, Nicanor west of the Indus, Philippos in the Punjab, and Apollophanes in Gedrosia were killed. Pithon did not stay much longer in Sindh after Alexander's retirement, as in the partition of Alexander's empire in 321 B.C. at

[14] Early History of India, p. 116f.

Also compare the following views of Hultzsh (C. I. I., Introduction, p. XXXVf.): "It must be kept in mind that the upper limit of Candragupta's coronation is the death of Alexander the Great in 323 B.C. The working date of B.C. 320 has the advantage of being mean of the two outside dates 323 and 317." (Curious device of fixing an important date.)

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Tripardeisos, we find him appointed as satrap of some parts bordering on the Hindukush. The only person who stayed in India for sometime was a petty official Eudamus, who most probably took service under Porus or may be under Candragupta himself. We learn from the Mudrārākṣasa that some Greek soldiers formed part of Candragupta's army, when he invaded Magadha. Eudamus might have been at the head of this Greek detachment of Candragupta's army. Eudamus is not mentioned in the partitions of Alexander's empire, made at Babylon and at Tripardeisos, which also shows that, so far as India was concerned, these arrangements were only on paper, and the arbiters of Alexander's empire at these two conferences had lost all touch with India. It will be absurd to raise Eudamus to the position of a Greek Satrap and then to assume that "the Greek authority and the Greek arrangements of government continued in the Punjab and Taxila up to at least 317 B.C.," [15] when Eudamus is supposed to have left India. Jayaswal shrewdly observes: "The entire theory of the hypothetical date of Candragupta's accession has been, up to this time, based on the assumption that he could not have undertaken his operations before the news of the death of Alexander reached India. In fact, there was no such necessity, for in all purposes Alexander's retreat was the demise of his prestige in India. The greatest opportunity was offered by the retreat itself; one had not to wait till his death." [16]

It is most unlikely that, as suggested by Vincent Smith, before Candragupta undertook the expulsion of the foreign garrisons he had already overthrown the Nanda king of Magadha,[17] which could have been only possible after

15 N. K. Bhattasali, J.R.A.S., 1932, Pt. II, p. 10.

16 J.A.S.B., Vol. 9, p. 317ff.

17 Early History of India, p. 118.

Recently Mr. S. Ray has also suggested that "Prasi revolution preceded the expulsion of the foreign generals." I. H. Q., Vol. XI, p. 211ff.

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Alexander's retirement from India. This is evidenced by the fact that according to the Mudrārākṣasa the army at the head of which Candragupta invaded Magadha comprised of the people from the north-western parts of India including some Greek soldiers. Candragupta obviously could not start on his conquest of Magadha from his base in the north-west so long as Alexander was campaigning in the Punjab. But, as we have suggested above, the fight of Candragupta against the Greeks had already started even before Alexander had left India, and within a few months of his retirement no Greek forces were left in the Punjab and the north-west worth the name against whom Candragupta had to come later on from Magadha to fight.

Elsewhere we have surmised that Candragupta himself originally belonged to north-western India.[18] The sequence of events indicated above gives us 325 B.C. as the date of the commencement of Candragupta's reign in his own ancestral domains in the north-west. Any later date militates against the only trustworthy evidence that we have about his early life and where both the information given by the classical writers and the Indian literary traditions concur. We learn from the classical writers, Justin and Plutarch, that Candragupta was in the Punjab or the north-west at the time of Alexander's invasion, and close on the heels of his retirement he fought against and freed that area from foreign domination. After this, as we gather from the Indian literary traditions, at the head of the combined strength of the people of the north-west and the Punjab he conquered Magadha.

Our conclusion that 325 B.C. is the year of the commencement of Candragupta's reign may also put on a firmer basis the date of Buddha Nirvāṇa, another important date

[18] Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XVIII, Part II.

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in ancient Indian chronology. According to the generally accepted Ceylonese Buddhist traditions Candragupta reigned for twenty-four years, Bindusāra for twenty-eight years, and Aśoka was coronated four years after he succeeded his father, Bindusāra. This will give us 325 − 24 − 28 − 4 = 269 B.C. as the date of Aśoka's coronation. The above traditions also tell us that Aśoka was coronated 218 years after Buddha's death. This gives us 269 + 218 = 487 B.C. as the date of Buddha Nirvāṇa. This is also the date of Buddha Nirvāṇa given in the well-known Chinese dotted record. As we have discussed elsewhere [19] this record deserves more credit than has been given to it so far.

[19] "Buddha Nirvāṇa and some other dates in Ancient Indian Chronology." Indian Culture, Vol. V, No. 3.

Also our paper "Chronology of Aśokan Inscriptions." Journal of Indian History, Vol. XVII, Pt. 3.

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7

JAYAVARMAN VII

(1181-1201 A.D.)

(The last of the great monarchs of Cambodia)

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Jayavarman VII was the greatest though also the last of the great monarchs of Cambodia. Quite recently the researches of the eminent French savant M. Georges Cœdès have brought to light many new facts about the career of this sovereign. As the account of this great ruler in my 'Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia' has been thus rendered obsolete, I shall try in this paper to re-write the history of Jayavarman VII in the light of the recent advances in Cambodian studies. No apology is needed for introducing Cambodia (or Kambuja) to an Indian History Congress, for the history of Cambodia is a brilliant chapter in the history of the cultural expansion of India.

The dynasty of Mahīdharapura has given Kambuja two of its greatest monarchs—Suryavarman II the builder of Angkor Vat (the most magnificent of the shrines of Vishnu) and Jayavarman VII who designed the Bayon—the temple which dominates to-day Angkor Thom (Nagara Dhāma), the ancient capital of Cambodia. Between Suryavarman II (1112-1152 A.D.) and Jayavarman VII we knew till recently only of one ruler Dharanīndravarman II. We have now to make room for two kings, whose existence was hitherto

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unsuspected, between Dharanīndravarman II, the father of Jayavarman VII, and Jayavarman VII himself.

We do not know exactly when Dharanīndravarman II ceased to reign. He ascended the throne about 1152, died probably eight years afterwards, and was succeeded not by his son but by a near relation Yaśovarman. We should call him Yaśovarman II to distinguish him from the Yaśovarman who founded Angkor in the 9th century. It has now been shown by M. Cœdès that the name of this hitherto unknown Yaśovarman II appears in at least three inscriptions. From the first (Bantāy Chmār)—an inscription of the reign of Jayavarman VII—we learn that a traitor Bharata Rāhu, who is depicted in a bas relief of Bantāy Chmār as the mythical monster Rāhu, attempted to seize the palace of king Yaśovarman. The guards of the palace fled after throwing 'pitay's into the throat of Rāhu. (In the bas relief we find the monster swallowing what seems to be a pile of cakes. Has the old Khmer word 'pitay' any connection with the Bengali word পিটে ? Perhaps both are derived from the Sanskrit 'Pishtaka.') Then the 'prince' engaged Rāhu in combat and after a severe struggle, in which two noblemen gave their lives to defend him, succeeded in vanquishing the foe. Who is this prince ? In the beginning of this inscription we find the name of Rājaputra Śri Indrakumāra whose eulogy is the main theme of the whole text. Indeed the temple of Bantāy Chmār is the shrine constructed by Jayavarman VII to commemorate the memory of his son Indrakumāra apotheosised under the name of Śri Indra Deva. The statue of Prince Indrakumāra together with the statues of some nobles, who in the combat with Bharata Rāhu and in a Champa (Annam) war sacrificed their lives for him, were the images enshrined in this temple. Therefore, as Rājaputra Indrakumāra is the hero of the inscription of Bantāy Chmār, he must be the prince who saved King Yaśovarman from the traitor Bharata Rāhu.

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In the inscription of Prāsāt Crun at Angkor Thom we get another reference to Yaśovarman as the king who, after having vanquished the Daitya Tamas (Rāhu), was deprived of his throne by Tribhuvanāditya who, in turn, lost his throne when the king of Champā Jaya-Indravarman invaded Cambodia.

This is confirmed by the Phimānakās inscription which, though badly damaged, gives valuable information. We learn from it of an expedition to Champa (Annam) apparently by Jayavarman VII (before his accession to the throne) and then of his sojourn in that country for unknown reasons. Was he banished from Kambuja ? That would mean that Yaśovarman II was guilty of ingratitude, for he had been saved from Rāhu by Jayavarman's son. In any case Jayarājadevi, the wife of Jayavarman, is described as performing *tapasyā* (ascetic practices). We hear of the tears she shed, of her *jaṭā* (matted hair), of her study of sacred texts, of the visions she had of her absent lord which caused pain as well as pleasure, and of her fidelity to her spouse. Her separation from her husband is compared to that of Sītā from Rāma. Then we are told of a seditious attempt on the part of a servant to seize royal power from the hands of Yaśovarman and how Jayavarman hastened to the rescue of the Kambuja monarch. But Yaśovarman had already been deprived of his throne and life when Jayavarman returned, and the latter had to wait for the auspicious moment when he could deliver the earth from its grievous burden of crimes. "Having by her pious exertions recovered her spouse, she (Jayarājadevi) gave up her ascetic practices ; she now longed to see him raise the earth from the sea of misfortune into which it had been plunged. Then came king Jaya-Indravarman of Champa, with his army carried in chariots, to invade Kambuja, which could vie with Paradise, like Rāvana full of presumption." The Kambuja king (the usurper Tribhuvanāditya) was slain. Finally, after coronation, Jayavarman

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defeated the countless hosts of the enemy and, after conquering Vijaya (a province of Champa) and other realms, ruled over ' the purified earth.'

Tribhuvanāditya probably reigned from 1166 to 1177. For four years the Kambuja throne remained vacant, for Jayavarman was crowned in 1181.

"Sweet are the uses of adversity," and the days of adversity Jayavarman had passed through, combined with the influence of his pious queen, produced that spirit of fervour and ardent zeal which characterises his inscriptions and even the style of architecture of his reign.

The Ta Prohru inscription traces the descent of Jayavarman's mother, Śri Jayarājachuḍāmani, from the earliest monarchs of Kambuja. In the opening stanzas the Buddha is adored and then Lokeśvara is invoked. Then follows the eulogy of the king. " The other kings, having heard of his glorious career, that he (Jayavarman VII) had gone to Champa and had captured in battle the king of that country and had then released him, accepted with folded hands (the like clemency)." We know from Champa epigraphy and also from Chinese sources that Jayavarman VII conquered Champa (Annam) in 1190 and made it a dependency of Kambuja for thirty years. We learn also from the Ta Prohru inscription that a statue of Jayavarman's mother, deified as Prajñāpāramitā, was enshrined in the temple where this record has been found. There was accommodation in the temple precincts for a professor and 970 students. Besides this educational colony, thousands of others lived in the compound of the shrine including prisoners from Champa and Burma. This reference to Burmese prisoners confirms the statement made in Chinese chronicles that about 1195 Jayavarman annexed Pegu to his dominions. In the 117th stanza of the inscription 102 hospitals (*ārogyaśālā*) are mentioned in the different provinces of the realm. Huge quantities of gold and silver for sacred utensils and for

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decoration of the shrines, provisions for invalids, medicines, and other articles of a miscellaneous nature are enumerated in other passages of this remarkable inscription.

Ten of the hospital inscriptions of Jayavarman VII have been discovered. The text is the same in all these records. After the invocation to the Buddha follows an invocation to Buddha Bhaishajyaguru (Buddha, the Master Physician) and to Bodhisattvas Surya-vairochana-chandarochi and Chandra-vairochana-rohinīśa (both known as patron saints of the art of healing in Tibet, China, and Japan). Then comes the praśasti (eulogy) of King Jayavarman VII. "The physical pain of men became in him (King Jayavarman) a mental pain and was more painful to him than to the actual invalids, for it is the sufferings of the State which make the sufferings of the kings and not their own pain." The hospitals were open to all the four castes and were built round shrines of Buddha Bhaishajya (the Physician). An interesting list of articles to be given from the royal stores to patients includes pippali, ajowan, nutmegs, haritaki, two kinds of camphor, aniseed, cardamoms, cloves, deodar, a paste of ten roots, asafœtida, garlic, dried ginger, boxes of medicine for piles, etc.

The Phimānākās inscription, already referred to, introduces us to the queens of Jayavarman VII. His first queen Jayarājadevi (who, we have seen, performed *tapasyā* during the period of Jayavarman's absence in Champa) was the daughter of a Brahman. She had been educated by her elder sister Indradevi, a fervent Buddhist and a very learned lady. On the death of Jayarājadevi the king made her sister Indradevi his principal queen. And it was she (Indradevi) who composed this Sanskrit inscription of Phimānākās (Khmer for Vimānākāśa).

We have already referred to Jayavarman's conquests of Champa and Pegu. In the Ceylonese chronicle Mahāvaṃsa we find that "the king of Rāmānya (Pegu) seized a princess

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of the royal blood whom the Lord of Lankā (Parākramabāhu—1164-1197 A.D.) had sent to the country of Kambuja." This outrage might have been revenged by the conquest of Pegu by Jayavarman. Thus under this great monarch the frontiers of Kambuja extended on the east to the China Sea, on the west to the Bay of Bengal, and on the south far down into the Malay Peninsula.

Now we come to the great building activity of this reign. To Jayavarman VII must be assigned the Bayon, next to Angkor Vat the greatest temple in Cambodia, Bantāy Chmār, and other buildings of the same school of architecture. This is the last phase of the magnificent art of Khmer.

The Bayon (is it a corruption of Vaijayanta?), which adorns the centre of the existing ruins of Angkor Thom, the ancient capital of Kambuja, was long supposed to be a Śiva temple built by Yaśovarman I in the 9th century A.D. In the inscription of the High Priests of the Deva Rāja, the tutelary deity of Kambuja, there is a passage to the effect that King Yaśovarman erected the temple of the Central Mount in his newly built capital Yaśodharapuri (Angkor Thom) to enshrine the Deva Rāja (a Śiva liṅga). This Central Mount was believed to be the Bayon as this structure (the Bayon) stands at the centre of Angkor Thom. It was shown in 1926 by M. Philippe Stern that the Bayon could not be the centre of Yaśovarman's capital. In 1925 M. Finot announced that the shrine was originally a Buddhist temple dedicated to Avalokiteśvara. In 1928 the Sanskrit inscriptions, engraved at the corners of the city wall of Angkor Thom, were studied by M. Cœdès. They were found to be inscriptions of Jayavarman VII who is eulogised in them as having built the city wall (the Mountain of Victory) and dug the deep moat (the Sea of Victory) round it. So it seems that Yaśovarman's Angkor Thom had been partially destroyed during the raid of the King of Champa (1177) and that Jayavarman VII practically rebuilt the city.

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The Bayon is just at the centre of this newly rebuilt city which (as will be seen from the sketch given at the end) occupied partly a new site and partly a portion of the old site. It has now been shown that the shrine of Phnom Bakheng, at the centre of Yaśodharman's old capital, was the Central Mount—the Śiva temple with which the Bayon had so long been wrongly associated.

The inscriptions on the walls of the Bayon belong to the reign of Jayavarman VII. Again there are many architectural features in common on the one hand between the city walls and gates, which are known to be the work of Jayavarman VII, and the Bayon and Bantāy Chmār on the other. The Bayon and Bantāy Chmār belong to the same school of architecture. And we have already seen that some bas reliefs of Bantāy Chmār have now been satisfactorily explained as depicting incidents of the career of Jayavarman's son. The name of Yaśovarman appearing in the Bantāy Chmār inscription had hitherto added to the confusion, as he was believed to be the 9th century monarch of that name. Till very recently a second Yaśovarman living in the 12th century had not been known.

The most obvious features of Jayavarman's new style of architecture are human-faced towers and preponderance of images of Avalokiteśvara everywhere inside or outside. In the Bantāy Chmār type we observe a departure from the old pyramid-like structure rising in terrace above terrace. The conception of height of the old school had been replaced by the conception of breadth (lengthening of the structures instead of increasing their height) in the new type. The Meru was no longer the fashion—the Mahādīpa (a continent) with lakes representing oceans as in Bantay Chmar, was the new mode.

The Bayon, Bantāy Chmār, etc., seem to have been built in a great hurry and have, on account of defects in technique, suffered very much from the ravages of time. The charge

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of senility and of decadence has been brought against this school of architecture, but its grandeur has also been recognised.

I shall end this brief sketch of the career of the most illustrious monarch of Cambodia with a few words about the Bayon—his chef-d'oeuvre. This huge shrine continues the old tradition of a pyramid-like structure rising in three stages one above the other. The first stage consists of a rectangular gallery with its walls covered with bas reliefs. After a large open space comes the second stage, higher up, on which there is a second gallery also adorned with bas reliefs. The third stage, highest of all, is crowned by the great central tower dominating numerous other towers surrounding it on all sides. All the towers have human faces on the four sides chiselled with consummate art. As M. Paul Mus sums up, "The enormous royal temple of Jayavarman VII consists outside of great stone faces, about 200 of them, and inside the temple is divided up into small chapels situated beneath the towers with the faces, in which a large number of both Brahmanic and Buddhistic divinities are worshipped. The images are gone but the dedicatory inscriptions remain."

Quite recently there has been discovered in a pit under the central tower of the Bayon a Buddha image of large size canopied by a many-hooded Nāga. The image is 12 ft. in height and is one of the finest pieces of sculpture hitherto found in Cambodia. This must have been the deity originally worshipped in the main shrine of the Bayon. M. Cœdès believes that this is the statue of King Jayavarman VII himself apotheosised as the Buddha. In Cambodian history kings have been worshipped, even in their life-time, as deities. The great faces on the towers of the Bayon representing Avalokiteśvara may also, according to the same authority, represent the features of the great monarch. So Jayavarman still dominates the magnificent ruins of his capital Angkor Thom.

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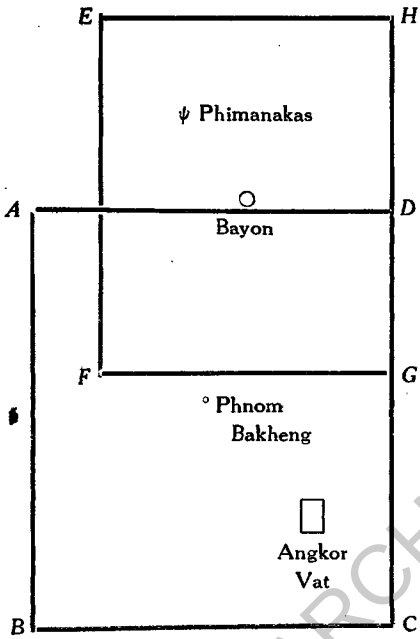
He reigned for twenty years (1181-1201 A.D.).



Rectangle ABCD—Angkor Thom of Yashovarman in the 9th century.

Rectangle EFGH—Angkor Thom as rebuilt by Jayavarman VII in the 12th century.

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8

THE ORIGIN AND THE ORIGINAL HOME OF THE CALUKYAS

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In the words of Dr. Fleet, the Calukyas seem to borrow the lineage and traditional origin of the Kadambas whom they had conquered and supplanted in Kuntala. [1] The Calukyas represented themselves, like the Kadambas, as belonging to the Mānavya *gotra* and as being the descendants of the original ancestress Hārīti. They also claimed, like the Kadambas, some connection with Mahāsēna, the god of war and in a slightly different way with the Saptamātṛkās or the Seven Mothers of Mankind. [2] But the Kadambas themselves seem to borrow the lineage and traditional origin of their erstwhile overlords and predecessors in the sovereignty of Kuntala, the Cuṭu-kula Śātakarṇis and the latter's contemporaries, the Ikṣvākus of Andhradesa. [3] The Kadambas, therefore, were not the earliest and certainly not the only dynasty that claimed a certain connection with god Mahāsēna or Kārttikēya and the mythical ancestress Hārīti. The Ikṣvākus, for instance, described themselves, *Virūpāḳhapati Mahāsēna parighahitasa*, "as having been absorbed or favoured by the god Mahāsēna, the lord of Virūpākhas

1 *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, pp. 336-37.

2 The Seven Mothers of Mankind are the personified energies of the principal deities. They are named Brāhmī (or Brahmāṇī), Māhēśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, Indrāṇī, Aindrāṇī or Mahēndrāṇī and lastly Cāmuṇḍā. They are closely connected with the worship of Śiva and attend on Kārtikeya, son of Śiva.

3 K. P. Jayaswal: *History of India* (150-350 A.D.), pp. 167-68.

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(Virūpākṣas)." [4] It is, therefore, necessary to examine afresh the formal preambles of the charters of the family and all the available materials, and determine the origin and the original home of the Calukyas as well as the steps by which they rose to sovereignty in the Deccan.

There are four branches of the Calukyas known to history. They are: (1) The Calukyas of Vātāpi, who held paramount sway in Kuntala from about the middle of the sixth century A.D. till about the middle of the eighth century. Their kingdom extended at the height of their power from the Narmadā in the north to the Cauveri in the south in Mysore. They are called by the historians the Western Calukyas of Bādāmi. (2) The Calukyas of Vēṅgi. They were a branch of the Calukyas of Vātāpi, who established themselves in the Andhra country early in the seventh century. They enjoyed undisputed and uninterrupted sovereignty in the Eastern Deccan, from about 624 A.D. till 1210 A.D. for well-nigh six centuries. (3) The Calukyas of Kalyāṇ or Kalyāṇa-Kaṭaka. The family rose to power overthrowing the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the last quarter of the tenth century and reigned for about two centuries, till the dawn of the thirteenth century. This branch is believed to have descended from the earlier dynasty, the Western Calukyas of Bādāmi, whose power was interrupted by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkhed for nearly two centuries. To the historians both these dynasties are known as the Western Calukyas. Lastly, (4) comes the Caulukya family of Gujerat or Anhilwad. They were a subordinate family and were probably scions of the parent family of Vātāpi. Besides these well-known four families, there were also the later-day

[4] E. I., Vol. XX, p. 16ff. See Insc. Nos. A-2, C-2, C-3 and G. The term Virūpākha (Sanskrit: Virūpākṣa) seems to indicate here a host of snakes of which Skanda—another name for Mahāsēna or Kārttikeya—is the lord and the leader. The word occurs in an ancient snake charm. See *Vinaya Piṭaka* (ed. Oldenberg), Vol. II, p. 110; *S.B.E.*, Vol. XX, p. 76.

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Solankis of Bundelkhand in Rajaputana. With this family we have nothing to do and for the purposes of our enquiry they might be left out. Thus there were only two main families of the Calukyas, the Western Calukyas of Bādāmi or Kuntala and the Eastern Calukyas or the Eastern Calukyas of Vēṅgi as they are also called.

In the formal preambles of the records of the Calukyas of both the Western and Eastern branches appear certain epithets, which seem to record the legendary history or the mythical origin of the family. These preambles were not settled in one generation: they were evolved in the course of two or three generations. The complete and finally settled form of the preamble appears for the first time in the Hyderabad grant of Pulikesin II, of 613 A.D., which with only verbal differences was adopted in all later charters of the family. It speaks of the family of the Calukyas "who are glorious, who are of the Mānavya *gotra*, which is praised throughout the whole world; who are Hārītiputras; who have been nourished by the Seven Mothers, who are the Seven Mothers of Mankind; who have acquired an uninterrupted continuity of prosperity through the favour and protection of Kārttikeya; and who have had all kings made subject to them at the sight of the Boar-crest which they acquired through the favour of god Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu)." The earlier records of the family, however, contain some differences, and these only go to show how the formal *praśasti* came to be framed and altered as time passed and as the power of the family increased. Thus the Bādāmi cave inscription of the time of Kīrttivarman I, of 578 A.D., speaks of them as also meditating on the feet of the holy *Svāmin*, *i.e.*, probably Mahāsēna and as having their heads purified by ablutions performed after celebrating the Agniṣṭoma, Agnicayana, Vājapeya, Pauṇḍarika, Bahusuvarṇa and Aśvamedha sacrifices. [5] The Mahākūṭa Pillar inscription of Mangaleśa, dated

[5] I.A., Vol. VI, p. 363.

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in 602 A.D., represents them as meditating on the feet of their parents. [6] The Nerūr record of the same king speaks of them as meditating on the feet of Mahāsēna, which statement is repeated in the Satārā grant of Yuvarāja Viṣṇuvardhana. [7]

The records of the Eastern branch of the family contain, however, a verbal variation of the preambles of their cousins at Vātāpi, which became finally settled in the course of two or three generations after the establishment of their power in Andhradesa. The Timmapuram grant of Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana which is the earliest record of the family speaks of the Calukyas " as the descendants of Hārīti; as belonging to the Mānavya *gotra*; as being protected by the Mātṛs, the Mothers of the worlds ; as having been rendered prosperous by the *Svāmin* Mahāsēna, who by his own hand defeated the arms of the sons of Danu, " *i.e.*, Dānavas. [8] The next record in the order is the Polamūru grant of Jayasiṃha I, which introduces the epithet *aśvamedhayājināṁ*, " the performers of Aśvamedha sacrifices," for the first time. [9] The Peda Vegi grant of the same king introduces some more variations. It describes the Calukyas who are glorious; who are the embodiment of all the rare and excellent virtues; who have occupied the whole earth (meaning the kingdom) by the fierce prowess of their own arms ; who have obtained the sovereignty of the entire earth, *i.e.*, kingdom through the favour of the god Śaktidhara (Kārttikeya); who are protected by the group of divine Mothers; who are purified by the final bath at the close of the Aśvamedha sacrifice; who are the worshippers at the feet of their parents." [10] But the fully developed *praśasti* which was adopted without any variations

6 *Ibid*, Vol. XIX, p. 18.
7 *Ibid*, Vol. XIX, p. 310.
8 E.I., Vol. IX, p. 317.
9 E.I., Vol. XIX, p. 258.
10 E.I., Vol. XIX.

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in all the later charters of the family appears for the first time in the Koṇḍanāgūru grant of Indravarman who reigned for seven days.[11] The only variation that appears in that record is the substitution of the epithet *Kauśikīvara-prasāda-labdha-rājyānām*, "who have obtained the sovereignty of the kingdom through the excellent favour of the goddess Kauśikī, the consort of Śiva, for the earlier one *sva-bhujavikrama-ākrānta-sakala-mahībhujām*, "who have occupied the whole earth by the strength of their own arms."

These formal preambles, as far as they go, do not give any definite clue about the origin or the original home of the Calukyas. Some of these Brahmanical ideas and practices the Calukyas seem to borrow from their predecessors, the Ikṣvākus, the Kadambas and their own contemporaries the Viṣṇukuṇḍins of Andhradesa. The Ikṣvākus were the earliest among them, and they were adepts in Brahmanism. They were the first to revive the Vedic rites and rituals. The first of their line was described as the offerer of the Agnihotra, Agniṣṭōma, Vājapeya and Aśvamedha sacrifices and the performer of gifts like Hiraṇya-koṭi, Go-Śata-sahasra and the like.[12] Thus the earliest records of the Calukyas do not furnish any clue to trace the origin and the original home of the family, though they seem to indicate in a faint manner that the family was of southern origin.

In later times the preambles of the formal charters underwent an elaborate revision which involved the inclusion of a legendary history embodying a variety of inventions devised in order to account for certain appellations the origin of which had been forgotten and the events of which no accurate memory had been preserved. These inventions refer the origin of the Calukyas to Ayodhya, and assign them to the Candravaṃsa or the lunar race, in the family of the god

[11] E.I., Vol. XVIII, p. 1.
[12] E. I., Vol. XX, pp. 16-17, Insc. C-3.

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Brahman, who sprang up from the lotus that grew from the blessed Viṣṇu's navel. The earliest of such inventions is to be found in the records of the Western Calukyas, in the Kauthem grant of Vikramāditya V, dated in 1009 A.D. The record states that "fifty-nine kings of the Calukya family reigned in Ayodhya, and after them sixteen more ruled in the Deccan or Dakṣināpatha; there was then a temporary break in their power; and that it was eventually restored by a prince named Jayasiṃha I."[13] Another inscription of the time of Jayasiṃha II, at Balagamve in Mysore, dated in 1010 A.D. describes in a similar manner that "fifty-nine kings reigned in Ayodhya, and subsequently in their lineage there was born one Satyāśraya, through them the family of Brahman came to be called the family of Satyāśraya."[14] Another record of 1025-26 from Kalyan in Dharwar district, describes that the "mind-born son of Brahman was Svayambhu-Manu; his son was Mānavya, from whom came all those who belong to the Mānavya gotra; Mānavya's son was Hārita; his son was Pancāśikhi-Hārīti; and the son of the latter was Calukya, from whom sprang the race of Calukyas."[15] Next in the order come two inscriptions of the time of Vikramāditya VI, at Gadag and Kalige respectively, which tell us that the Calukyas belonged to the race of Soma (Moon), who was born of the eye of Atri, who was the son of the god Brahman.[16] And a later inscription of the same reign at Haṇḍarike in the Nizam's dominions, introduces for the first time a popular etymology of the family name. It gives the following account. From Viṣṇu's navel sprang up a lotus, in which was born Hiraṇyagarbha-Brahman; his son was Manu; his son was Māṇḍavya; his son was Hārīta and his son was Hārīti-Pañcāśikha; when he was pouring out a libation to the gods, a certain Viṣṇu-

13 I. A., Vol. XVI, p. 21.
14 I. A., Vol. V, p. 17.
15 *Carn. Des. Insc.*, Vol. I, p. 278.
16 I. A., Vol. XXI, p. 167.

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vardhana-Vijayāditya, apparently a confusion of two names or possibly an imaginary person, arose and having conquered his enemies appropriated their territories; thereafter there reigned fifty-nine kings commencing with Satyāśraya who reigned in Ayodhya; that after him came Jayasiṃha; that he was succeeded by sixteen kings; and after him came the Raṭṭas or the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who ruled the earth.[17]

A somewhat different account of the legendary origin of the Calukyas is given by the poet Bilhana who flourished at the court of Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI as the *Vidyāpati*, in his *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*.[18] On one occasion when the god Brahman was engaged in his morning *Sandhyā* devotions, Indra came to him and complained of the growing godlessness on earth, on account of which no man performed the Brahmanical sacrifices and rites or offered oblations to the gods, and prayed him to put an end to it by creating a hero who would be able to destroy the wicked people. Thereupon, being entreated by the king of the gods, Brahman looked at his *culka*, *i.e.*, the hollow of his palm where he held water for pouring out libation. From it there sprang up a powerful warrior, fit to protect the three worlds. From him who was born of the *culka* or *culuka*, descended the Calukyas, a race of heroes. There was Hārīta among them, who was regarded as the progenitor; and there was Mānavya as well, who humbled the pride of wicked kings on earth; and the Calukyas regarded him, *i.e.*, Mānavya as the founder of their *gotra* or clan. The original home of the Calukyas was Ayodhya; in course of time they migrated to Dakṣināpatha and acquired a kingdom.

The earliest, most elaborate and complete account of the origin of the Calukyas is to be found in the Raṇastipūṇḍi

[17] *Carn. Des. Insc.*, Vol. I, p. 642. Another inscription at the same place represents Māṇḍavya as the son of Hārita; Pancasikha as the son of Māṇḍavya; and the Calukyas as the descendants of Pancasikha. See I. A., Vol. XIV, p. 21.

[18] I. A., Vol. V, p. 317.

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grant of Vimalāditya, dated in 1019 A.D., of the Eastern branch.[19] The preamble consists of two parts: the legendary account which is an elaborate statement of the earlier preamble and a mythical genealogy. The genealogy given in it begins with the god Brahman, from whom sprang Atri. From him arose Soma, the founder of a race called Soma-vaṁśa. From Soma, *i.e.*, Chandra was born Budha, from him Purūravā; from him Āyu; from him Nahuṣa; from him Yayāti; from him Puru; from him Janamejaya; and so on. The last of them was Udayana, son of Śatānīka. Then without specification of any names, it is stated that fifty-nine kings including Udayana reigned in Ayodhya in uninterrupted succession. At that point Vijayāditya, a prince of that family, came to Dakṣināpatha with the desire to conquer it and carve out a kingdom for himself. He attacked Trilocana-Pallava, but through ill luck perished on the battle-field. Through his death there was a temporary obscuration of the power of the Calukyas till it was restored by his posthumous son Viṣṇuvardhana. During the battle, Vijayāditya's queen Mahādevī, who was pregnant, escaped with the help of or rather together with her husband's aged ministers and family priest (*purohita*) and reached an *agrahāra* called Muḍivemu. There being protected like his own daughter by Viṣṇubhaṭṭa-Somayājin, a great Brahman saint who dwelt there, she gave birth to a son who was named Viṣṇuvardhana, on account of his having been nourished by the Brahman Viṣṇubhaṭṭa. Queen Mahādevī brought up her young son under the protecting care of Viṣṇubhaṭṭa-Somayājin. She caused to be performed for her son the rites that were suitable to his descent from the double *gotra*, of those, who belonged to the *gotra* of Mānavya and who were the sons of Hārīti. And the prince, having learnt from his mother, the events that led to the disastrous end of his

[19] E. I., Vol. VI.

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father, set out to worship Nandā, the blessed Gaurī, on the mountain Calukya-giri. There he appeased the Sapta-Mātṛkās and the god Mahāsena. Through the favour of the blessed Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) he obtained the *Varāha-lāñchana* or the Boar-crest, and acquired a kingdom through the favour of the goddess Kauśikī, the consort of Śiva. Viṣṇuvardhana then assumed the insignia of royalty that was in abeyance in his family for a long time, conquered the Kadambas, Gangas and other kings, and established himself as emperor of all the regions of the south or Daksiṇā-patha, containing seven and a half lakh of villages lying between the Setu (Adam's Bridge) on the south and the river Narmadā on the north. Viṣṇuvardhana's son was Vijayāditya (II); his son was Pulikesin I.

The above-mentioned legends give us a distinctly clear idea that the early Calukyas came into power as a Brahmanical family or to be more accurate as a family following the Brahmanical creed, during the last decade of the fifth century, or perhaps a little later in Dakṣiṇāpatha, and that they gradually rose to power by breaking up the confederacy of the mighty Kadamba power in Kuntala. From the above legends we also gather a certain amount of foundation for the fact that the early Calukyas were also at war with the great power of the Pallavas of Kāñcī. It might not be after all that these legends were invented as some scholars opine, when the pedigrees for the great reigning houses of Dakṣiṇāpatha were sought to be devised during the eleventh century with the intention of glorifying themselves and their ancestors. It might be on the other hand that these legends were gathered from imperfect memories and recorded quite independently, for the first time during the eleventh century in two different parts of the Deccan. It is quite possible that there was no collaboration between the panegyrists of the two houses of the Calukyas, on the West and on the East of the Deccan in collecting the legends and record-

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ing them. For these reasons, therefore, these legends seem to contain an imperfect historical tradition or account of the origin of the family which was completely forgotten through the lapse of time and events of which no accurate memory had been preserved. These legends and events may, therefore, appear to be confused, vague and even conflicting ; but on that account they should not be rejected as absolutely worthless and imaginary. They seem to contain, nevertheless, the foundations for the historical origin of the family, though in a very crude form. Let us, therefore, investigate and sift the historical material from this ore of myths, legends and traditions.

The traditional accounts recorded in the charters of the two branches of the family as well as those narrated in literature have all to be taken together, for the traditions of the Western Calukyas seem to supplement the legends and accounts preserved by the Eastern branch. When these two sets of accounts are put together, five outstanding events stand out apparently as historical facts. They are firstly, the migration of a family from Ayodhya, after fifty-nine kings had ruled there, to some place in Dakṣiṇāpatha ; secondly, the rule of sixteen kings of that family in the Deccan ; thirdly, obscuration of the fortunes of the family and the attempt by Vijayāditya to conquer for himself a kingdom ; fourthly, his disastrous end in the battle at the hands of Trilocana-Pallava ; and fifthly the rise of Viṣṇuvardhana, which led to the establishment of an independent kingdom with its capital at Vātāpi by Pulikesin I. There is nothing in these facts which renders them improbable or incredible as historical events. Let us, therefore, examine these events more closely in the light of the contemporary history so far as it is known to us.

The earliest authentic names of the Calukyas of Bādāmi who are the original stock from which all the other branches sprang up, are those of Jayasiṃha I and his son Raṇa-

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rāga ; and yet we have no records of their period. Raṇarāga's son was Pulikesin I, who is regarded by both the Western and Eastern families as the founder of the house. According to a passage in the Kauthem grant of 1009 A.D., Jayasiṃha I, grandfather of Pulikesin I, restored the sovereignty of the Calukyas after a period of obscuration, and did so by conquering a certain Rāṣṭrakūta king Indra son of Kṛṣṇa, who had an army of eight hundred elephants.[20] The reference to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas is doubtless an anachronism. There were no Rāṣṭrakūtas in the period to which Jayasiṃha I belonged. But if we accept the restoration of the glory of the Calukya family by Jayasiṃha I as a historical possibility and a fact, then we may have to substitute the Kadambas or their numerous confederates or subordinates for the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The early Calukya princes might be subordinate military officers or feudal lords, who roused by spirit of adventure like many of their contemporaries, took advantage of the troubled condition of the country, rebelled against their overlords, encroached upon the territories of their neighbours and after a period of obscuration of their fortunes carved out a small independent kingdom with their capital at Bādāmi or Vātāpi by conquering the declining Kadambas and their confederates. Such a position alone which have paved the way for the rise of Pulikesin I, who acquired a small territory from the Kadambas of Banawasi (Vanavāsa or Vaijayanti) and established an independent kingdom in Kuntala. It is probable that neither Jayasiṃha I nor his son Raṇarāga ever enjoyed any semblance of sovereignty, but that it was Pulikesin I, who first acquired it. This fact is clearly indicated by the title *Mahārāja* being

20 Text lines 15-16.

यो राष्ट्रकुटकुलमिन्द्र इति प्रसिद्धं कृष्णाह्वयस्य सुतमष्टशतेभ ।

सैन्यं निर्जित्य दग्धमृप पञ्चशती बभार भूयास्य तुष्यात्कुलवल्लभराज्यलक्ष्मीम् ॥

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attached to his name in the records of the family from the time of Pulikesin II. Pulikesin I, therefore, may be taken to be the first king of the dynasty; and the manner in which the pedigree given in the records of his successors commences with his name, shows that he was looked upon as the real founder of the family. Dr. Fleet fixed the initial date of this king in 550 A.D. approximately reckoning back from the known commencement of his successor's reign in 566 A.D.[21] It is a fairly good date and we shall proceed on that assumption for the present.

The ancestors of Pulikesin I, Jayasiṃha I and Raṇarāga cannot altogether be rejected as mythical persons, though some scholars doubt whether Raṇarāga was a real name and not a *biruda* and reject the tradition that places him and his father Jayasiṃha I above Pulikesin I as utterly imperfect if not wholly untrustworthy. In addition to this they also hold that considerable embarrassment is caused by the traditional account that appears in the records of the Eastern branch beginning with the Raṇastipūṇḍi grant of Vimalāditya, which connects the historical king Pulikesin I with the legendary hero Vijayāditya who fell on the battlefield at the hands of Trilocana-Pallava. According to the Eastern tradition, Pulikesin I is the son of Vijayāditya (II), grandson of Viṣṇuvardhana and great-grandson of Vijayāditya (I). Despite this, what appears to be an irreconcilable discrepancy at the outset, between the dynastic lists of the Early Calukyas of Vātāpi and the list given in the grant of the Eastern Branch dated in 1019 A.D., is not really so, but can be easily explained.

[21] *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 343. The known date is that of his son, which is available from a dated record of his reign. It is the Vaiṣṇava cave inscription dated in the twelfth year of Kīrtivarman I, on the full-moon day of Karttika, S. S. 500, expired corresponding to the 31st October, 578 A.D. (I. A., Vol. III, p. 305.)

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The dynastic lists are :

Vātāpi (Bādāmi)	Rājamahendram
*	1. Vijayāditya (I)
1. Jayasiṃha (I)	2. Viṣṇuvardhana.
2. Raṇarāga	3. Vijayāditya (II).
3. Pulikesin I.	4. Pulikesin I.

The above pedigrees show that the Eastern Calukya tradition of the eleventh century completely ignores Jayasiṃha I and Raṇarāga and substitute the new names Viṣṇuvardhana and Vijayāditya II, in their place. This displacement in the Eastern Calukya lists may not be merely accidental. It might be that the Eastern Calukyas, whose sovereignty in Andhradesa was uninterrupted, revived the unbroken ancient tradition and reconstructed the legendary history of the family in a more lucid and connected manner than their cousins of the west, who confused the entire tradition probably on account of their prolonged obscuration of their power for nearly two centuries by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkhed. It might be that Rāṇarāga was a *biruda* of Vijayāditya II and similarly Jayasiṃha was the real name of Viṣṇuvardhana, which appellation, meaning 'one who has been nourished by Viṣṇubhaṭṭa', might be also an epithet. Moreover, it cannot be held that the name Jayasiṃha was either utterly unknown to or entirely rejected by, the Eastern branch of the Calukyas. At the same time it is interesting to find that the two names Viṣṇuvardhana and Vijayāditya appear also in the lists of the kings of Bādāmi. The younger brother of Pulikesin II was Viṣṇuvardhana, who became the founder of the Eastern branch in Andhradesa, and Vijayāditya was the name of the great-grandson of Pulikesin II. That these two names were held in great esteem by the Western branch is best illustrated by a statement that appears in the Kauthem grant

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of Vikramāditya V, which describes the Calukyas as being known by the special names Viṣṇuvardhana and Vijayāditya. There might be some reason which cannot be discovered now for the Eastern Calukyas to have displaced the names of Jayasiṃha and Raṇarāga and substituted Viṣṇuvardhana and Vijayāditya in the beginning of their pedigree. Thus we may identify Viṣṇuvardhana of the Eastern branch with Jayasiṃha of the Vātāpi family, and similarly Vijayāditya II with Raṇarāga and thus solve the difficulty. It is interesting to note that while the Western tradition altogether omits any reference to Vijayāditya (I) and his disastrous encounter with Trilocana-Pallava, the Eastern Calukya tradition mentions it and speaks of Vijayāditya I as the first prince who attempted to carve out a kingdom for himself in the Deccan. The reason for this omission in the Western tradition may not be accidental: the early kings of the Western branch of Vātāpi must have had good reasons for their omission of all reference to that prince.

By the above identification we are able to arrive at a date which fixes pretty closely the age of the first adventurer Vijayāditya (I) and his death at the hands of Trilocana-Pallava. The synchronism found in the Eastern Calukya tradition makes Trilocana-Pallava a contemporary of Vijayāditya (I). The last-named prince was the great-grandfather of Pulikesin I, for whom we have accepted 550 A.D. as the probable initial date. That year might be the approximate date in which he attained the dignity of a supreme king and crowned himself as such in his capital Vātāpi. Considering the fact that he might be the first king of his house, it may not be unreasonable to assume that he commenced his conquests prior to the consolidation of the kingdom, from about 540 A.D. If then we allot a period of twenty-five years to each of the two predecessors of Pulikesin I, even though they might not have actually reigned as paramount kings, but spent their lives in fighting incessantly for establishing an

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independent kingdom for themselves, we have to deduct a period of forty-five or fifty years from 540 A.D. to arrive at the probable initial date of Viṣṇuvardhana. This year *circa* 495 A.D. becomes approximately the date about which, the first Calukya prince, be he Jayasiṃha (I) or Viṣṇuvardhana, restored the fallen glory of the house which had been in abeyance since the death of his father in the battle with Trilocana-Pallava. Viṣhnuvardhana was not born at the date of his father's death ; he was a posthumous child. It will not be unreasonable therefore if we assume that he was thirty-five or forty years old when he was able to conquer the enemies of his house and acquire a small principality for himself. And it will be remembered that the period of the obscuration of the fortunes of the Early Calukyas, commencing with the death of Vijayāditya on the battlefield and closing with the rise of Viṣṇuvardhana to power, seems to have synchronised with the glorious reign of Trilocana-Pallava, who as his name plainly indicates, was the Pallava king of Kāñcī at this period. It is no doubt true that his identity, nay even his historicity, are doubted by some scholars. But the volume of evidence preserved in the traditions of the land as well as references to him in numerous inscriptions of the Andhra country ranging from the seventh century onwards is so convincing that the conclusion that he was a great historical personage, like Karikāla Cola and Vijayāditya, is irresistible. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, in an excellent monograph has established the historicity of the three great personages in the early history of the ancient Deccan, namely Karikāla Cola, Trilocana-Pallava and Vijayāditya the first Calukya adventurer.[22] Elsewhere it has been shown by me that Trilocana-Pallava was a Pallava king of Kāñcī who was more or less a contemporary of the Western Ganga king

22 Trilocana-Pallava and Karikāla Cola.

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Mādhava II, of the Penugonda plates.[23] It is for the present, therefore, assumed that Trilocana-Pallava was a genuine Pallava king, though his identity has remained somewhat obscure. The date of the early Calukya adventurer may, therefore, be properly fixed in about the middle of the fifth century, pretty closely on 465 A.D. This date is in approximate agreement with the date assigned to Trilocana-Pallava by Dr. Venkataramanayya.[24] Vijayāditya rebelled against Trilocana-Pallava about 465 A.D. and died on the battlefield. And roughly three decades after, his posthumous son, Viṣṇuvardhana-Jayasiṃha I, rose and restored the fortunes of his house.

Having now fixed the probable initial date of Vijayāditya we shall now proceed to determine the original home and the origin of the Calukyas. The battle between Trilocana-Pallava and Vijayāditya seems to have taken place somewhere in the Southern Andhra country. It appears that Vijayāditya took advantage of the disturbed political condition of the Andhra country at that period and rose in rebellion with the intention of carving out an independent principality for himself. This view finds support in the Eastern Calukya tradition itself, which contains a reference to Vijayāditya's going forth to Dakṣiṇāpatha in quest of conquest, and his untimely death on the battlefield in his encounter with Trilocana-Pallava. The Eastern Calukya tradition further states that Vijayāditya's queen escaped from the battlefield to a place called Muḍivemu-agrahāra, together with his husband's aged ministers and family priest. Muḍivemu has been correctly identified with Peda-Muḍiyam on the Kunderu, a stream in Jammalamaḍugu taluk in the extreme north of the Cuddapah district.[25] The scene

[23] *Early Dynasties of Andhradesa*, 200-625 A.D. (in the press).

[24] Trilocana-Pallava and Karikāla Cola, p. 44. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya fixes the date of the battle between Trilocana-Pallava and Vijayaditya in 486 A.D.

[25] A.R., No. 350 of 1305, A.R.E., 1906, p. 61. The inscription describes Peda-Muḍiyam as " the jewel of villages, the great *agrahāra* which had been in existence

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of the battle where Vijayāditya fell, therefore, must be somewhere in the Kurnool district which is immediately to the north of the Cuddapah district or more probably in the Nalgonda or Mahaboobnagar (Panagal) district in the Nizam's Dominions on the other side of the Krishna river. It is not improbable that the queen of Vijayāditya as soon as she received the news of her lord's death crossed the Krishna river and fled southwards to Muḍivemu for her safety. If we discard the story of Vijayāditya's coming into Dakṣiṇāpatha from somewhere—there are sufficient reasons for this inference in the tradition itself—then it appears that Vijayāditya's home lay somewhere in the Southern or South-western Andhra country, in the region lying on either banks of the Krishna river. That part of the tradition which states that sixteen kings ruled in Dakṣiṇāpatha and that thereafter there was an obscuration in the fortunes of the family *lasting several generations* till the restoration by Jayasiṃha I, induces us to make a plausible conjecture that Vijayāditya and his ancestors were already in the Deccan and presumably in the Andhra country for several generations past, enjoying some semblance of military authority as feudal lords or subordinate chiefs.

Let us now see whether this hypothesis finds support in the early history of the country and other materials. The family name *Calukya* seems to furnish the clue for further investigation. The term is no doubt a Sanskritised form of an earlier word; and in the attempt to explain the term by the panegyrists of the later courts, the story which the *Vidyāpati* Bilhana recorded was invented. The story of the springing up of a hero from whom came the race of

for four ages, where resided one hundred and fifty Brahmans, who were well versed in Vedas, Puranas, etc., who were engaged in penance and devotion to the divine Nārāyaṇa; which was the lotus tank, as it were, in which Mahārājādhirāja Viṣṇuvardhana and others had their birth." The credit of having identified Peda-Muḍiyam with Muḍivemu goes to Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu,

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Calukyas, from out of the *culuka* or *culka* of god Brahman may easily be rejected as utterly unworthy of any credence. That may be the popular etymology, which has no value for the student of history. It is, therefore, necessary to look to the pre-Sanskritised form or forms of the family and trace the etymology of the term. In the records of the Western branch, the name of the family appears variously as *Calkya*, *Calikya*, *Caḷikya* and *Calukya*; and the earliest of these forms is Calkya, which appears in the Bādāmi Vaiṣṇava cave Sanskrit inscription of Kīrttivarman I, dated in 578 A.D.[26] The next form is *Caḷikya* with the Dravidian *ḷ* which appears in the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of Mangaleśa of 602 A.D.[27] Next comes *Calikya* with the ordinary *l* in the undated Nerur grant of the same king.[28] Then comes *Calukya*, which was finally adopted; and it occurs for the first time in the Aihole inscription of Satyāśraya-Pulikesin II, dated in 634-35 A.D.[29] Thereafter, we have the exceptional form *Calukki* in the Nausari grant of the Calukya king Avanijanāśraya Pulikesin of Gujarat.[30] In a similar manner the family name of the Eastern branch occurs in the charters of the early period, but there is a slight variation in the later forms. In the early period it appears as *Calikya* with the ordinary *l*[31] and also as *Calukya*.[32] But from the middle of the seventh century onwards the dynastic name appears as Cālukya with long *a* in the first syllable and ordinary *l* in the second syllable,[33] and also as Caḷukya with Dravidian *ḷ* in the second syllable.[34]

26 I.A., Vol. VI, p. 363, text lines 3-4.

27 *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 16, text line 2.

28 *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 162, text line 2.

29 E.I., Vol. VI, p. 1, text lines 1-2; I.A., Vol. VII, p. 241.

30 *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Orientalists*, p. 232, line 34.

31 I.A., Vol. XIX, p. 303, text line 3.

32 *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, p. 15, text line 4.

33 E.I., Vol. XIX, p. 258, text line 5.

34 *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 1, text line 6.

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In the Ahadanakaram grant of Viṣṇuvardhana IV of the eighth century A.D., there occurs for the first time the form *Cāḷukya*, with the long *a* in the first syllable and the Dravidian *ḷ* in the second syllable.[35] In the Penukaparru plates of Jayasiṃha II, there occurs however, the exceptional form *Caḷikya* with the Dravidian *ḷ*.[36] Coming to the other later records of the family, beginning with the eighth century onwards we have a variety of interesting forms of the family name: and these are obviously either pre-Sanskirtic or non-Sanskritic appellations. Thus the earliest form is *Caliki* which occurs in the Yelamanchili plates of Kokkili Maharaja of about 709 A.D.[37] Then comes the form *Salukki* with the sibilant *sa* in place of the palatal *ca* which occurs in the Guntur plates of Guṇaga Vijayāditya III, dated about 860 A.D.[38] And almost contemporaneously with the above appears the form *Saluke* in the Sataluru grant of the same monarch.[39] A somewhat later variant of the family name is *Salki* which occurs in the Attili plates of Calukya Bhima I, dated in 892 A.D.[40] Another form *Caḷki* with the palatal in the first syllable and the Dravidian *ḷ* in the second syllable appears in an inscription of about 900 A.D., which comes from Nellore district.[41] Still another form of about the same time and place is *Salki* with the sibilant in place of the palatal in the first syllable.[42] The same form *Salki* occurs also in the Bezwada pillar inscription of the time Yuddhamalla II dated in 932 A.D.[43] Still later forms are *Salukki* which occurs in a stone record of the eleventh century,[44] and *Calukki* that

35 I.A., Vol. XIII, p. 185, text lines 5-6.

36 E.I., Vol. XVIII, p. 313, text line 4.

37 C.P., Nos 11 of 1908 (unpublished).

38 C.P., No. 5 of 1911-12.

39 J.A.H.R.S., Vol. V, p. 100 f, text line 21.

40 *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, Vol. XI, text line 4. (Same as C.P., No. 14 of 1917-18.).

41 A.R., No. 430 of 1904. (A.R.E., 1905) Southern Circle.

42 A. R., No. 401 of 1904.

43 E. I., Vol. XV, p. 150, text line 6.

44 A. R., No. 44 of 1895.

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appears in another record of the thirteenth century.[45] Thus the forms *Calki*, *Caliki*, *Caḷiki*, *Calukki* or *Śalukki* occur in almost all the ancient records of the Calukyas of Vātāpi, Vēṅgi and Gujerat in their Kannada, Telugu and Sanskrit inscriptions. This fact, therefore, leads us to the hypothesis that *Caliki* or *Calki* or even perhaps *Caliki* was the original family appellation and that it was Sanskritised gradually in the course of the first few generations as *Calkya*, *Calikya*, *Caḷikya* and finally as *Calukya* or *Cālukya*. These Sanskritised forms occur in the early Sanskrit inscriptions of Kirttivarman I, Mangalesa and Pulikesin II. And in later times when the origin of the family and family name came to be explained and recorded an etymological derivation was sought from the term *Culka* and the story of the Brahman looking into the hollow of his palm whence sprang up a hero who destroyed or who was at any rate a terror to all the evil-doers was invented. We have therefore to reject the popular etymology of the family name. The family name *Caliki* or *Calki* must be taken to be the original form and its etymology must be traced elsewhere. The terms *Calki* or *Caliki* appear doubtless to be ancient Telugu or ancient Tel-Gannada forms. Let us investigate.

We have already suggested that the early Calukyas had their original home in the Southern Andhra country. It may also be said that the ancestors of Vijayāditya, the first Calukya adventurer was connected to the Ikṣvākus of Vijayapurī, though the precise nature of that relationship is not possible yet to determine. The Calukya tradition states that after fifty-nine kings reigned in Ayodhya, sixteen more reigned in Dakṣiṇāpatha and that thereafter there was obscuration of the fortunes of the family. The Ikṣvākus of Andhradesa, at any rate their ancestors, also seem to have been immigrants from the North and Ayodhya, though no accurate account of the

[45] Nellore Inscriptions (Venkatagiri), No. 19.

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course of events of the migration and acquisition of sovereignty in Andhradesa had been preserved in the memory of the people or in the records of their dynasty. The Ikṣvākus or the Sriparvatiyas as they are also called were the Andhra-bhṛtyas who reigned in the eastern part of the Andhra Empire after the parent Andhra dynasty of the Śātavāhanas had decayed and disappeared. The Ikṣavākus were a short-lived dynasty ; and their period has been fixed in the first half of the third century.[46] In the recently discovered inscriptions of the Ikṣvāku dynasty at Nāgārjunakonda, there appear the names of several feudatory families who were rulers of provinces and who were sometimes connected by ties of relationship to the royal family of the Ikṣvākus. One of such feudatory families was that of the Hiraṁṇakas or Hiraṇyakas. The chief of that family was *Mahāsēnāpati, Mahātalavara* Vāsiṭhiputa Khaṁdacaliki-reṁmaṇaka, and his wife Cula Cātisirinika was a daughter of the family of the Kulahakas.[47] The family name Hiraṁnaka (Hiraṇyaka) like another name Pūgīya seems to have been derived from the name of the region over which the family ruled. The term Hiraṇyaka appears to denote the territory known to the students of ancient history of Andhradesa by the name Renādu, 7000 or Hiraṇya-rāṣṭra,[48] and was the ancient name for the region now covered by a major portion of the Cuddapah and Kurnool districts and was bounded by the river Pinākini on the south and the Krishna on the north. The ruler of this province during the

[46] *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, by Dr. D. C. Sircar. See also my forthcoming book, *A History of the Early Dynasties of the Andhradesa*, 200-625 A.D.

[47] E. I., Vol. XX, No. B-4, pp. 18-19.

[48] E I., Vol. XI, pp. 337f. The Malepāḍu plates of Puṇyakumāra refers to the grant of a village in the Hiraṇyarāstra. Numerous inscriptions in archaic Telugu characters in the Cuddapah and Kurnool districts refer to the region by the ancient names Renāḍu, 7000 and Hiraṇyarāstra See postscript on p. 345 *Id*. See also E.I., Vol. XXIV, p. 185

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reign of the emperor Siri Virapurisadata or Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta (c. 220-40 A.D.) was *Mahāsenāpati* Khaṁda-Caliki-remmaṇaka. This name is no doubt a curious compound of three words, *Khaṁda*, *Caliki* and *remmaṇaka*. In the name of this chieftain and in the name of the territory over which he ruled as *Mahāsenāpati* seems to lie the clue for the solution of the problem, namely, the origin of the original home of the early Calukyas. The term khaṁda (Sanskrit: Skanda) is a well known prefix which occurs frequently in the general names of kings and other high personages of the early period. In almost all the personal names of the Ikṣvāku period of persons who held the rank of a *Mahāsenāpati*, *Mahātalavara* or *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, the honorific prefix *Khaṁda* occurs invariably, at any rate frequently. Thus we have the names Khaṁda-Visakha-naga, Khaṁdasāgaranāga and so forth. In the same manner the term *remmaṇaka* which may be a perverted form of the title *raṇaka*, may mean a military or royal rank of the chieftains whose names ends with it. Bereft of the two terms the honorific prefix and suffix, the true personal name of the chief seems to be Caliki. The name coupled with the name of the territory Hiraṇya-(rāṣṭra) or Hiraṇyaka-rāṣṭra over which he was the *Mahāsenāpati* in the middle of the third century induces us to draw the conclusion that the Hiraṇyaka chief, who was a feudatory of the Ikṣvāku emperor Śri Vīrapuruṣadatta, was a probable ancestor of the later Calukyas whose family name appears in the early stages as merely *Caliki* or *Calki*. There seems nothing improbable in this conjecture for, the interval between the date of the Hiraṇyaka chief *Mahāsenāpati* Khaṁda Calikiremmaṇaka and the date of the rise of the first Calukya adventurer, which is roughly a little over two centuries may reasonably and possibly cover the sixteen generations of rulers in Dakṣiṇāpatha and an unspecified period of obscuration of the fortunes of the house according to the tradition. At the same time it is also possible to assume that Khaṁda-Caliki was one of the

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sixteen princes and not necessarily the first of them who ruled over a petty principality in the Deccan.

Prof. Sten Konow gives, however, a novel interpretation for the name Khaṁdacalikiremmaṇaka.[49] He explains the compound as if it is a Kanarese word. He writes, "Thus Kanda names 'child' in Kanarese and Chali, 'cold.' Chalikiremmaṇaka probably is Chalikiranaka = 'Moon'." This interpretation is apparently based upon the erroneous presumption that the home tongue of the people of the Kistna district, who employed a "normalised semi-literary Prakrit," was Dravidian, probably Kanarese. Prof. Sten Konow's interpretation is on the face of it, fanciful. In the first place the home tongue of the people of the Kistna district which lies in the heart of the Andhra country was at no period of the history of the land, Kanarese; it has been always Telugu. But whether it is Telugu or Kanarese it is quite immaterial for our purpose. Secondly, the name Khaṁadacalikiremmanaka becomes an irregular compound, consisting of Kanarese or Telugu and Sanskrit or Prakrit words, if we are to accept Prof. Sten Konow's interpretation. Khaṁda is plainly Skanda and does not stand for *ḳanda* 'a child' in the Kanarese language, or *ḳandu*, 'tender,' 'red,' 'beautiful' or a 'child' in the Telugu language. Even apart from this Prof. Sten Konow is unable to explain the word *anaka*: and at the same time he is extremely doubtful of the correctness or plausibility of his interpretation for this single name. It is absurd, therefore, to attempt to explain the name Khaṁdacalikiremmanaka by splitting it up in an irregular manner and give us a fanciful meaning to the whole compound. The entire name has to be taken and interpeted as Khaṁdacaliki or Skanda Caliki the *raṇaka*, the terms *Skanda* and *raṇaka* being more honorific prefix and suffix respectively of the personal name Caliki.

[49] E. I., Vol. XX, p. 25-26.

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Then there is the statement in the Eastern Calukya tradition which describes that certain rites that were suitable to his descent from the double gotra of those who belonged to the gotra of Manavya and were of the sons of Hāriti, were performed to the posthumous prince Viṣṇuvardhana. The statement is interesting and seems to record an important historical fact. There must be some reasons which has been forgotten in the lapse of time for the performance of rites that were suitable to Viṣṇuvardhana's descent from the double *gotra* of Mānavya and Hārīta. It is probable that the Calukya prince traced descent from the two illustrious royal houses of the ancient Deccan, the Kadambas of the Mānavya gotra and the Ikṣvākus of the Hārīta gotra.[50] It is apparently for this reason that the Calukyas adopted the lineage of the Kadambas as well as that of the Ikṣvākus.

Thus the foregoing study of the legends and the traditional accounts of the Calukyas of the West and East, enables us to arrive at the conclusion that the ancestors of the first Calukya prince Vijayāditya were rulers of tracts in the Southern Andhra country and that the homeland of Vijayāditya was the district known as Hiraṇyarāṣṭra on the southern bank of the Krishna river. The ancestors of Vijayāditya migrated to south and acquired a territory which was known as Hiraṇyarāṣṭra and ruled first as the subordinates of the Imperial Andhras, and after their fall as the subordinates of the Ikṣvākus, with the titles *Mahāsenāpati* and *Mahātalavara*. The Calukyas, therefore, were of southern extraction; they were originally Andhras and their homeland lay in the Andhra country. The early Calukya adventurer attempted to carve out a kingdom in the heart of the Pallava dominions in the Andhra country. When his attempt failed and when it was not apparently possible to acquire an independent kingdom in Andhradesa itself, the descendants of

50 Indian Culture, Vol. IV.

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Vijayāditya, Viṣṇuvardhana-Jayasiṃha and Vijayāditya-Ranarāga, slowly moved westwards and having overpowered their weak neighbours, the Nalas and the Mauryas, wrested a small territory round Vātāpi in Kuntala from the declining Kadambas and founded a kingdom of their own. And it will be seen that at the earliest opportunity, one of them, Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana, a younger brother of Pulikesin II conquered, the Andhra country, and established himself as the supreme lord of the original homeland of his ancestors.

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9

THE CONTEMPORANEITY OF CANDRAGUPTA AND KANISKA

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The Tibetan Lāmā Sumpa Khan-Po, who flourished in the beginning of the 18th century A.D., was greatly respected for his learning by the then Emperor of China. The Lean Skya, who presided at the head of the Labrang Church, commanded that all the Tibetan books on Buddhism extant in China should be revised by Sumpa which he did to the great satisfaction of all. Sumpa thus had ample opportunities to collect materials from ancient works for his history of the rise, progress and downfall of Buddhism in India entitled ' Pag Sam Jon Zang 'compiled in A.D. 1745.

The ' Pag Sam Jon Zang ' (edited by the late Sarat-chandra Dass, p. 91) says that King Candragupta and his brother's son Sri Candra built a monastery and a temple and 14 chapels in Nālandā and worshipped Ācārya Maṭṛceṭa *alias* Maticitra, Aśvaghoṣa, Kṛṣṇa, etc., and Upādhyāya Rāhula, the Junior. Regarding Aśvaghoṣa it is said that in his youth he was a *Siddha* of Mahādeva and by his grace became a great master of the Tirthika lores. As for this Mahādeva we read in Kern's Manual of Buddhism : " A third apostle was Mahādeva who conferred the Pravrajyā on Mahendra . . . The name of this worthy is known to the North Buddhists also, but with them he appears in another light. He is remembered as a great Sceptic, a

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kind of Mephistopheles who by his destructive criticism caused dissension in the brotherhood, much to the prejudice of the true faith.'' At first Aśvaghoṣa won victories in his controversies with the Buddhist Panditas, but later on he was defeated thrice in three controversies by Ācārya Ārya Deva and was thereupon converted to the true (Buddhist) faith.

According to the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang also (Watters, Yuan Chwang, Vol. II, pp. 101-02) Maticitra *alias* Aśvaghoṣa was a contemporary of Deva or Ārya Deva.

In the Pag Sam we again read that at the time when the above-mentioned Candragupta was ruling in the Eastern country (Prācya), there was a king towards the West—Delhi and Malwa—called Kanika (=Kaṇiṣka) who opened 28 mines of precious metals and worshipped more than 30,000 priests of the Mahāyāna sect. He invited the Buddhist monk Aśvaghoṣa who being too old could not go, but sent a letter through his disciple Jnānayaśas. ' Mahārāja-Kanika-lekha ' is the title of the letter, the Sanskrit original of which is now lost but a Tibetan version is embodied in the Tangyur, Mdo, gi.

As already pointed out by the late *MM.* Satischandra Vidyābhusana, M.A., Ph.D. (' Mahārāja-Kanika-lekha,' J. A. S. B., 1910, pp. 477-81), thereis a covert allusion to Ārya Deva in the following lines of Maticitra's letter to Kanika :— O Deva (king) having acquired talents use them really like Deva (a god, or Ārya Deva); O Deva (king) having known all faults be really faultless like Deva (a god or Ārya Deva).

Now let us see if there is any reference in the ' Mahārāja-Kanika-lekha ' itself on the contemporaneity of Candragupta and Kanika as mentioned in the Pag Sam.

Mr. F. W. Thomas, in his article ' Mahārāja-Kanika-lekha ' (I. A., 1903, pp. 345-60) remarks : '' The epistle contains one and perhaps two other indications which may some day aid in establishing the identity of this king (Kanika). In V. 47 he is clearly described as a northern king and advised

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to add dignity to that region by endowing the temples. In V. 83 the words 'since we cannot look upon the hurtful sun, act O moon of kings like the moon' must to students of Indian poetry suggest a play of words, while another verse (No. 49) seems to speak of the king's family as the 'sun of the Ārya race.' As I am unable to unravel these allusions, I must for the present be content with calling attention to the facts."

From the play of words 'Act O moon of kings like the moon' Dr. Thomas in a footnote raises the following suspicion: 'Can Kanika have been named Candra Kanika or Caṇḍa Kanika?' It seems to me that the plain translation of the line is 'Act O moon of kings (*Rāja candra*) like the moon [Candra(-gupta)],' *i.e.*, Kanika is advised to imitate the good qualities of king Candragupta (II Vikramāditya) his contemporary.

We know from other Buddhist sources that Ārya Deva, the contemporary of Nāgārjuna, was the rector of Nālandā during the reign of the Gupta monarch Candragupta (II Vikramāditya, Sam. 60-93). Kern, on the assumption of the correctness of Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era, threw doubts on this statement: "It cannot be true that Deva or at least this Deva was rector of Nālandā during the reign of the Gupta Candragupta" (Manual of Buddhism, p. 123 f.). Now as Aśvaghoṣa *alias* Maticitra was defeated by Ārya Deva who again defeated Nāgārjuna, evidently Aśvaghoṣa, Aryadeva, Nāgārjuna and Candragupta were contemporaneous.

From Dr. Walleser's 'The Life of Nāgārjuna from Tibetan and Chinese Sources' (reprint from 'Asia Major,' Hirth Anniversary Volume) and from the late Sarat Chandra Dass (J.A.S.B., Vol. 51, pt. 1, 1882, p. 115) we learn that according to the Tibetan historians who wrote on the authority of ancient Indian historians, Nāgārjuna was born . . . *when the dynasty of Aśoka waned and gave place to that of the illustrious Candra,* the first of the Candra(gupta) family.

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Nāgārjuna is also stated by them to have been born a century before Candragupta. The late Sarat Chandra Dass proposed to identify Candragupta with the Maurya king of that name and placed Nāgārjuna about a century after him (*i.e.*, in the 2nd century B.C.). Hence Dr. Walleser rightly remarks that the late Sarat Candra Dass thereby alters his own information, for, '*After the waning of Aśoka's dynasty, during the reign of the illustrious Candra, the first* of the Candra family' shows clearly that it was during the reign of Candragupta I, the first Monarch of the Gupta family that Nāgārjuna was born and this was about a century before Candragupta II's last date (Sam. 93). Dr. Walleser rightly identified Candragupta with Candragupta I of the Gupta dynasty but as Nāgārjuna could not be placed so late as *c.* A.D. 319 (on Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era), he placed Nāgārjuna a century before in about A.D. 200.

According to Buddhist tradition the Third Buddhist Council under venerable Pārśva was held during Kaniṣka's rule, the very year in which Nāgārjuna was born. Wassilief also in his 'Der Buddhismus, etc.' (p. 211), calls Aśvaghoṣa a pupil of Pārśva. I-tsing states Nāgārjuna as a contemporary of Kaniṣka (Sam. 1-23). Another Indian Buddhist tradition places Nāgārjuna as a contemporary of Huviṣka (Sam. 31-60). Again from Rev. S. Beal's 'Succession of Buddhist Patriarchs' (compiled chiefly from Tārānātha's History of Buddha and some Chinese fragments scattered through various books —I.A., Vol. IX, pp. 118-19) we know that Nāgārjuna was a contemporary of Vikramāditya—evidently Candragupta Vikramāditya. There are numerous other pieces of literary and traditional evidence in support of the contemporaneity of the Gupta Vikramādityas and the Imperial Kusanas. M. Foucher also holds independently from 'le temoignage des bas reliefs,' that Aśvaghoṣa lived in the 2nd century after Christ (L' Art Greco-Buddhique, i. 623). The late MM. Satis Chandra Vidyābhushana took Aśvaghoṣa and Kanika

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to be contemporaneous with Candragupta I of the Gupta dynasty but not being in a position to disbelieve Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era, he placed them about A.D. 319. From the above it will be seen that such a late date for Aśvaghoṣa, Kaniṣka, etc., and consequently of the Gupta monarchs is impossible.

From the various Chinese accounts collected by the late Sylvain Levi (Jour. Asiatique, 1896-97, Ser. IX, Vol. VIII, pp. 449-89, also IX, pp. 1-42), Dr. F. W. Thomas concludes ('Mahārāja-Kanika-lekha,' I.A., 1903, pp. 345-60) that they "appear to agree in making Aśvaghoṣa a contemporary of king Kaniṣka and a predecessor of Nāgārjuna [Is it possible that the *ki-ye-to* named in these accounts (VIII, pp. 461-73) = ceṭa?]." Sylvain Levi, however, thinks that Kanika and Kaniṣka are identical. Dr. Thomas, however, doubts this and remarks: "Mr. Levi in the article before cited (Ser., Vol. VIII, pp. 449-51), regards king Kanika as an invention of Tārānātha, at least so far as he is distinguished from Kaniṣka. Even this, however, is not free from difficulty. For the epistle of Mātṛceṭa is addressed to a young man, and certainly we cannot suppose the author already old and infirm, to have subsequently become a courtier of the king, as the stories relate concerning Aśvaghoṣa. Another of the difficulties, which we must raise, however reluctantly concerns the stories of Kaniṣka related in the *Sūtrālaṃkāra* by Aśvaghoṣa himself (Vol. VIII, pp. 452-53). Are we to understand that these are told by a contemporary of his patron king? The abstracts given by M. Levi do not produce that impression; but of this only a Chinese scholar can judge."

The late MM. Satis Chandra Vidyābhusana also draws two conclusions regarding Kanika as follows:—

(*a*) "Kanika is stated in the letter to have belonged to the Kusana family, which though foreign was by this time so far Hinduised that it was described as a section of the solar race.

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So we read : 'Trained by *pravrajita* monks and born in the race of Kusana thou shouldst not defile the creed of the family whose ancestors descended from the noble line of the sun'."

(*b*) "Kanika was not the founder of the Kusana dynasty. That his ancestors reigned in India and professed Buddhism is evident from the following verse of the letter : 'Do thou like thy ancestors rule the earth by righteousness : and do thou advance the religious observances in temples like unto thy ancestors'."

Then MM. Vidyābhusana concludes that "Kanika, king of Delhi and Malwa, must be distinguished from Kaniṣka who ruled in Jalandhara, though both were descended from the Kusana race."

As already noticed by Dr. F. W. Thomas *Mahārāja-Kaniṣka-lekha*, the epistle of Mātṛceṭa *alias* Aśvaghoṣa is addressed to a young king Kanika, and certainly one cannot believe that Aśvaghoṣa, already old and infirm, subsequently became the courtier of Kaniṣka. Another of the difficulties already noticed by Dr. Thomas concerns the stories of Kaniṣka related in the *Sūtrālaṃkāra* of Aśvaghoṣa himself which were told by his patron Kaniṣka. As Aśvaghoṣa, owing to his old age and consequent infirmity, could not accept King Kaniṣka's invitation but sent a letter through his disciple Jnānayaśas, this king Kanika is evidently distinct from Kaniṣka and seems to be Kaniṣka's grandson (*i.e.*, Kaniṣka II).

Aśvaghoṣa in his youth was the courtier of Kaniṣka (Sam. 1-23). In his old age he was the contemporary of Candragupta II Vikramaditya (Sam. 60-93). The last date of Huviṣka was Sam. 60 and the earliest date of Vāsudeva was Sam. 78. It seems king Kanika (or Kaniṣka II), the grandson of Kaniṣka I reigned during the interval from Sam. 61 to Sam. 77, as such Kanika was clearly a contemporary of Candragupta II (Sam. 60-93). Kaniṣka I and Aśvaghoṣa

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in his early life was, therefore, contemporaneous with Candragupta I (Vikramāditya). The contemporaneity of Nāgārjuna with (Candragupta I and II) Vikramāditya and also with Huviṣka (Sam. 31-60), as stated in the tradition comes out to be perfectly true. Kanika or Kaniṣka II seems, therefore, to me to have preceded Vāsudeva and not succeeded him immediately, as suggested by the late R. D. Banerjee ('Notes on Indo-Scythian Coinage,' J. and Proc. A.S.B., 1908, p. 81).

As regards the palaeographic and numismatic evidence in support of the contemporaneity of the Kusanas and the Guptas enough has been said by Dr. R. C. Majumdar in his article on the Kusana Chronology in the Journal of the Department of Letters of the Calcutta University, Vol. I, and also in his article on 'The Date of Kaniṣka' (I.A., 1917, Vol. XLVI, p. 261 ff.). Here I quote a few lines from Dr. Majumdar's last article to show how even accepting the remarkable similarity on palaeographic and numismatic grounds numismats, palaeographists and historians could not dare to reject Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era (A.D. 319):

"Thus Dr. Bühler fully noticed the remarkable similarity of the letters of the Kusana and Gupta periods. But as he was not prepared for its logical consequence he had to maintain the identity of alphabets separated by more than two centuries. The theory, I have advanced, shows that the alphabets of the two periods were similar for the very natural reason that one of them closely followed upon the other.

"Dr. Oldenberg says, 'It is one of the earliest known and best established facts within the sphere of Indian numismatics that this (Kusana coinage) is the place from which the very important coinage of the Gupta Dynasty branches off.' He further added 'that the vacant period between Vāsudeva and the Guptas is already (by placing Kaniṣka in A.D. 78) perhaps greater than might be expected.'

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"Mr. V. A. Smith practically agrees to this when he says, 'The close relationship in weights, types and palaeography between the coins of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty (A.D. 330-480) and those of the Kushān kings, Kaniṣka, Huviṣka and Vāsudeva, is obvious and has always been recognised'."

It was for such reasons as the above that, believing in Fleet's epoch of the Gupte era, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar wanted to place Kaniṣka's accession in A.D. 278 only 40 years before Candragupta I's accession (on Fleet's epoch) and Dr. R. C. Majumdar in A.D. 248. But the 'Catalogues of the Chinese Tripitakas state that An-Shih-kao (A.D. 148-70) translated the Mānga bhūmi-sūtra of Saṅgharakohā who was the Chaplain of Kaniṣka.' This shows conclusively that Kaniṣka as well as his contemporary Candragupta I Vikramāditya flourished long before A.D. 148.

As the Early Great Kusanas are thus seen to be contemporaneous with the Early Imperial Gupta Vikramādityas, Kaniṣka and Candragupta I flourished about 58 B.C. the epoch of the (Gupta) Vikramāditya era.

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10

THE VALABHI RULERS AND THE GUPTA ERA

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It is well-known that the Valabhi rulers used the era of the Gupta Vikramādityas. On Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era (A.D. 318-19) the Valabhi inscriptional dates range from A.D. 524 to 766 (Sam. 206 to 447).

Now the tradition of the origin of the Guhilots is that they descended from the last Śilāditya prince of the Valabhi dynasty. The inscriptional date of the last Śilāditya of Valabhi is Sam. 447, equal to A. D. 766, on Fleet's epoch, before which the Guhilots must have originated. But the earliest prince of the Guhila dynasty for whom a date has been obtained is Guhila Śilāditya and his date is V. S. 703 = A. D. 646, at least a hundred and twenty years earlier than the time of the last available Śilāditya of Valabhi, on Fleet's epoch. This Guhila Śilāditya was again five generations removed from Guhadatta, the founder. This takes Guhadatta to *circa* A. D. 546 and this date again is at least sixty years earlier than the first date of Śilāditya I of Valabhi (Sam. 286 = A.D. 605, on Fleet's epoch). Thus Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar is constrained to remark: "Although thus the statement that the (Mewar) Rānās' family was descended from Śilāditya, the last prince of Valabhi, is not supported by inscriptions, there cannot be any doubt that the Mewar and the Valabhi dynasties were somehow connected." ('Guhilots,' J. A. S. B., 1909, p. 181.)

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Kings from Śilāditya III to Śilāditya VII of Valabhi ruled on Fleet's epoch from A. D. 662 to 766 (Sam. 343 to 447) in Gujarat. But from the Kathiawad plate of Mahārājādhirāja Jaikadeva of Saurāshṭra we know that he was ruling there in A.D. 738 (=V. S. 794). Thus Saurāshṭra was independent even in the time of Valabhi's greatest power according to Fleet's theory, which is impossible. The above plate was issued from Bhūmilikā or Bhumli, the fort in the Barda hills in the centre of Kathiawad. This was the later capital of the Jethvas from about the middle of the 7th century A. D. as shown by Tod and Col. Watson. The plate bears the fish or Makara emblem of the Jethvās. Mr. Jackson (Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. I, p. 137) remarks on this plate : "It should, however, be noted that the names of the ministers and officers which the plate contains give it an air of genuineness. Whether the plate is or is not genuine, it is probably true that Jaikadeva was a great independent sovereign ruling at Bhumli. Though the names of the other kings of the dynasty, the duration of the Bhumli Kingdom, and the details of its history are unknown it may be noted that the dynasty is still represented by the Porbandar Chiefs. Though at present Bhumli is deserted several ruined temples of about the eleventh century stand on its site. It is true no old inscriptions have been found : *it is not less true that no careful search has been made about Bhumli.*"

Another plate (only the second portion) of a king Jainkadeva was found in the Morbi district in Kathiawad. From the mark on the plate and the locality where it was found it is evident that it belongs to the Jethvā kings whose early capital was Morbi before they changed it to Bhumli. The date in this plate is Gupta Sam. 585, the month Phālguna, on the occasion of a solar eclipse. Assuming the Gupta Vikramādītya Samvat to be identical with the Vikrama era the eclipse works out nicely ; whereas, on Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era the eclipse cannot be verified. Moreover, on

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Fleet's epoch the date of the inscription is A.D. 905 which is 167 years later than the previous Bhumli plate. Whereas palaeographically the letters of the Morbi plate is much anterior to the Bhumli plate. This is also supported by the tradition of Morbi being the earlier and Bhumli the later capital of the Jethvās. All this shows that Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era is in error by more than 200 years.

On Fleet's epoch the peirod of Valabhi's greatest power was from the middle of the 7th century to the third quarter of the eighth century. But the absence of any reference on the Kingdom of Valabhi in the accounts of the Arab raids of the seventh and eighth centuries shows that Valabhi's greatest power was attained long before the seventh century A. D. The reference in the Arab accounts of the Arab raid on Barada evidently refers to the Barada hills in Porbandar (as suggested by Sir Henry Elliot in his " History of India ") on which the fort of Bhumli, the capital of the Jethvās was situated. It was evidently one of these Jethvā Mahārājādhirājas, the then powerful rulers of Kathiawad, that was defeated by the Arabs.

The Kaira plate of the Gujarat Chālukya Vijayarāja, grandson of Jayasiṃha is dated in (Kalachuri) Sam. 394= A.D. 642. From this it has been concluded that Chālukya Jayasiṃha's dominions extended up to at least a part of North Gujarat and Jayasiṃha sent his son Buddhavarman to rule over it. The character of the plate is written in the usual style of the Western Chālukya grants, and contains the names of a number of Brahman grantees with minute details of the fields granted, a feature of genuine grants. It is to be noted that the two Kaira grants of Gurjara Sāmanta Dadda II Praśāntarāga, dated Kalachuri Sam. 380 and 385 (=A.D. 628 and 633), relate to the gift to certain Brahmins of Jambusar many of whom again reappear in Vijayarāja's grant dated A.D. 642 (=K. Sam. 394) alluded to above. We know that not long after A. D. 740 the Chālukyas

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were supplanted in South Gujarat by the Rāshṭrakūṭas. From the Aihole inscription of Chālukya Pulakeśi II, dated A.D. 634 (= Śaka 556), we know that he conquered the countries of Lāṭa, Mālava and Gurjara. Thus Gurjara Dadda II was a feudatory (Sāmanta) of the Chālukya King Pulakeśi and his successors. This is quite in accordance with Hiuen Tsiang's statement that during his time Kaira (Kiecha) and Ānandapura were appanages of Mālava and not of Valabhi, whereas on Fleet's epoch we should expect the Valabhi ruler Dhruvasena II Bālāditya who made conquests and spread the power of Valabhi to rule over this country at this time. This shows that Fleet's date of the Valabhi rulers is wrong and that these Valabhi rulers must have ruled long before the Chālukyas. On palaeographic considerations also we find that the Valabhi plate character differs from the characters in use in the Valabhi territory about the 6th and 7th centuries A. D., which is the same from which Devanagari is derived. This shows that the Valabhi plates must belong to a much earlier date palaeographically also. But as Bhagwanlal Indraji believed in Fleet's date of the Valabhi rulers, he remarked: "The Valabhi plate character is adopted from that *previously in use* in South Gujarat plates which was taken from the South Indian character." To this A. M. T. Jackson remarked: "The correctness of this inference seems open to question. The descent of the Valabhi plate character seems traceable from its natural local source, Skandagupta (A. D. 450) and Rudradāman's (A. D. 150) Girnar inscriptions" (Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. I, p. 80 fn.). The Valabhi character followed the Gupta character no doubt. But the question is: if the date of the Valabhi plates range from the 6th to the 8th century, how is it that it is different from the character then in use in the Valabhi country which was the immediate ancestor of Devanāgari? This shows that the date of the Valabhi plates is much earlier than the 6th century A.D. There is no mention of Valabhi in any

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Chālukya, Rāshṭrakūṭa or Gurjara inscriptions except only in one Gurjara plate. Gurjara Dadda I (A.D. 579 to 595) is said to have gained renown by protecting the lord of Valabhi who had been defeated by the illustrious Harshadeva, and Sāmanta Jayabhata III in A. D. 735 (=K. Sam. 486) claims to have fought with the Tajjikas or the Arab invaders in the *town of Valabhi* (E. I., Vol. XXII and XXIII). This shows clearly that the Valabhi rulers at that time sank to the level of ordinary local rulers. They were none of the powerful Valabhi rulers from Dhruvasena II Bālāditya to Śilāditya IV. On the last date, A.D. 735, it was Mahārājādhirāja Śilāditya V (Sam. 416) who was ruling on Fleet's epoch. Again in A.D. 610 (=K. Sam. 416) the Kaṭacchuri King Buddharāja issued a plate from Ānandapura quite in accordance with Hiuen Tsiang's statement that Ānandapura was not subject to Valabhi during his time. Whereas on Fleet's epoch, we know Śilāditya I Dharmāditya of Valabhi would be ruling in Ānandapura in A.D. 610 (=Sam. 290). Again, on Fleet's epoch, Dhruvasena Bālāditya in A.D. 639-40 (Sam. 320) records the grant of one hundred bhuktis of land in the district of Mālava (Mālavaka bhukti). Whereas Hiuen Tsiang says that at this time Mālava and Valabhi were independent countries. This shows that Dhruvasena II of Valabhi was one of the rulers prior to Hiuen Tsiang who says that the former Śilādityas were Kings of Mālava and Valabhi. With all these difficulties in the chronology of the Valabhi rulers it is to be regretted that Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji and others could not declare the incorrectness of Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era. Thus Dr. Bhagwanlal was constrained to remark: "Except the complete genealogy covering the 250 years from the beginning of the 6th to the middle of the eighth century little is known of Valabhi or its chiefs . . . the separateness though perhaps dependence of Saurāshṭra even in the time of Valabhi's greatest power, the rare mention of Valabhi in contemporary Gujarat grants

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and the absence of trustworthy reference in the accounts of the Arab raids of the seventh or eighth centuries tend to raise a doubt whether, except perhaps the ten years ending 650 (=Sam. 330), Valabhi ever was of more than local importance." (!!) (Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. I, p. 96-97.)

We know from traditional accounts (Cunningham, A.S.I.R., Vol. IX, p. 28) that Bhaṭārka was the governor of Saurāshṭra during the last two years of Skanda's rule. On Fleet's epoch the date of Bhaṭārka, the founder of the Valabhi dynasty, is *circa* A.D. 480 (=Sam. 160). From his grandson Guhasena's plate, dated Sam. 240, we know that Bhaṭārka erected a Vihāra and presented it to Ācārya Śūra. Now from Buddhist records we know that Śūra and Śāntideva were two pupils of Āryadeva who was a contemporary of Nāgārjuna and King Candragupta (II, Sam. 60-93). In a separate paper (The Contemporaneity of Candragupta and Kaniṣka) I have shown that Nāgārjuna flourished in the 1st century A.D. Therefore the date of Ācārya Śūra and therefore of Bhaṭārka cannot be later than the 2nd century A.D. Bhaṭārka's date *circa* Sam. 160 must therefore be taken in the Vikrama era equivalent to *circa* A.D. 102. In the Gunaighar (Tippera) Inscription of Sam. 188=A.D. 130, the name of Ācārya Śāntideva occurs.

Ācārya Bhadanta Sthiramati is mentioned in the Wala grant of Dharasena II of Sam. 269 as having built a Vihāra through his father Guhasena (Sam. 240=A.D. 182). Ācārya Sthiramati was a pupil of Vasubandhu or his brother Ārya Asanga, and Vasubandhu's master was Ācārya Buddhamitra or Manoratha. Ācārya Buddhamitra is mentioned in the Mankuwar inscription of Kumāragupta I, dated Sam. 129 (=A.D. 71). The date from the previous plate, Sam. 240 (=A.D. 182) for Sthiramati is quite in accordance with Hiuen Tsiang's time for Vasubandhu and his master Manoratha from A.D. 50 to 150. "Sthiramati was the author of an Introduction to Mahāyānism which was translated into

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Chinese about A.D. 400— . . . hence Sthiramati must have flourished before A.D. 400 " (Watters, Yuan Chwang, Vol. II, p. 169). Fleet's epoch would make Sthiramati flourish about A.D. 560 (=Sam. 240), *i.e.*, at least 180 years later, showing clearly that Fleet's epoch is in error by at least as many years.

In the " Śatrunjaya Māhātmya " it is stated that Śilāditya will be a propagator of religion in Vikrama Samvat 477 = A.D. 420. On Fleet's epoch the first Śilāditya reigned in *circa* A.D. 605 (=Sam. 286), *i.e.*, about 180 years later. This again shows that Fleet's epoch is in error by at least as many years.

In a private letter Dr. A.S. Altekar of the Benares Hindu University has drawn my attention to certain difficulties regarding my theory of the identity of the Gupta Vikramāditya era with the Vikrama era of 58 B.C. Most of these difficulties I have explained in my reply to Miss Karuṇā Kaṇā Guptā's criticism, entitled " The Gupta Era " (Jour. Ind. Hist., December, 1938). There remains only two difficulties which I take up now.

Dr. Altekar says that the conquests of Samudragupta raise some difficulties. For, on my theory the Gupta and the Andhra kings come out contemporaneous. But, he says, Samudragupta in his Allahabad inscription is silent about his Andhra contemporary.

Now, the Andhra king Hāla mentions Vikramāditya in his 'Gāthā Saptaśati.' Historians place Hāla about A.D. 50 (=V.S. 108). I have shown in my paper that Hāla was a contemporary of Candragupta I Vikramāditya. Hāla ruled only for five years and was followed by Mantalaka who also ruled for five years according to the Purāṇas. Hence Mantalaka may evidently be the Andhra king contemporaneous with Samudragupta. In the Allahabad inscription it is stated that Samudragupta in his Southern campaign defeated 'Maṇṭa Rāja of Kaurāla.' Now, this Kaurāla has been

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identified by historians as the region round about the Colair (Kolleru) lake, *i.e.*, the region between the Godāvarī and the Krishnā, which was exactly the ancient Andhra dominion. Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri, however, does not accept the identification of Vengi (modern Vegi) on the Colair Lake to be the Andhra capital. If he is right then it seems to me that (the district of) Kurnool on the south bank of the Krishnā was the Kaurāla of Samudragupta's time. As for the name 'Mantalaka' in the Purāṇas we know that there is a great variation in this name such as Maṇḍalaka, Maṇḍulaka, etc. Hence Maṇṭa Rāja of Kaurāla was evidently the Andhra king contemporaneous with Samudragupta. It may be remembered that the Andhras rose to great power from about the time of Gautamiputra.

According to my theory Nālandā rose to prominence during the days of Candragupta II Vikramāditya, for, his contemporary Ācārya Āryadeva was the rector of Nālandā. It was during Kumāragupta I's rule that a big convent was prepared there and subsequent rulers added new structures until the vast monastery was completed. On my theory the Imperial Guptas flourished long before A.D. 400, the date of Fahian's visit. But in Fahian's account no mention of Nālandā is to be found. This in Dr. Altekar's opinion is a difficulty and Dr. Altekar inquires of me how I am going to explain this.

It should be noted that the 'Travels of Fahsien' (or, Fahian) or the 'Records of the Buddhistic Kingdoms' as we have it now is not the original production of Fahian. The following quotation from Giles' 'Travels of Fahsien' (1923, pp. 86 ff.) will clear up the point :—

"Note by Hu Chen Heng (a distinguished scholar of the Ming Dynasty, 1368-1644).

"The old title of this work was *The Narrative of Fahsien*, but according to a note by a Buddhist priest of the Sung

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Dynasty (A.D. 420-479), it should be called *Record of the Buddhistic Kingdom*. Such a work as the latter, in one volume, occurs only in the geographical section of the History of the Sur Dynasty (A.D. 581-618). So the above statement does not appear to have sufficient foundation.

"There were originally two *Narratives of Fahsien*, the first of which in two parts, has been lost, and the second, in one volume, is the work we have now. At the end of the narrative a man of the Chin dynasty (A.D. 317-420) added these words: 'I therefore urged him (Fahsien) to write out in detail that which so far he had merely sketched, and he retold the whole story from beginning to end.' This must have been the single volume, which was *afterwards expanded into a more detailed account in two volumes, but never became popular in that form and disappeared.*

"A Buddhist priest of the Liang dynasty (A.D. 502-517), named Hui-Chiao, states that there was *another and more extensive Narrative of the travels of Fa-hsien in the various countries, which should be called by way of distinction, The greater Narrative of Fa-hsien.*"

So that *savants* will kindly see that there was a greater narrative of Fahian containing many more details about India, its kings and the like which might have been of great use now to elucidate the history of that period. Another point in confirmation of this to be noticed is that in the translation, it everywhere reads like 'crossing the Ganges . . . *Fahsien* came to a forest,' 'From this point going ten Yojanas . . . the *pilgrims* arrived,' etc. (*vide* Gile's translation). Nowhere do we find any such statement as 'We arrived.' This shows that the available work, 'The Travels of Fahsien,' is the work of some one who abridged the greater and detailed narrative by Fahsien. It is natural that the people of China would not like to hear much about India specially about its kings, etc., but they cared only to hear salient points connected with Buddhism. Thus the

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detailed narrative of Fahsien never became popular and gave place to an abridged edition. I still hope if proper search is made in China, somewhere the greater narrative may still be discovered.

Hence such remarks as these " The worthy pilgrim, it is true, was so absorbed in his search for Buddhist books, legends, and miracles that he had little care for the things of this world, and did not trouble even to mention, the mighty monarch in whose territories he spent six studious years ' (V. Smith, E. H. I., 3rd ed., p. 294) are wholly without foundation.

Dr. Altekar writes to me ' . . . But we find that when Fahsien visited Nālandā in *c.* 410 A.D. it was only an unimportant village, possessing only one *Stupa* to commemorate the memory of Sāriputra. Fahsien did not see any imposing buildings there. How would you explain this ? '

I am sorry Dr. Altekar copies Giles' errors without questioning. I quote the relevant lines from the travels of Fahsien : ' From this point travelling nine Yojanas to the south-east, the *pilgrims* arrived at a small orphan-rock hill (near Giryek) . . . One Yojana on to the south-west, *they* came to Nālandā (Baragaon), the village where Sāriputra was born and whither he returned to pass away . . . From this place travelling one Yojana to the west they came to the new city of Rājagriha.'

Now the above orphan rock hill (near Giryek) is the Indra Śilāguha where Indra put 42 questions to the Buddha. Now looking at the ' Map of Gayā and Bihar ' facing page 452 of Gen. Cunningham's ' Ancient Geography of India ' we find that the distance between new Rājagriha (Rajgir) and Indraśilāguha is exactly ten miles. From page XVI of Giles' work we find that a Yojana is anything from 5 to 10 miles according to the locality and the difficulty of the route.' Thus Fahian's distance between Indraśilāguha and new Rājagriha is exactly two Yojanas. As the place where

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Sāriputra was born and attained Nirvāṇa was one Yojana, *i.e.*, midway between the places, this village can never be Nālandā or Baragaon. The name of the village as given in Fahsien's travels is ' Nalo ' (read by Remusat and Rev. Beal). This was the ' Kala-pināka ' of Hiuen Tsiang as already remarked by Beal. There was no justification for Giles to change ' Nalo ' to ' Nālandā,' for, Rājagriha is not one Yojana *west* of Nālandā as stated by Fahsien but nearly two Yojanas (9 miles) directly south of it. This will also be evident from Hiuen Tsiang's Records. Hiuen Tsiang says ' Going south-west 8 or 9 li from the (Nālandā) Sanghārāma, we came to the village of Kulika . . . where Mudgalaputra was born . . . East of the old village of Mudgalaputra, going 3 or 4 li we came to a Stupa . . . where Bimbisāra went to have an interview with Buddha, . . . South-east from the spot where Bimbisāra rāja met Buddha at a distance of about 20 li, we came to the town of Kalapināka. . . . This is the place where Sāriputra, the venerable one was born . . . and obtained Nirvāṇa.' Now we know from Giles ' that a li ' is equal to ' one-third of a mile, with local variations according to the difficulty of the route.'

Thus 3 miles (8 or 9 li) south-east from Nālandā, then 1 mile (3 or 4 li) east from this, then 7 miles (20 li) south east from this latter place we come to Kalapināka. This place will clearly be seen to be midway between New Rājagriha and Indra-śilā-guha, exactly as we find from Fahian's records. Thus *savants* will kindly see that Fahsien's ' Nalo ' is not Nālandā at all but Kala (Pināka) of Hiuen Tsiang.

From the discussion by General Cunningham (A.S.I.R., Vol. XI, pp. 186-191) we know that in Fahian's travels while describing the Indra-śilā-guha (near Giryek) two different places have been jumbled up. The ' isolated hill ' of Hiuen Tsiang is clearly the Bihar hill (Dand Bihar). (*Vide* Cunningham, Map of Gayā and Bihar in Anc. Geo. of India,

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facing page 452.) But in the description of the Indraśilāguha near Giryek which is some 12 miles south of the isolated Bihar hill it is described in Fahian's Travels as '_a small solitary stone hill or small rocky hill standing by itself' (Beal and Remusat), 'the little hill of the isolated rock' (Laidlay) 'or small orphan rock hill' (Giles). These 'isolated,' 'solitary,' 'standing by itself' or 'orphan' rock means the same thing and applies only to the Bihar hill and not to the Indra-śilā-guhā near Giryek which is not an *orphan* rock but forms part of one of the two ranges of hills stretching from Gayā. In my opinion this jumbling up is not the work of Fahian owing to his imperfect notes as suggested by Gen. Cunningham but that of the abridger who had not seen these places personally. Similar had been the fate of Nālandā, in my opinion.

When Fahian visited India in A.D. 400 to 415, the royal palace at Pātaliputra was already in ruins (Beal, *FO-KWO-KI*, Ch. XXVII). In A.D. 637 Hieun Tsiang describes the city as having been *deserted for a long time* or, in other words, the city had long been a wilderness. Hundreds of monasteries, Brahmanical temples and stupas were all in ruins. On the north side only, and close to the Ganges, there was still a small town containing about one thousand houses. On Fleet's epoch, the Imperial Guptas flourished from about A.D. 300 to 550. The above description of Pātaliputra by Fahian and Hieun Tsiang shows clearly that the last of the Imperial Guptas flourished long before Fahian's time (A.D. 400). That the Gupta monarch Chandragupta II Vikramāditya was not ruling India during Fahian's visit (A.D. 400 to 415) will also be evident from the following statement in Fahian's Travels: "The elders and gentry of this country (Magadha) have instituted in their capitals (or cities) free hospitals, and hither come all poor or helpless patients, orphans, widows and cripples." It is unimaginable that during the reign

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of the Gupta monarch Chandragupta II Vikramāditya, the elders and the gentry of the cities would be doing these acts of charity.

From Fahian's Travels we get the following description: "By the side of the tower of king Aśoka, is built a Sanghārāma belonging to the Great Vehicle, very imposing and elegant. There is also one belonging to the Lesser Vehicle, the two together containing six to seven hundred priests, grave and decorous, each in his proper place, a striking sight. Virtuous Shamans and scholars from the four quarters who seek for instruction all flock to this temple." It was here that Fahian spent three years studying Sanskrit, and was made happy by obtaining certain works on monastic discipline as taught by various schools, for which he had sought elsewhere in vain. The description of the above Sanghārāma reminds one of the similar description of the Nālandā Sanghārāma by Hiuen Tsiang. As Pātaliputra was in ruins during Fahian's time, the next important place was Nālandā. The abridger of Fahian's travels got confused and the description of Nālandā Sanghārāma was attached by the side of the description of Pātaliputra as he did similarly to the Bihar and the Giryek hills.

That Nālandā was also in existence before Fahian's time will be evident from the following: Nālandā Samghārāma was erected during the time of Kumāragupta I, and this is admitted by Dr. Altekar and others. The Mankuwar inscription of Kumāragupta I, dated Sam. 129, mentions Ācārya Buddhamitra. Now this Buddhamitra was the teacher of Vasubandhu, contemporary of Narasimhagupta Bālāditya. Now Vasubandhu's or his brother Ārya Asanga's disciple was Ācārya Sthiramati who built a Vihāra through the Valabhi King Guhasena (Sam. 240 = A.D. 560 on Fleet's epoch). *Savants* will kindly see that the Nālandā Sanghārāma was certainly completed by this time. But we know that Ācārya Sthiramati's 'Introduction to Mahāyānism' was

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translated into Chinese about A.D. 400 (the time of Fahian's visit). Moreover Ācārya Sthiramati was one of the previous teachers of the Nālandā College (*vide* Hiuen Tsiang's Records). Hence Sthiramati flourising before A.D. 400, the Nālandā Sanghārāma was certainly in existence during Fahian's time. Gen. Cunningham also remarked: " In any case I would assign the foundation of the Bodh Gayā temple to 50 or 60 B.C. and that of the Nālandā temple to the beginning of the Christian era." (A.S.I.R., Vol. XI, p. 146.) Thus Dr. Altekar will kindly see that the description of Nālandā was jumbled up with that of Pātaliputra by the abridger of Fahian's travels.

I have stated here some additional pieces of evidence to show that Fleet's epoch of the Gupta Vikramāditya era is incorrect and the same is identical with the Vikrama era of 58 B.C. which alone satisfies all difficulties with Fleet's epoch.

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11

AN EXAMINATION OF THE TITLES OF THE IMPERIAL KUSHANAS

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Epigraphic and numismatic evidences point to the fact that the Imperial Kushanas borrowed their titles from different people with whom they came into contact: Devaputra (the son of heaven) from the Chinese, Shaonano (King of Kings) from the Iranians, Maharaja Rajatiraja (sovereign Lord and King) from the Hindus and Basileus Basileun (King of Kings) from the Greeks. Before dealing with the sources and history of the titles it is better to enumerate them along with the names of the Imperial Kushanas who used them.

The Kharoshthi and Brāhmi inscriptions of king Kanishka found at different centres in the Punjab, North-West Frontier, Sind and the Aryavarta, assert that king Kanishka used the following titles: Maharaja Kanishka,[1] Maharajasya Rajatirajasya Devaputrasya Kanishkasya,[2] Maharajasa Kaneshkasa Gushanavasa Samvardhak,[3] Maharaja Rajatiraja Devaputra Shahi Kanishka.[4]

The numismatic evidence[5] shows that King Kanishka used the Greek title Basileus Basileun and the Iranian title Shaonano.

1 Kanishka Casket Inscription of the year 1 of the Kushana era.
2 Suivihar Inscription of the year 11.
3 Manikiala Inscription of the year 18.
4 Lüders' List of Brahmi Inscriptions, No. 21.
5 Whitehead: Catalogue of the Coins in the Punjab Museum, Vol. I.

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King Vasishka who followed King Kanishka used the titles Maharajasa Rajatirajasa Shahi.[6] Huvishka maintained the titles Maharaja Devaputra,[7] Maharaja Rajatiraja,[8] Maharaja Rajatiraja Devaputra,[9] and in his coins the Iranian title Shaonano.[10] Vasudeva retained the titles Maharajasya,[11] Maharajasya Rajatirajasya Shahi,[12] and in his coins the title Shaonano.[13] In the Ara Inscription of the year 41 there is the mention of a King Kanishka with the titles Maharajasa Rajatirajasa Devaputrasa Kaisarasa.

The above enumerations show that Kanishka used the Greek title Basileus Basileun, the Iranian title Shaonano, the Chinese title Devaputra and the Hindu title Maharaja Rajatiraja. In his inscriptions he converts the Iranian Shaonano into its equivalent Shahi Shahanu Shahi. In Vasishka's titles we find the absence of the Greek title Basileus Basileun or the Iranian title Shaonano or its equivalent Shahi Shahanushahi in his inscriptions but in his coins he however retained the old title Shaonano. Vasudeva did not use the titles Devaputra and Basileus Basileun. These titles were used by the Imperial Kushanas due to some political or commercial reasons. Better it is to peruse the titles one by one and see how far they have a political or commercial background.

Basileus Basileun—The title King of Kings is certainly a Greek title used by the Romans. The Kushanas who followed the Roman coinage both in type and weight made little additions and alterations and that too only with a view to suit Indian conditions and commercial intercourse.

6 Lüders' List, No. 161.
7 Lüders' List, No. 41.
8 Wardak Inscription of the year 51.
9 Lüders' List, No. 68.
10 Whitehead : Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Vol. I.
11 Lüders' List, No. 68.
12 Lüders' List, No. 72.
13 Whitehead : Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Vol. I.

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Despite the fact that Kujula Kadphises had extinguished the Greek kingdom with Hermaeus as its king and possibly the Greek language also because there is apparently not a single inscription left in that language, still Kanishka used the cursive Greek script in his coins. This he did because of the international commerce that was carried on between China and Rome *via* India. The foreign traders for intercourse with whom this currency was minted used Greek as *lingua franca* ; they were not supposed to understand Prakrit. As a rule that language will find a place which is the general medium of communication, and that language in this case was Greek. All languages could not be used because of little space. It was thus the traders who were responsible for Kanishka's coinage and his Greek epithet. The traders spoke Greek, brought with them gold, the rate of exchange, the deities and the cursive script—a script better adapted for commercial purposes. Thus it may be taken for granted that Kanishka borrowed this Greek title Basileus Basileun through traders and for traders. This beautiful cursive script would not have crept in his coinage had he not been influenced by the merchants who dictated their convenience, in other words, merchants who knew Greek and were accustomed to cursive script in their transactions.

That the merchants were responsible for this cursive script of the coins of Kanishka is further augmented by the fact that a notice on the coins of Gutarzes[14] (A.D. 41-51) leads us to the conclusion that since he committed exactly the same grammatical blunder as was committed by King Kanishka in his coins, Kanishka must have borrowed the script through the merchants who had trade in Parthia as well. Again the coin legend Basileus Basileun was a very common one and was adopted by practically all the Indo-

14 Catalogue of Coins of Parthia, p. 165.

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Greek kings. In view of this fact, there is no reason to believe that Kanishka was ignorant of this title. As Dr. F. W. Thomas has asserted [15] he actually borrowed this title from the rulers whom he regarded as his predecessors. They had commonly used this title on their coins and since Kanishka succeeded them he thought it better to retain the title which was used not only by the Indo-Greek kings but also by his immediate predecessor Wema Kadphises. He of course committed the grammatical blunder of using the nominative for the genitive in his coin legend. An explanation may be given for this grammatical blunder. It is alleged that Kanishka was engaged in a successful war with the Parthians, having been attacked by the king of that nation. He being successful in that war, possibly did not stamp his figure on the coins of that king as was done by Kujula Kadphises when he supplanted Hermaeus, but he borrowed their coin legends and substituted his name instead of the name of that king of Parthia and hence this grammatical blunder in the coins of Kanishka which was not cured. Whatever may be the case, the Greek title Basileus Basileun was fully justified in view of his vast empire which included the territory previously occupied by the Indo-Greek kings who used this title.

Deva-Putra.—As the two words indicate, Devaputra means ' Son of God ' or ' Son of Heaven ' in the fine primary classics of China, or the five kings if we so call them; the first shows the political state of affairs prevailing at the time implied in these writings. There were many states with several rulers, all of them, however, subject to the ' Son of Heaven ' (tient-zen) as the King or Emperor of China was so called. This shows that the epithet Deva-Putra (Son of Heaven) was the Prakrit form of the Chinese title (tien-tzen)

15 F. W. Thomas : J. R. A. S., 1913, p. 1014.

16 V. A. Smith : Early History of India, p. 277.

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and thus an indegenous title used exclusively by the Chinese Emperor from a very long time. The migration of the Yuechis from their motherland at the instance of Wungnu must have left in them a desire to rise to the status of the Chinese Emperor in some other land. This spirit remained kindling so long as Kujula Kadphises did not subjugate the rest of the four Yuechi tribes[17] and thus assumed overlordship. This is apparent from the fact that Kujula Kadphises issued coins in which he used the epithet Devaputra. Thus by assuming overlordship over other Yuechi tribes he in fact revived the old Chinese spirit of styling himself an emperor with the title Devaputra. This title was adopted by his son Wema Kadphises whose all-round conquest also fully justified his using this title.

Kanishka also used this title. In the absence of any definite relationship between Wema Kadphises and Kanishka, it seems that Kanishka belonged to one of the defeated Yuechi tribes who was acting either as a general or as viceroy in the time of Wema Kadphises. Fan-ye in his Hau Han-Shu or Annals of the Later Han Dynasty tells us that Yen-Kao-tchen, *i.e.*, Wema in his turn conquered T'ien-tchen (India), and established there a Chief for governing it.[18] Now in the absence of any definite proof to the contrary it is just possible that this chief may have been Kanishka who reigned in North-West India with Taxila as his capital and with the title Maharaja only as is evident from the Taxila casket inscription of the year 1 of King Kanishka. The old age of the Emperor Wema Kadphises coupled with the vast empire which he had acquired, gave Kanishka who was probably acting as a chief of Wema, a right opportunity to strike a fatal blow resulting in the overthrow of the Kadphises group and the establishment of Kanishka's power. Such instances

17 Sten Konow: Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. II, pl. iv.

18 Cunningham: Numismatic Chronicle, 1892, Vol. XII, p. 66.

19 Sten Konow: Corpus, I, iv.

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are not rare in Indian history. Pushyamitra Sunga, the general of the Mauryan King Brihadratha, had also murdered his master and assumed power establishing the Sunga dynasty. The Suivihar inscription of the year 11 of Kanishka era, mentions Kanishka with the full-fledged titles 'Maharajasya Rajatirajasya Devaputrasya'; so between the years 1 and 11, Kanishka seems to have overthrown the Kadphises group and himself assumed the titles used by the emperor who preceded him.

Kanishka's all-round conquest extending from Khotan and Kashgar in the North-West to Pataliputra in the East and from Kashmir in the North to Sindh in the South-West is a sufficient proof for his asserting the highest Indian title which can be conferred on any king.

Vasa Saṃvardhak.[20]—In fact this is not a title but an expression which explains how Kanishka united the various Kushan tribes. Gushana Vasa Saṃvardhak does not govern Lala but is an attribute to the emperor Kanishka. If we read in the following way the meaning becomes pefectly clear—"Gushana Vasa Saṃvardhaka Maharajasya Kaneshkasya Sam 104.4 (Kartiyasa Majh(e) divase 20 e(tra)purva Lala dadanayago Vespasisa Kshatrapasa Horamuta. . . ." Gushana stands for Kushan[21] and Vasa Saṃvardhaka may be divided into Vasa-Sam-Vardhaka. Vasa stands for Vamsa or family or race. Sam means completely. The Sanskrit word is Sramam, *i.e.*, fully. Sramam is changed into Prakrit Samam which ultimately became Sam. In the Asokan inscription[22] we find 'Sasvatam Samam Yujeyu,' *i.e.*, may display full or preserving energy. Vardhak comes from Vardha or Vridhi, *i.e.*, to increase or to rise. Therefore, 'Gushana Vamsa Saṃvardhaka' means the complete enhancer of the (prestige) of the Kushana race. That Kanishka

[20] Manikiala Inscription of the year 18 of Kanishka.

[21] *Cf.* Maharajasa Gushanasa rajami.

[22] Jaugarah, II. 14.

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belonged to the Kusha or Kushana race is evident from the fact that the Chinese translation of the Sutralankar of Asvaghosa contains a passage which says—In the Kusha race there was a King names Kanishka.[23] In the Tibetan version of the Maharaja Kanikalekha Matricheta there is an expression by which Kanishka is addressed as born in the 'Kusha race.' This is not a solitary instance in Indian history where a king mentions that by reason of his achieving the highest distinctions he has increased the honour of his 'Kula' or 'family,' but there are other instances also. In the Nanaghat Inscription [24] there is the expression "Amgiya Kula Vadhana," *i.e.*, an increaser of the Amgiya family. Kanishka increased the Kushana race by assimilating the other Yuechi tribes. Kujula Kadphises, as has been pointed out before, had subdued the remaining four Yuechi tribes and assumed overlordship with the title 'Devaputra' which was used only by the Chinese Emperor. In the time of Wema Kadphises his old age coupled with his vast empire must have given the other Yuechi tribes an opportunity to rise again by bringing a disruption. Kanishka who immediately succeeded Wema Kadphises as his supplanter, assimilated these tribes into one race and thus increased the prestige of his Kula or family. Thus Kanishka enhanced the prestige of his Kula or family in two ways—by merging the other Kulas or families into one race and secondly by acquiring a vast empire. This epithet thus can only govern Kanishka and not a petty general like Lala. That is the reason why we find the existence of some 'Devaputra Shahi Shahanushahi' prince even in the time of Samudragupta. Though their kingdom was small yet they retained the family honour. On the authority of C. J. Marquart, "Eveanzabe," p. 242, it may be said that the disintegration

[23] Journal Asiatique, 1896, II, p. 457 ; Indian Antiquary, 1903, p. 385.

[24] Archaeological Survey Report of Western India, Vol. V, p. 60, l. 3.

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of the Kushan race in its natural name was not done even till the fifth century A.D. It is just possible that their fall was brought about by the Huns who by destroying the Kushan race assumed the title ' Shahanushahi ' as we find in the inscription of Toramana.

Kaisara.—In the Ara inscription of the year 41 we find " Maharajasa Rajatirajasa Devaputrasa Kaisarasa Vajeshka-putrasa Kanishkasa sambatsare." To whom does this title apply is a matter of conjecture. Was there a second Kanishka ? Professor Lüders arrived at the conclusion that there were two Kanishkas. The Kanishka of the Ara inscription was the grandson of Kanishka I and thus according to him was the son of Vajeshka or Vasishka as he so. called himself. This does not fit in well in view of the fact that we have the inscriptions of Huvishka from the year 33 to 51. If then we presume that Kanishka had divided his empire into two halves—one half constituting the North-West Frontier for Vasishka and the other half for Huvishka, then Kanishka II being the son of Vajeshka or Vasishka as assumed by Lüders, must be ruling contemporaneously with Huvishka. But there are two difficulties in the way. Firstly, how can Vajeshka be identified with Vasishka ? Secondly, it seems too much for the son of a local Raja or Maharaja who had received only one half of the empire from his father to style himself with high-sounding titles including the Roman title ' Kaisara ' also which was used only by the Roman Emperor. Vasudeva who succeeded his father Huvishka deleted many titles used by his father and grandfather because his empire was confined to Muttra and a little beyond. The fact, therefore, seems to be that Kanishka of the Ara inscription must be none else than Kanishka the Great, who by his vast empire, great commercial intercourse with other countries of the East and the West acquired a position akin to the Roman or the Chinese Emperor. The title Kaisara or Cæsar was used for the first time by

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Julius Cæsar of Rome and after him by Emperor Augustus. It must have been brought to the Court of Kanishka by the merchants.

Therefore, Vajeshka must have been the father of king Kanishka and not his son. We have every reason to believe that Kanishka of the Ara inscription if he were the son of Vasishka, as Professor Lüders suggests, must have used the full titles which his father deserved. Full titles of the parents were given in the inscriptions with a view to assert the honour of the family. As has been pointed out before, Kanishka must have belonged to one of the Yuechi tribes or probably of the little Kushana tribe and was acting as Wema Kadphises's Chief. Finding an opportunity he struck a fatal blow resulting in the overthrow of the Kadphises group. Again the dates of Vasishka and Huvishka, whose inscriptions are found between the years 24 to 28 and 33 to 60 respectively, can be reconciled in this way that Kanishka because of his vast conquests had to leave his capital for a number of years and hence he must have appointed his sons to look after the empire in his absence with full kingly powers. During this period any inscription inscribed had naturally the name of the *de facto* ruler and not the *de jure* one. Kanishka in fact died while waging a war in the North. Vasishka probably predeceased Kanishka who having ruled till the year 41 was succeeded by Huvishka.

Thus a perusal of the titles shows that Kanishka borrowed his titles not only from India where he actually ruled but also from China, Iran and Rome. In view of the vast empire which he had acquired through his own enterprise he fully deserved the titles used by him both in his inscriptions and in his coins.

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12

BIRUDAS OF ANCIENT TRAVANCORE KINGS

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The ruling family of Travancore traces its descent from the ancient Cera kings referred to as independent in the edicts of Asoka Maurya (3rd Century B.C.). Their history goes back to an epoch before the Mahabharata war in which we come across a reference to Udayan Ceral,[1] the Cera king who acted as host to the combatants of that war. The Ceras were noted for their charity, and were famous in warfare and statecraft. Thus we find in Purananuru that "Ceraman Udiyan Ceralatan" is mentioned as "Perum Corru,"[2] *i.e.*, one who distributed food in abundance, and "Vanavaramban," *i.e.*, one whose territories were encircled by the sea; while his son Nedum-Ceralatan bore the title "Imayavaramban," *i.e.*, one who extended the territory up to the Himalayas.[3]

Another king Ceran Senkuttavan is mentioned as "Kadal Pirakkottiya,"[4] *i.e.*, one who destroyed the efficacy of the sea as a refuge. Even so late as the 9th Century A.D. Rajasekhara the Cera king, is recorded as "Sri Rajadhiraja Raja Parameswara Bhattaraka."[5]

1 Silappadikaram, Canto XXIII, ll. 55-60; Purananuru, st. 2.

2 See Purananuru, song 2, edited by Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Swaminatha Iyer, p. 3. (1894) and p. 5 of the Cera Kings of the Sangam Period by K. G. Sesha Iyer.

3 Patirrupattu, 2nd Patigam, see page 10 of Cera Kings of the Sangam Period.

4 See Patirrupattu Patigam V, and also Cera Kings of the Sangam Period, p. 22.

5 Talamanaillam copper plate, T.A.S., Vol. II, p. 13.

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The tradition of the Cera kings is inherited by the rulers of Travancore who are considered to be their direct descendants. In an inscription [6] of the Kollam year 364, *i.e.*, A.D. 1189, Vira Udaya Martanda Varma, called also Koda Martanda Varma, a Travancore king, is styled as "Kolambadhisa" while a successor of his, Ravi Varma Sangramadhira Kollam 474-488, *i.e.*, 1299-1313 A.D. the greatest and by far the most powerful not only of the kings of Travancore, but also of the whole of Kerala, who conquered the whole of South India defeating the Colas and Pandyas and was crowned as Emperor on the banks of the Vegavati in Conjeevaram, bore the Birudas [7] "Chandrakulamangalapradipa," *i.e.*, the light of the lunar line of kings, "Yadavanarayana," *i.e.*, the Krishna of the Yadavas, "Keraladesapunyaparinama," *i.e.*, one born as the result of the holy acts of the Kerala country, "Namandarakarna," *i.e.*, Karna under another name, "Kupakasarvabhauma," *i.e.*, the Emperor of the Kupaka country, "Kulasikharipratistapitagarudadvaja," *i.e.*, the establisher-planter of Garuda banner on Kulaparvatas, "Kolambapuravaradhisvara," *i.e.*, the supreme God of the great city of Kolamba, "Sri Padmanabhapadakamalaparamaradhaka," *i.e.*, the devout worshipper of the lotus feet of God Sri Padmanabha, "Pranatarajapratisthacarya," *i.e.*, the preceptor in putting in stability those kings who bow down, "Vimatarajabandikara," *i.e.*, the imprisoner of enemy kings, "Dharmatarumulakanda," *i.e.*, the prime root of the tree of Dharma, "Sadgunalankara," *i.e.*, the ornament of the virtuous, "Chatuḥshashti Kalavallabha," *i.e.*, the lover or master of 64 arts, "Dakshinabhojaraja," *i.e.*, the king Bhoja of the South, "Sangramadhira," *i.e.*, firm in battle, Maharaja Paramesvara Jayasimhadeva Nandana.[8]

6 T. A. S., Vol. III, p. 50, Gosalakrishna Shrine inscription, Trivandrum.

7 Stone inscription at Valia Chalai Temple, Trivandrum (T. A. S., Vol. II, pp. 58-59).

8 T. A. S., Vol. II, p. 59, Valiachalai inscription.

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In a little record [9] of Keralapuram, dated the Kollam year 491, *i.e.*, A.D. 1316, Vira Udaya Marttanda Varma, a Travancore king, is referred to as "Vira Pandya Deva" probably to indicate his victory over a Pandya king. One of his successors "Aditya Varma" was known as Sarvanganatha" as is seen from an inscription [10] at Vadaseri dated the Kollam year 549, *i.e.*, A.D. 1374. In an inscription [11] at Suchindrum dated Kollam 586, *i.e.*, 1411 A.D. Marttanda Varma a Travancore king of the 15th Century A.D. is recorded as "Keralakshmapatindra" while another king by the name of "Aditya Varma" is referred to as "Akhilakalavallabha" in the Trikkanamkudi Bell inscription [12] of the Kollam year 644, *i.e.*, 1459 A.D. In a later inscription [13] dated Kollam 661, *i.e.*, A.D. 1486 the Travancore king of the time Jayasimha had the Birudas "Ancinanpugalidam" and "Ceravamsakiritapati," *i.e.*, the crowned king of the Cera dynasty.

Udaya Marttanda Varma, known as "Jayattunganattu Muttavar" another king of Travancore who reigned in the 7th century of the Kollam year, i.e., the 16th century A.D. bore the titles of "Sankaranarayanamurti Velaikaran" (Servant of God Sankaranarayana) [14] and Sankaranarayana, "Venrumankonda" (one who acquired the earth by victory) and "Bhutalavira" (the only hero in the world), while two of his successors Vira Rama Varman (Kollam 712, A.D. 1537 and Vira Kerala Varma (Kollam 720, A.D. 1545) were surnamed "Vanrumankonda Bhutalavira." [15]

9 T. A. S., Vol. IV, p. 171.

10 T. A. S., Vol. IV, p. 171.

11 T. A. S., Vol. VIII, p. 28.

12 T. A. R., 1108, p. 21.

13 Parasuraman Perunteru inscription now at Padmanabhapuram Museum (T. A. R., 1113, p. 18).

14 Mundesvaramundayar temple inscription (T. A. R., 1108, p. 37).

15 T. A. S., Vol. IV, p. 99, Thovala inscription; Suchindrum inscription T. A. S., Vol. IV, pp. 101, 104.

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All kings of the Travancore Royal family were known as "Kulasekhara Perumal" and sometimes "Venattu Adikal." Raja Martanda Varma the Great, the maker of the present Travancore (904 to 933 M.E.—A.D. 1729-1758) dedicated the whole State to Sri Padmanabha in A.D. 1750 (925 M.E.) and he and his successors assumed the title of "Sri Padmanabha Dasa."[16] To his nephew Rama Varma Maharaja (Kollam 933-973; A.D. 1758-1798) the Nawab of Carnatic conferred the titles[17] "Munne Sultan Maharaja Raje Rama Raja Bahadur Shamsheer Jung." Since his time all the ruling kings of Travancore bear the honorific titles "Sri Padmanabha Dasa Vanchi Bala Kulasekhara Kiritapati Munne Sultan Maharaja Raja Rama Raja Bahadur Shamsheer Jung."

[16] T. A. S., Vol. IV, p. 114.
[17] Travancore State Manual, Vol. I, p. 408.

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13

A NEW IMAGE OF RĀHU FROM MATHURA

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The sculpture described here was first discovered by my predecessor Mr. V. S. Agrawala, M.A., and briefly noticed in the Journal of the Hindustani Academy in Hindi.[1] It was kept, until the time of its acquisition by me for the Mathura Museum, outside the main shrine of a temple of Rādhā Kṛṣṇa in Sitohā village, an ancient site about 4 miles south-west of the city on the Govardhan Road. It was worshipped there as an image depicting Rājā Śāntanu practising austerities with his two queens for obtaining a son. The exact find-spot of the sculpture cannot be determined ; but the new temple of Sitoha is built on an ancient mound dating back to the Kushana period, as proved by the discovery of some broken Kushana statuettes from the adjoining tank called Śāntanukuṇḍa and hence there is little doubt that the present sculpture originated from somewhere in its neighbourhood. It provides an additional link in the chain of evidence suggesting that Mathura played an important part in the evolution and perfection of the forms of deities in Brahmanical Iconography ever since the Kushana period (*cf. JISOA*, Dec. 1938). Our image cannot be dated earlier than the medieval period, and is a good specimen to show

[1] Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art by V. S. Agrawala, *Hindusthani*, Vol. 7, Pt. 1, Jan. 1937, p. 14, Fig. 27.

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A new Rāhu image from Mathura

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the development of Brahmanical art at Mathura after the great epoch of the Guptas.

It is a relief (No. 2836, L. 28-3" W. 1'-6") which shows the planet Rāhu in *tarpaṇa-mudrā*, with a smiling facial expression. The nose is shown flat and the ears long and pendant. He has two long tushes and a circular ūrṇa mark on his forehead. The curly hair on head are shown in clusters of spirals, arranged in parallel rows. The face has sparse moustaches and a beard spreading on the temples in short curls. The figure wears conspicuous flowery earrings (patra-kuṇḍala), a double necklace of pearls (muktāvalī) with a jewelled pendant in the middle, beaded armlets (bhuja-bandha) and bracelets (valaya). A broad bend bearing designs of four-petalled lotus and other floral patterns forms the sacred thread (yajñopavīta). Behind the head of Rāhu is an aureole (prabhāvalī) carved with flamelike decoration. On either side of the deity stands in *tribhaṅga* pose an attendant with head and hands damaged, wearing a scarf tied round the thighs and various other ornaments. Traces of halo behind their heads can still be seen. There is no doubt that the relief will be recognized as an uncommon specimen of medieval art for the purity and simplicity of its style combined with much beauty of form. As a fine specimen of early medieval art it may be assigned to the 8th or 9th century A.D. It is made of buff-coloured sandstone.

Rāhu is worshipped by the Hindus as one of the nine planets (*Navagraha*), the other eight being Sūrya, Chandra, Bhauma, Budha, Bṛhaspati, Śukra, Śani and Ketu. The sculpturing of these planets in Hindu Iconography took place in the Gupta period for the first time and since then slabs or stelae bearing their images have formed a common feature of decoration in the Brahmanical temples both in north and south India. The earliest known sculpture from Mathura bearing the Navagraha group was a stele in which the eight figures were shown standing, beginning from the left with

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Sūrya wearing long coat in Northern style (Udīchyaveśa) and ending with Rāhu in *tarpaṇamudrā*. The piece was a remarkable specimen of Gupta Art (c. 5th cent. A.D.); but it seems to have been sent out of India by Rai Bahadur Pandit Rādhā Kṛṣṇa who had found it.[2]

Images of the nine planets were mostly portrayed all on one and the same slab excepting those of Sūrya whose worship was very widely prevalent, and hence his images were also carved independently. It appears, however, that the practice of depicting other Grahas separately also came into vogue at a later date, and hence independent images of them, like the one under review, are also sometimes met with although they are rare.

[2] Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art by V. S. Agrawala, *Hindusthani*, Vol. 7, Pt. 1, Jan. 1937, p. 14, Fig. 26.

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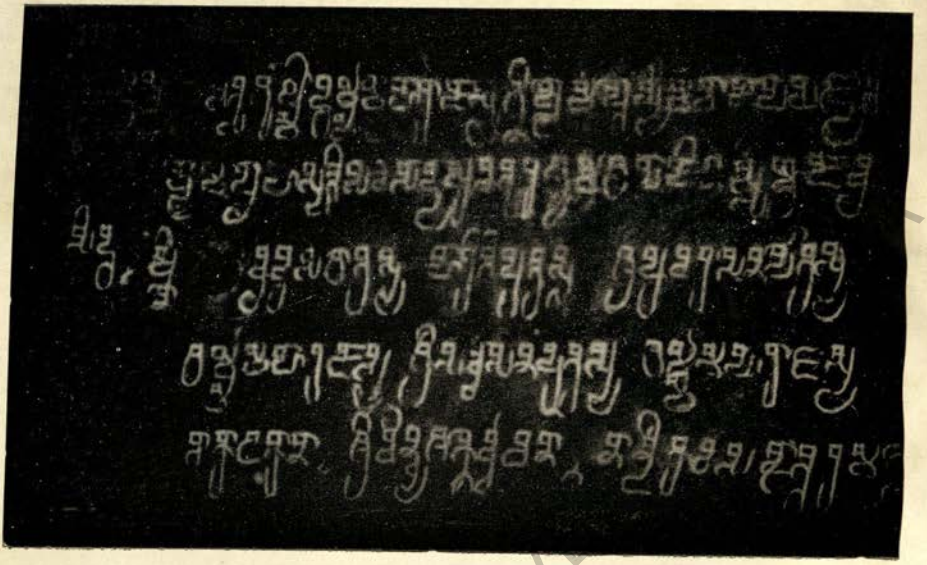
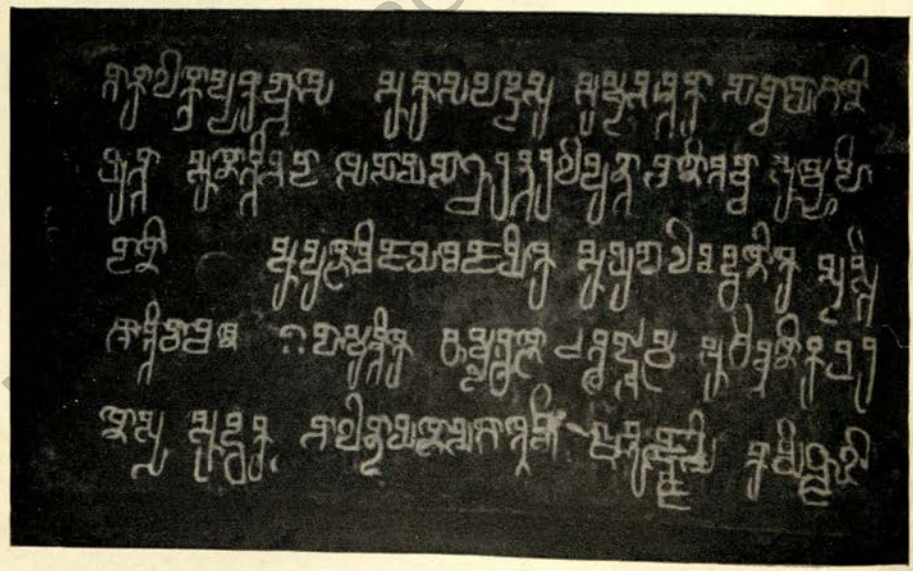


Vākāṭaka Copper Plate—1st Plate.



Vākāṭaka Copper Plate—2nd Plate, first side

14

THE EARLIEST COPPER GRANT OF THE VĀKĀṬAKA DYNASTY

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AND

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The late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, the renowned orientalist of Patna attempted to construe the history of the Vākāṭaka dynasty in his famous work "History of India (150 A. D. to 350 A.D.)" which was published in 1933. The history was based on the Puranas, copper grants and other material then available. Since the publication of that volume, some other grants and stone inscriptions have been brought to light and published. According to Dr. Jayaswal,[1] the stone inscriptions at Nāchnā[2] and Ganj,[3] belonging to the reign of Pṛthivisena I, are the earliest records of the Vākāṭaka kings. But the newly edited inscription[4] at Deotek has been ascribed by Prof. V. V. Mirashi, the editor of the inscription, to the reign of Rudrasena I and thus it is claimed to be the earliest

1 History of India (150 A.D. to 350 A.D.), p. 73.
2 G. I., p. 233, Nos. 53-54.
3 E. I., XVII, p. 12.
4 Proceedings of the 8th Oriental Conference.

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record of the Vākāṭaka kings. The three coins discovered at Kosām have been identified[5] by Dr. Jayaswal to have been issued by Pravarasena I, Rudrasena I and Pṛithivīsena I, but Prof. Mirashi opines[6] that Dr. Jayaswal's reading of the legends and figures on the coins are extremely doubtful. The copper grant[7] issued by Prabhavati Gupta as regent from Nandivardhana is however the earliest copper grant of the Vākāṭaka dynasty published up till now.

We have the pleasure of publishing today a copper grant which is claimed to be the earliest record of the Vākāṭaka dynasty known to have been inscribed on copper or stone. This grant was issued from Vatsagulma (the famous town of Bāsim at present in the Akola district of Berar) by order of the Vākāṭaka king Vindhyaśakti. Now no other Vindhyaśakti is known to history in the line of the Vākāṭaka kings than the one who is known to the Purānas and in the inscriptions as the founder of the family. Almost all the copper grants start the description of the family from Pravarasena I. The Puranas[8] mention Vindhyaśakti, father of Pravīra as the founder of the family: so also the Ajantā inscription[9] of Varāhadeva in cave No. XVI begins the line of the Vākāṭaka kings from Vindhyaśakti. It can thus safely be said that the present grant, if genuine, belongs to the founder of the dynasty and so it is the earliest record of the family.

The Dudia plates[10] of Pravarasena II and the Bālāghāt plates[11] of Pṛthivīsena II commence the description of the family

5 History of India, p. 108.

6 Nagpur University Journal, No. 3, December, 1937, p. 20 (26).

7 E. I., XV, p. 39 (Poona plates).

8 Vāyu Purāṇa (Bangabasi edition), Chap. 99, 371, 372 says Vindhyaśakti-sutas=c =āpi Pravīro nāma Vīryavān.

9 A. S. W. J., IV, page 124.

10 E. I., Vol. III, p. 138.

11 E. I., IX, p. 269.

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from Pravarasena I and describe him as samrāṭ and record that he performed four aśvamedhas along with several other yajñas mentioned therein. On the basis of these statements Dr. Jayaswal dubs [12] him as the first samrāṭ (emperor) of the family. But the Purāṇas regard Vindhyaśakti important enough to be recorded as 'murdhābhiṣikta' king of the family. Dr. Jayaswal considers [13] him, first, to be a general of the Bhāraśivas, but no authority has been quoted by him to support this view. The present grant throws much light on Vindhyaśakti and records the names of his father, grandfather and probably of his mother. It describes Vindhyaśakti of the Vākāṭakas as dharmamahārāja and also as samrāṭ who performed four aśvamedhas and also the yajñas such as (1) agniṣṭoma, (2) Āptoryāma, (3) Vājapeya, (4) Jyotiṣṭoma, (5) Bṛhaspati-sava, and (6) Sādyaskra. Nos. 2-3 and 4 are not found in the Dudia grant and Nos. 3 and 4 in the Bālāghāt grant, while Ukthya and Ṣoḍaśī are not common in Dudia and Bālāghāt grants and Atirātra is only found in Dudia grant. Viṣṇuvṛddha as the gotra of the family and the performance of the Vājapeya and Bṛhaspatisava yajñas go to prove decidedly that the family was a Brahmin one. The name Hārītiputra also strengthens this fact. Again the description of his father Sarvasena as dharmamahārāja shows that his father had a kingdom probably as a māṇḍalika. His grandfather has been mentioned merely as Srī Pravarasena without any kingly epithet. The facts recorded above adds, for the first time to our knowledge, about the previous history of Vindhyaśakti.

The recently published fragmentary grant [14] of Devasena by Dr. Randle of the India Office library was also issued

12 History of India, p. 111.

13 *Ibid*, p. 88.

14 New Ind. Ant., II, No. 3, June, 1939, p. 177.

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from Vatsagulma (Basim). It is a matter of coincidence that Devasena's grant, which is the last of the known copper-plate grants of the family, and the present grant which is the first of the group should have been issued from one and the same place, *viz.*, Vatsagulma.

There is another peculiarity of this grant worth mentioning. All the known copper grants of the family are in Sanskrit while the record of the first plate of this grant up to 'vacanāt' (by order) is in Sanskrit and the rest of the grant is in Prakrit which appears to be later than the Mahārāṣṭrī of Vararuci's grammar. As in the Mahārāṣṭrī the genitive serves[15] the purpose of the dative, the Mahārāṣṭrī form of the genitive of 'Sagotta' would be 'sagottassa', but the form of genitive used for the dative in this grant is 'sagottesi.' It therefore appears that this 'esi' form is the preliminary stage of the 'si' or 'śi', the present dative termination of the Marāthi language.

The present grant is the only grant written in Prakrit language and found in the territory which comprises the ancient Vidarbha. We find two grants of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman II, to be in Prakrit. They are (1) Mayidavolu plates,[16] edited by Dr. E. Hultzsch and (2) Hirahadagalli grant,[17] edited by G. Bühler. These grants have great similarity of language and expressions and terms used, with the present grant and one is inclined to come to the conclusion that both these families belonging to the same gotra are branches of the same stock.

It would be interesting to note the points of similarity of expressions and terms in these three grants in a tabulated form.

15 Prakrit Prakāśa, VII, 64 (Vaidya's edition, p. 86. 'Caturthyāḥ ṣaṣṭhī.')

16 E. I., Vol. VI, p. 87. We find this 'esi' termination for genitive in this grant, 'etesi' for 'eteṣām' (line 27) and 'cesi' for 'ca eṣām' (line 46)

17 E. I., Vol. II, p. 5.

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No.	Present grant	Mayidavolu grant	Hirahadagalli grant
1	Amha santaka		Amha sancarantaka
2	Amhehi dāṇi	amhehi dāṇi	
3	āpuṇo vijaya vijayike		vijaya vijayike
4	āyubala vaddhaṇike	āyubala vadhaṇike	dhammāyuyaśobala vadhaṇike
5	parihāre vitarāma	parihāre vitarāma	
6	paṭehi dohi		paṭibhāgā be
7	ācandāditya kālako		ācanda tārakālika
8	araddha savvai ṇeyika	aradha saṃ(vi) ṇayakaṃ	arattha saṃvināyikam
9	alavaṇakleṇṇa khāṭaka (kṛtaka)	aloṇa(kh)ādakam	aloṇa gulacchobhaṃ
10	apupphakkhira ggahaṇa		adudhadadhigahaṇaṃ aharitakasakapuppha gahaṇam
11	apārampaṛagobalivardda	apārampara baliva(dam)	apārampara balivadda gahaṇaṃ
12	abhaṭappāvesa	abhaḍapāpesaṃ	
13	akarada acammadgolaka akhatto collakaveṇesika	akuracolaka vinesi khat(ā) saṃvāsaṃ	akarayollakaviṇesi khaṭṭā-vāsaṃ

So also the present grant has got similarity of expressions and terms with the subsequent grants of the Vākāṭaka family, the only difference being in the fact that they are wholly in Sanskrit, which fact goes to support the view of Dr. Jayaswal that there was revival of Sanskrit language during the regime of the Vākāṭakas. We take the Dudia plates and the fragmentary Mansār plate for the purpose of comparison.

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The comparative table is as follows :—

No.	The present grant	Dudia plate	Mansār plate
1	amha santaka	asmat santakās	
2	sāvā yoganituttā	sarvā(a)dhyakṣa niyoga-niyuktā	sarvādhyakṣaniyoga-niyuktā
3	āpaṇo āyubala vaddhanike	ātmano dharmāyuh balam aiśvarya vivridhaye	ātmadharmāyurbalam aiśvaryya vivṛddhaye
4	dhammatthāne	dharmasthāne	
5	puvvarāyāṇumateyase	purvarājānumataṃ	purvvasamājnaya
6	abhaṭappāvesa	abhaṭacchatra prāvesya	abhaṭaschatraprāvesya
7	alavaṇakeṇṇa kkhaṇaka	alavaṃklinnakreṇi khanaka	alavaṇakliptokreṇi khanaka
8	sanidhi sopanidhi	sanidhi sopanidhi	
9	ācandāditya kālako	ācandradityakāliyau	ācandra(drā)dityakāliya(h)
10	sadaṇḍakanigraha karejjametti	sadaṇḍanigraham kuryā-mah	
11	sāvvaccharam	saṃvatsare	
12	apuppakkhira ggahaṇe	apuṣpakṣirasandohaṃ	apushpakṣirasandoha(h)

There is another peculiarity of the Vākāṭaka grants, *viz.*, that the years mentioned are the regnal years. The present grant also is no exception to this rule. I read the year 37 in the present grant as suggested by Mr. R. B. Dikshit, Director-General of Archaeology and Dr. Majumdar, the President of the History Congress of Calcutta. The dates are not recorded by months, fortnights and days but by seasons, fortnights and days. This speciality is found in many early grants of different dynasties, *e.g.*, the Mayidavolu grant [18] of the Pallava king and the inscription [19] of king Yajñaśrī Gotamī-

[18] E.I., Vol. VI (1900-01), p. 84 (savaccharaṁ 10 gimhā pakho cchaṭṭo 6 Pancam 5).

[19] E.I., Vol. I, p. 75, No. XV, new inscription of king Yajnaśri Gottami putra (savacchar sata[vi]maṃ 20+7 hematanaṃ pakhaṃ catutthaṃ 4 divasa 5).

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putra and the Kushān inscription [20] of Mahārāja Bhīmasena. If we accept 248 A.D. as the year of the coronation of Vindhyaśakti as suggested [21] by Dr. Jayaswal, the year of the present grant comes to 285 A.D.

The present editors have edited the present grant from the photographs of the plates secured through Mr. Dhanāgare Sastri of Bāsim. It is assured that the original copperplates are with a gentleman from the mofussil village near about Bāsim; the editors had no opportunity to see them. It was however given to understand that the photographs are equal to the size of the original plates. There are in all six photographs and each photograph contains five lines, and it has got whole mark in the middle of the left side after about two or three letters. It thus appears that there are in all four plates of which the first and fourth plates have got writing on one side only while the middle two plates have writing on both the sides. The size of the plates is 6·1″ by 3·4″. The length of the line is 5″ inches and the size of the letters is ordinarily $\frac{1}{8}$″ by $\frac{1}{4}$″. The characters are of the boxheaded type as are usually found in the Vākāṭaka grants and the grants of Mahākosal Kings of the period. There are very few differences in orthography as compared with the writings of the other grants of the Vākāṭakas and they are negligible.

This grant is valuable for its Prakrit language which is possibly the speaking language of the people of ancient Vidarbha. This is the only original record of the earliest period found in the province and as such it will be useful for tracing the earliest stage of development of Marāṭhi, the current language of the locality. It will be a subject for another paper to discuss the deviation of the language from

[20] 20; A.S.R., Vol. 21, p. 119, plate XX; E.I., Vol. IX, p. 129 (mahārājasya Śrī Bhimasenaya saṃvatsare 50+2 Grīṣmapakṣe 4 divase 10).

[21] Jayaswal : History of India, p. 111.

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that of Vararuci's Prakrit and to find the traces of the modern Marāṭhi in the language of the present grant.

For the convenience of the scholars blocks of the photographs, transliteration and the translation of the present grant are being published along with this paper.

TRANSCRIPT OF THE GRANT OF VINDHYAŚAKTI

First Plate

Dṛṣṭaṃ—

(1) Vatsagulmād - dharmmamahārājasya = āgniṣṭoma-āptoryāma-vājapeya-jyoti-

(2) ṣṭoma-bṛhaspati-sava - sādyaskra-catur - aśvamedha-yājinas-samrāja-Vṛ-[22]

Siddhaṃ—

(3) ṣṇivṛddha-sagotrasya Hāriti-putrasya Śri-Pravarasena-pautrasya

(4) dharmmamahārājasya[23] Śri - Sarvvasena - putrasya dharmma-mahārājasya

(5) Vākāṭakānāṃ Śri-Vindyaśakter-vacanāt Nāndikaṭasa ūttara[24]-magge

2nd Plate, first side

(6) bhākālakkhoppakābbhāse ākāsapaṭṭesu āmha-santakā sāvvāyoga-ṇi-

(7) yuttā āṇatti - bhaṭa sesāya - sancaranta -rala[25]-puttā bhāṇitavvā āmhehi

2. (8) dāṇi āpuṇo-vijaya-vejayike āyu- bala- vaddhaṇike svasti-

(9) śānti-vācane ihamuttike dhammatthāṇe etthad-grāme ādhi[26] vvaṇika-cara-

(10) ṇassa āddhaka Bhālandāyaṇa-sagottesi Situ jjesi Kāpinjala-

[22] Read 'Viṣṇu.' [23] Read 'rāja.' [24] Read 'uttara.'
[25] Read 'kula.' [26] Read 'āthi.'

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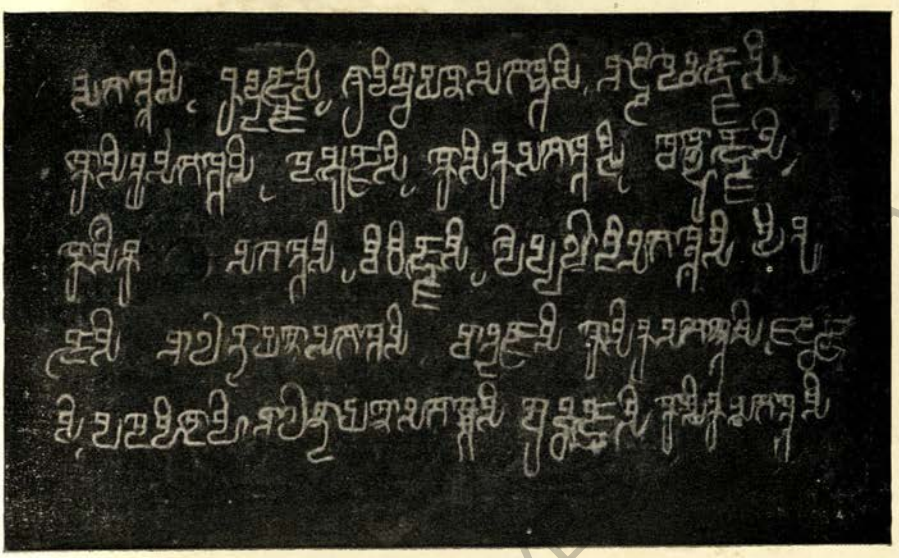
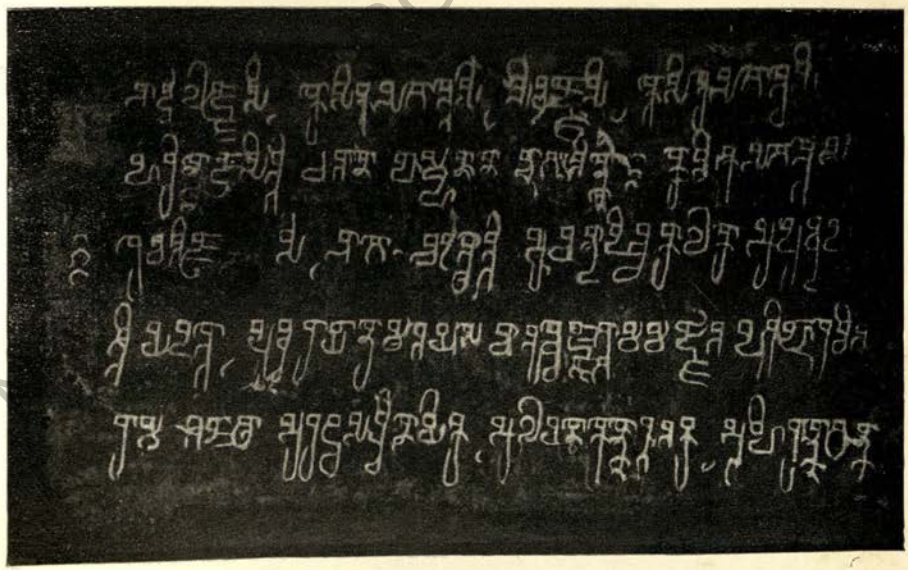


Vākāṭaka Copper Plate—2nd Plate, second side



Vākāṭaka Copper Plate—3rd Plate, first side

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2nd plate, 2nd side

(11) sagottesi Ruddajjesi Śrāviṣṭhāyaṇa - sagottesi Bhāṭṭidevajjesi
(12) Kosika - sagottesi Desujjesi Kosika - sagottesi Veṇhujjesi
(13) Kosika-sagottesi Vidhijjesi Paippalādi-sagottesi Pitu-
(14) jjesi Bhālandāyaṇa-sagottesi Cāndajesi Kosika-sagottesi Jeṭṭhaje-
(15) si paṭehi dohi Bhālandāyaṇa-sagottesi Buddhajesi Kosika-sagottesi

3rd plate, 1st side

(16) Bhāṭṭilajjesi Kosika-sagottesi Sivajjesi Kosika-sagottesi
(17) Hariṇṇajesitti eteṇa bāmhaṇāṇa bhāgātiṇṇā 3 Kosika-sagottesi
3. (18) Revatijjesi bhāgo cautthotti ācandādityakālako apuvvada-
(19) ttīyadatto puvvarāyāṇumateyase cātuvvejjaggāma majjatā parihāro vita-
(20) rāma tajathā araṭṭha-saṃvaineyika alavaṇa-keṇṇa-kkhanaka ahiraṇṇa-dhāṇṇa-

3rd plate, 2nd side

(21) ppaṇaya-ppadeya apuppha-kkhira-ggahaṇi apāraṃ-para-go-balivardda
(22) avāra-siddhika acammadgolaka abhaṭa-ppavesa akhaṭṭa-collaka-vene-
(23) sika akarada avaha saṇidhi sopaṇidhi sakutup-panta
(24) samānca-mahākaraṇa sāvvajati-parihāra-parihitanca jato upari li-

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(25) khita sāsaṇa cādamyamāṇa karettā rakkhadha rakkhāpedhaya parihāradha

Fourth plate

(26) parihārāpedhaya jovu ābādhaṃ karejja kartavvya aṇumaṇṇati
(27) tissa etehi upari-likhitehi bāmhaṇehi parikūpitesa daṇḍa-
(28) ka nigraha karejjāmetti sāvvaccharaṃ 37 hemantā pakkhaṃ paḍhamaṃ
(29) divasa 4 samupāṇatthi likhitamimaṃ sāsaṇaṃ seṇapatinā
(30) Vaṇhuṇa iti ॥ siddhirastu ॥ [four-petalled lotus symbol] ॥

TRANSLATION

Seen.

(Ll. 1 to 5). From Vatsagulma (Bāsim) by order of Vindhyaśakti, of the Vākāṭakas, who is the righteous[27] king, son of the righteous king Sarvasena, a grandson of Śrī Pravarasena, son of Hārīti[28] and also belonging to Viṣṇuvṛddha gotra, who is an emperor performing agniṣṭoma, āptoryāma, Vājapeya, Jyotiṣṭoma, Bṛhaspatisava, Sādyaskra and four aśvamedhas. In the northern region of Nāndikaṭa (the present Nānded in the Nizam's state). (ll. 6 and 7.) bhākālakkhoppakābbhāse[29] ākāsapaṭṭesu(?)

[27] Dharmamahārāja is translated as righteous king. This epithet occurs in many grants of other dynasties.

[28] Hārītiputra occurs in the grants of Visnu Kunda Cuṭu Sātakarṇi. They were Mānavya gotra Hārītiputra. The Kadambas also imitated them. The epithet Hārītiputra does not occur in subsequent Vākāṭaka grants. It might be the name of Vindhyaśakti as Gautamiputra has been recorded as name of the son of Pravarasena I.—Dr. D. C. Sircar : Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Lower Deccan, p. 155.

[29] This clause cannot be, as yet, explained. Abhas=near, and patia=region.

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Completed.

Those who are in our retinue, those who have been appointed by the order of the chief, the warriors under orders, noblemen touring by command,[30] should be spoken to (warned) (ll. 7 to 9); by us now for our success and for successful end, for extending our life and strength, for attainment of welfare and peace, and for benefit here and in the next world, in this holy place and in this village, half to the section of Atharvaṇa;[31] (ll. 10 to 15) to Situjja of Bhālandāyaṇa gotra, to Ruddajja[32] of Kapinjala gotra, to Bhāttidevajja of Śrāviṣṭhāyaṇa gotra, to Desujja of Kausika gotra to Veṇhujja of Kausika gotra, to Vidhijja of Kausika gotra, to Pitujja of Paippalādi gotra, to Cāndajja of Bhālandāyana gotra and to Jeṭṭhajja of Kausika gotra by two parts; (ll. 16 to 19) to Buddhajja of Bālandāyaṇa-gotra, to Bhāṭṭilajja of Kausika gotra, to Sivajja of Kausika gotra and to Hariṇṇajja of Kausika gotra—to these Brahmans third part; to Revatijja of Kausika gotra the fourth part; lasting for the period of the sun and the moon, have been given as was not formerly given, we give with the exemptions and limitations in the village which has people of the four Vedas—which exemptions and limitations were given effect to by the former kings.

The exemptions and limitations are as follows :—(ll. 20 to 23) without being required to supply bullocks,[33] etc., in succession free from the dues of digging and selling salt,

30 Sesāya = commanded. Sesāya sancaranta kulaputra is equivalent to Ajna sancari kulaputrah. The word Sesāya occurs with the same meaning in the Apabhraṃsa work Ṣaṭkhaṇḍa Sama by Prof. Hiralal Jain of Amraoti.

31 Adhivanika = Atharvaṅika which occurs in other grants.

32 Ajja = Ārya. Ruddajja = Rudrārya. Ārya epithet is added to Brahmin names in subsequent Vākāṭaka grants in Sanskrit. Ji in Rudraji, Śivaji in Marathi is the latest form of ajja and ārya

33 This clause occurs in the Hirahadagalli plates of Śivaskandavarman II and the meaning of the clause as given by the editor Prof. Bühler has been followed here.

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without any dues for gold, grain and matrimony,[34] without requiring to pay dues for cows and bullocks as was being paid previously, avar[35] siddhika (?), without any dues for hide and coal, free from the entry of the warriors, without being required to supply cots, water pots,[36] etc., free from any taxes, free from carriers' taxes, with the underground treasure and with the minor treasures, with the right of duties and taxes (l. 24) samaṇca mahākaraṇa[37] sāvvajāti parihāra parihitanca (?) (ll. 24 and 25) protect and cause to be protected from those who disobey the order written above, defeat them and cause them to be defeated (ll. 26 to 28); we will restraint, with punishment, the person who obstructs or allows obstruction being caused by others—on being complained against them by the Brahmins mentioned above (ll. 28 to 30). It has been completed in the year 37, first fortnight of Hemanta, day 4. This order has been written by Viṣṇu, the general. Let there be success.

34 The word ppaṇaya can be the apabhraṁśa form of Praṇaya hence it is translated as matrimony.

35 Avāsa siddhika and achāra siddhika occur in many grants. In the Dudia plates of Pravarasena II (E. I., Vol. III, p. 200) the term occurs as 'avā (cā) rāsana carmāṅ. garan'; the term is not properly explained.

36 Similar clauses occur in the Mayidavolu plates and Hirahadagalli plates of Śivaskandavarman II as 'akuracolaka-vinesi khat(ā)saṁvāsaṃ' and 'akara yollaka vinesi khaṭṭavāsam' respectively.

37 The meaning of the clause is not clear. 'Mahākaraṇa' appears to be the name of an authority who has control over all the castes and his rights have been protected.

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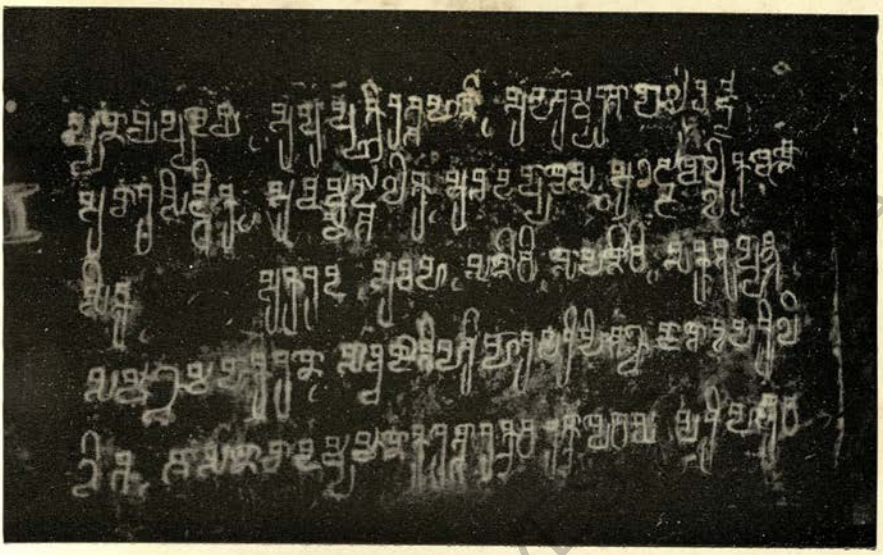
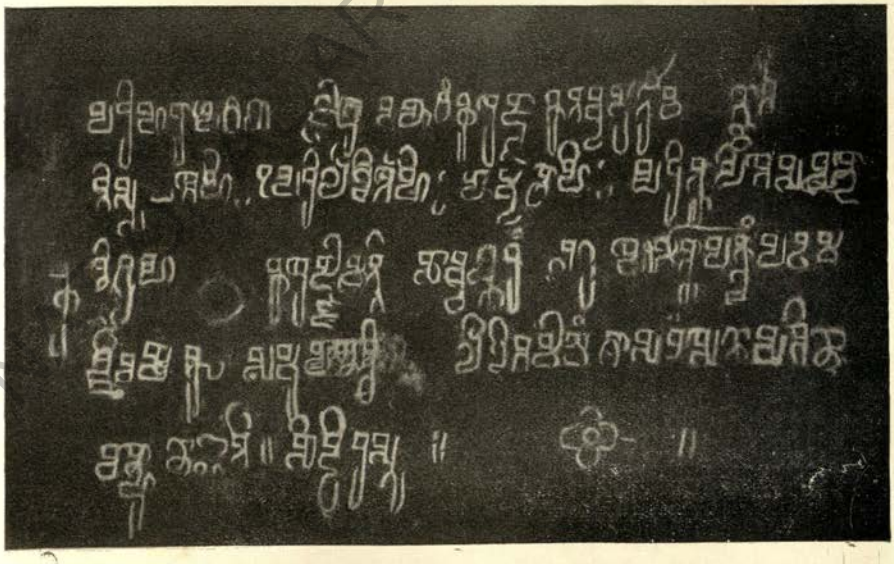


Vākāṭaka Copper Plate—3rd Plate, second side



Vākāṭaka Copper Plate—4th Plate

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15

RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF BENGAL IN THE PRE-PĀLA AGE

DR. B. M. BARUA, M.A., D.LIT. (LOND.)

Calcutta University

The Secretaries regret that this paper which was read before the Congress has not been left with the office and that no abstract is available.

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16

HEAD-OFFERING MOTIF IN AN ANCIENT BENGAL TERRACOTTA

(With two photographs)

DR. U. N. GHOSHAL, M.A., PH.D.

Presidency College, Calcutta

In his recently published work entitled "*Excavation at Paharpur, Bengal*" (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 55), Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, while describing the terra-cottas of the main shrine, writes as follows (*Ibid*, p. 67):—"Another plaque shows a man seated on a cushion, holding the top-knot of his head with the left hand and a sword in the right across his own neck, as if in the act of striking. This may possibly refer to the life of Buddha himself, when he cut off his long hair with his sword, just before he turned a recluse."

In the absence of further references, it is not possible to trace this remarkable sculpture which is not illustrated in the volume under notice. Its significance, however, can be understood from the clear description given above.

Representations of the Buddha's cutting off his hair, preparatory to his renunciation, are by no means unknown to the Eastern school of sculpture to which category the series of terra-cottas at Paharpur belongs at least in part. This scene, for example, is represented in two stelae hailing from a village in Jessore and from an unknown site in Bihar, which have been described and reproduced by Mr. R. D. Banerji (*Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture*, pp.

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46 and 57, and Pls. XIX, *b* and *c*). But neither in these nor in any other known specimen the Buddha is figured as holding his sword across his own neck as if in the act of striking. The clue to the correct interpretation of the Paharpur plaque is to be found in a series of four Pallava and Early Cola sculptures which were first identified by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel in a paper published in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies (" *The Head-offering to the Goddess in Pallava Sculpture*," BSOS., Vol. VI, pp. 539-543, with four plates). In these sculptures which are found in the Draupadī *ratha* and the Varāha Cave at Mamallapuram, the Lower Cave at Trichinopoli and the temple at Puḷḷamaṅgai (10 miles to the south of Tanjore), we have the identical *motif* of a pair of male figures kneeling by the side of a four-armed goddess who can be easily identified as Durgā or Mahiṣamardinī. Dr. Vogel, after a minute examination of the sculptures in question, concludes that in each of the above examples the person kneeling to the proper right of the goddess is shown in the act of offering his own head to the deity.

The description of the kneeling figures by Dr. Vogel on the above examples tallies in all essentials with that of the Paharpur terracotta to which Mr. Dikshit refers. In the two clear specimens, those from Trichinopoli and Puḷḷamaṅgai, the personage seizes the tuft of his hair by the left hand while applying the sword held in his right hand to his neck (Fig. 1). The difference, *viz.*, the absence of the goddess and the seated posture, is probably due to the fact that the Paharpur plaque was held to be not a cult-object but a decorative design.

A terracotta panel now deposited in the Mathura Museum (Fig. 2) enables us to trace the extension of this striking *motif* further afield in the region of the upper Ganges valley as far back as the Gupta period. It " shows a bearded monk with emaciated ribs detaching his own head with a sword

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which has half entered his throat" (V. S. Agrawala, *Handbook of the Sculptures of the Curzon Museum of Archaeology*, Muttra, 1939, p. 51 and figure 39). In the accompanying illustration (Fig. 2) the monk is shown as kneeling with the right hand grasping the sword and the left holding the tuft of hair exactly as in the South Indian examples quoted above. As Mr. Agrawala kindly informs me, the terracotta was discovered from the bed of the Jumna at Muttra in 1938. Mr. Agrawala assigns it on grounds of style to the Gupta period.

The offering of his own head by the devotee is not unknown to our ancient religious literature. An early instance is found in the Rāmāyaṇa (Uttara-kāṇḍa, Chs. IX-X) in connection with the story of Rāvaṇa's austerities for matching the greatness of his half-brother Vaiśravaṇa (Kubera). How Rāvaṇa propitiated Lord Brahmā is told in the following lines :—

Daśa-varṣa-sahasrantu nirāhāro Daśānanaḥ ।
pūrṇe varṣa-sahasre tu śiraścāgnau juhāva saḥ ॥
evaṃ varṣa-sahasrāṇi nava tasyāticakramuḥ ।
śirāṃsi nava cāpyasya praviṣṭāni hutāśanam ॥
atha varṣa-sahasre tu daśame daśamaṃ śiraḥ ।
chettukāme Daśagrīve prāptastatra pitāmahaḥ ॥

(*Ibid*, X, 10-12).

The above instance is only an isolated one. It is quite otherwise with the religious literature of the Śāktas, where we find repeated sanctions for ritual-offering of his own blood by the devotee in honour of the goddess. In the Devī-māhātmya section of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa we are told how the king Suratha and the Vaiśya Samādhi, after hearing the story of the Devī's *māhātmya*, propitiated the image of the deity by various offerings and ended by making her an offering soaked with blood from their own bodies. Then

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the Devī being propitiated appeared before them and granted their desires :—

Tau tasmin puline devyāḥ kṛtvā mūrtim mahīmayīm ।
arhaṇāṃ cakratustasyāḥ puṣpadhūpāgnitarpaṇaiḥ ॥
nirāhārau yatāhārau tanmanaskau samāhitau ।
dadatustau baliṃ caiva nijagātrāsṛgukṣitam ॥
evaṃ samārādhayatostribhir varṣair yatātmanoḥ ।
parituṣṭā Jagaddhātrī pratyakṣam prāha Caṇḍikā ।

Devyuvāca—

Yatprārthyate tvayā bhūpa tvayā ca kulanandana ।
mattastat prārthyatāṃ sarvam parituṣṭā dadāmi vām ॥

(Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, XIII, 7-11).

The Kālikā Purāṇa has the following verses in praise of the practice of blood-offering from his own body by the devotee :—

Śārdūlaśca naraścaiva svagātra-rudhiraṃ tathā ।
Caṇḍikābhairavādīnām balayaḥ parikīrtitāḥ ॥
.....
Siṃhasya śarabhasyātha svagātrasya ca śoṇitaiḥ ।
Devī tṛptim avāpnoti sahasram parivatsarān ॥

(*Ibid*, LXVII, 5 and 12).

With these may be quoted the verses from the same work sanctioning the offering of flesh by the devotee :

Yaḥ sva-hṛdaya-sañjātam māṃsam māṣa-pramāṇataḥ ।
tila-mudga-pramāṇādvā devyai dadyāttu bhaktitaḥ ॥
ṣaṇmāsābhyantare tasmāt kāmamiṣṭamavāpnuyāt ।
.....
.....
yenātmamāṃsaṁ satyena dadāmīśvarabhūtaye ।
nirvāṇaṃ tena satyena dehi haṃ haṃ namo namaḥ ।
ityanena tu mantreṇa svamāṃsaṃ vitaredbudhaḥ ।

(*Ibid*, LXVII, 172 and 184-85)

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The Tantrasāra, perhaps the most popular Tantric *nibandha* in Bengal, actually quotes rules relating to the offering of one's own blood before the goddess and the blessings supposed to follow from this act:

Svagātrarudhiradāne tu—

Kaṇṭhādho nābhitaścorddhvaṃ hṛdbhāgasya yatastataḥ ।
pārśvayoścāpi rudhiraṃ Durgāyai vinivedayet ॥

Phalaṃ tu Kumārītantre—

Svagātrarudhiraṃ dattvā natvā rājatvamāpnuyāt ॥
yaḥ svahṛdayasañjātam māṃsam māṣa-pramāṇataḥ ।
tila-mudga-pramāṇaṃ vā dadyādbhaktiyuto naraḥ ॥
ṣaṇmāsābhyantare tasya kāmamiṣṭamavāpnuyāt ।

(*Ibid*, pp. 933-34, Bangavasi Ed., Calcutta, 1334 B.S.)

In the late Tantric *nibandha* work from Bengal, called *Prāṇatoṣaṇī*, written (as we learn from the preamble) by Rāmatoṣaṇa Vidyālaṁkāra in 1743 Śaka (1821 A.D.), we have a quotation from the Matsyasūkta of Mahātantra. Here we have a comparative list of the merits of different kinds of blood-offerings before the Devī including that of his own blood by the devotee (*Ibid*, p. 285, Basumati ed., Calcutta). It is a matter of common knowledge that the rule of offering blood nearest the heart before the goddess is very much observed by pious Hindu ladies of Bengal down to our own times.

The offering of one's own blood before the goddess was not approved as a general rule by all the authorities of the Śākta cult. The Kālikā Purāṇa forbids a Brāhmaṇa to offer his own blood along with other animals in the passage mentioned below:

Siṃhaṃ vyāghraṃ narañcāpi svagātrarudhiraṃ tathā ।
na dadyāt Brāhmaṇo madyam mahādevyai kadācana ॥

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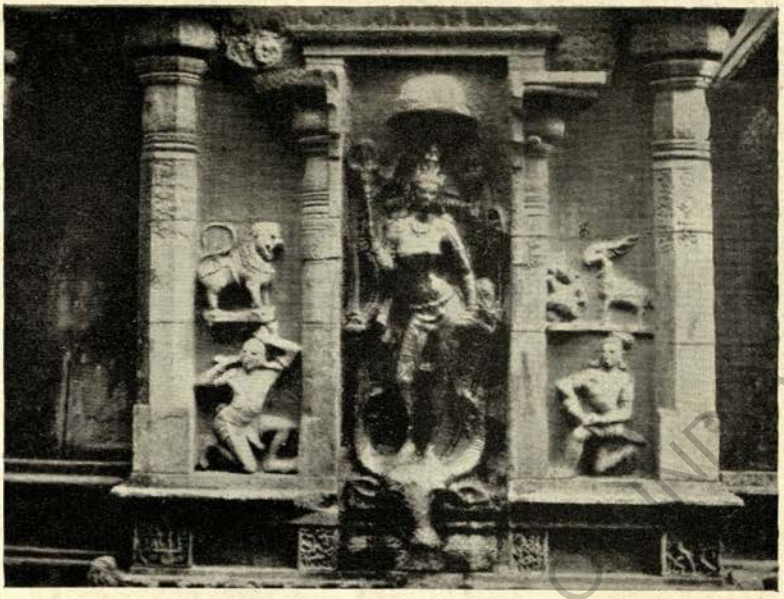

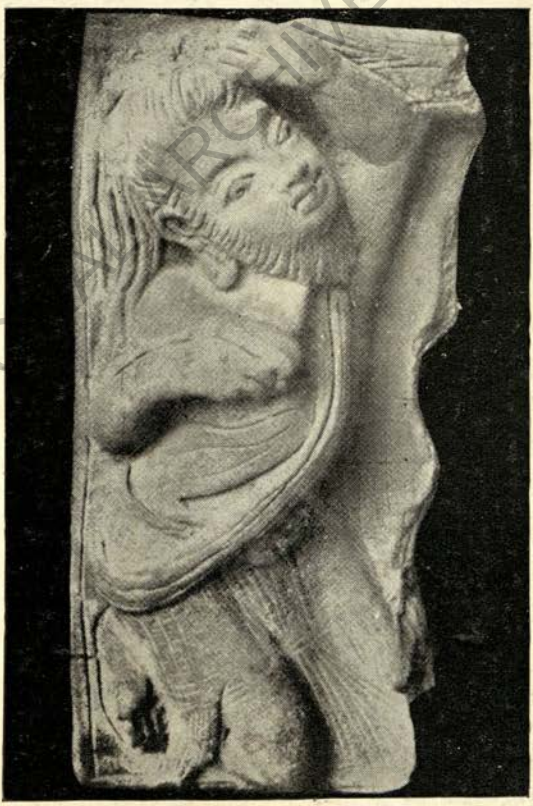

A Head offering Motif
(Figs. 1 and 2)

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.....

sva-gātrarudhiraṃ dadyāccātmabadhamavāpnuyāt ।

(*Ibid*, LXVII, 50 and 52)

To the same effect runs a text quoted in the Tantrasāra :—

madyaṃ datvā mahādevyai Brāhmaṇo narakaṃ vrajet ।
svagātrarudhiraṃ dattvā ātmahatyāmavāpnuyāt ॥

(*Ibid*, p. 934)

On the other hand, the Haratattvadīdhiti while quoting similar inhibitory texts from the Gāyatrītantra, reproduces and explains away a text of the Yoginītantra expressly enjoining a Brāhmaṇa to offer his own blood to the Devī :

Yattu evaṃ vipro devatāyai svagātrarudhiraṃ dadediti Yoginītantra - ṣaṣṭhapaṭalavacanaṃ tattādṛśādhikāriparam Pūrvavacane svagātrarudhiradānasya madyatulyanindā-śravaṇāt (*Ibid*, p. 329, Calcutta 1907).

It is interesting to observe that the conflict of authorities noticed above is reflected in the literature of folk-lore, which as might be expected contains a number of references to such a peculiar rite as the head-offering ceremony. In Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara (11th century) we have in two slightly different versions (LIII, 86-193 and LXXV, 5-120) the story of the Brāhmaṇa Vīravara who, to save his royal master from his impending doom, actually (or nearly) cut off his own head as an offering to the goddess Caṇḍikā when the deity, struck by this extraordinary act of devotion granted all his desires. The version of the story in Kṣemendra's Bṛhatkathāmañjarī (Kavyamala edition, p. 525) similarly describes Vīravara as a *dvija*. In the other versions of the Vetāla-Pañcaviṃśati, such as those of Śivadāsa and Jambhaladatta, Vīravara is more properly described as a *rājaputra* and *kṣatriya* (see M. B. Emeneau, *Jambhaladatta's version of the Vetāla-Pañca-viṃśati*, American Oriental Series,

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Vol. IV, p. 43, for full references). The Hitopadeśa (III, 8) which also gives the story of Vīravara, similarly characterises the same as a *rājaputra*.

Apart from these references, we have mention of head-offering before the goddess as a familiar *motif* in some other well-known tales. Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara (LXXX, 4-51), as well as Śivadāsa's version of the Vetālapañcaviṃśati contains the story of the washerman Dhavala and his brother-in-law (or friend) who cut off their heads for presentation to the goddess in a fit of excessive devotion. When the grief-stricken wife of Dhavala prepared to follow suit, the goddess restored the dead persons to life. The same story is told in Jambhaladatta's version of Vetālapañcaviṃśati with the difference that Dhavala figures as a prince and is said to have won his bride by similarly offering to cut off his own head so as to propitiate the goddess (see M. B. Emeneau, *op cit.*, pp. 61-63 and foot notes). Above all, the Dvātriṃśatputtalikā has a number of stories of King Vikramāditya, the paragon of royalty, who performs the same extraordinary act or sacrifice. In most of these stories (Nos. II, VII, VIII, XVIII) the king, interceding in favour of some suffering mortal prepared to strike at his own neck with his sword, thus successfully propitiates the goddess (Ambikā or Bhuvaneśvarī or an unnamed deity said to be fond of human flesh). In only one story (XXVII) the act of devotion is performed before a Bhairava or attendant of Śiva (See Franklin Edgerton, *Vikrama's Adventures or the Thirty-two Tales of the Throne*, Part I, trans., pp. 54, 89, 94, 215, 220).

The popularity of the head-offering *motif* is shown by the fact that it finds mention not only in ancient Sanskrit but also in modern, vernacular literature of folk-tales. We have thus the pathetic story of Hamir, the valiant Chauhan chieftain of Ranthambhor, who had the audacity to defy the mighty Alauddin Khalji, Sultan of Delhi, and at last ended his life by cutting off has own head as an offering to the

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god Rudra. This story is told in four Hindi poems of the first half of the 19th century and is illustrated by at least three series of paintings of the Kangra school belonging to that period (see the illuminating paper of Hirananda Sastri, "The Hamir-Hath," illustrated with ten plates, *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, October 1915, pp. 35-40. I owe this reference to Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji of the Calcutta University).

It thus appears that the religious rite of head-offering had an extensive vogue in Indian art and literature going back to Gupta times. Its motives are various, involving as a general rule persuasions by the devotee to the goddess to confer material favours upon himself or upon others and in exceptional cases an excess of self mortification. It is most often associated with the Śākta cult, though some examples of its connection with the cult of Śiva also occur. The religious literature of the Śāktas, though it does not directly sanction this rite, at least encourages the same by recognising offering of one's own blood to the goddess as an act of merit. From this point of view our present plaque possesses a unique historical significance. If our argument is accepted as correct, the Paharpur plaque would be the oldest known artistic reference to the Śākta cult in Bengal.

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17

ŚĀTAKARNI SUCCESSION AND MARRIAGE RULES

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(Abstract)

The writer had previously put forward the hypothesis that the Śātakarṇis and Sungas were matrilineal people and that succession to the throne was from mother's brother to sister's son in general. Cross cousin marriage was also practised, especially by the Śātakarṇis, who had two kingdoms, on one of which a father would rule and on the other, the son, whose mother was the sister of the previous king of this second kingdom. Prof. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri in the latest edition of his work entitled "Political History of Ancient India" raised objections to these views. He argued that (*a*) the correlation of metronymic and regal title did not hold for all coins and inscriptions, (*b*) all queens were not cross cousins, (*c*) a few, out of numerous versions of the Purāṇas, did not exclude the names of sons as stated by the writer.

In the present paper the writer points out that (*a*) the correlation holds good for inscriptions—the discrepancy for coins is discussed and shown to support the hypothesis put forward to a large extent; (*b*) the alleged discrepancy about cross cousin marriage is shown to be based on a misconception of the critic; (*c*) the objections raised about a few manuscripts are shown to be unsound on statistical grounds.

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18

THE AUSPICIOUS SYMBOL AT THE BEGINNING OF INSCRIPTIONS

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Very often a symbol is noticed at the beginning of Indian records,[1] with slight modifications according to their age and locality. It is called *piḷḷaiyār śuḷi* or Gaṇeśa's curl in the Tamil country, and in Bengal it was called ãji as late as the end of the last century. The symbol is still used by orthodox people in some parts of this country, and its shape now resembles the Bengali figure for 7 with a *candravindu* (the Bengali sign for nasalisation) above—৭̐. According to Al-Bīrūnī,[2] this auspicious symbol indicates the *praṇava, i.e.*, the sound *Oṃ*, and scholars generally accepted his interpretation. Recently however Dr. N. K. Bhattasali has challenged the authority of Al-Bīrūnī and has suggested that the symbol in question indicates *siddham* or *siddhir=astu*.[3] Al-Bīrūnī's interpretation cannot convince us, as in many records the symbol is

[1] *Cf.* ७ नमो बुद्धाय in the Mankuwar image inscription of Kumāragupta (*C.I.I.*, III, p. 46); the Nalanda inscription of Vipulaśrīmitra (*E.I.*, XXI, p. 98); the two Bodh Gaya inscriptions of Aśokachalla (*E.I.*, XII, pp. 29, 30); ७ नमः सूर्य्याय in the Gaya Śītalā temple inscription of Yakshapāla (*A.S.B., Mem.*, V, p. 86); ७ नमो विष्णवे in the Gwalior inscription of Bhoja (*E.I.*, XVIII, p. 107); etc., etc.

[2] Sachau: *Al-Bīrūnī's India*, I, p. 173.

[3] *E.I.*, XVII, p. 352.

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found followed by the *praṇava*[4]. No authority could however be cited for or against Dr. Bhattasali's theory.[5]

I have noticed a *dhānya-vyādhi-khaṇḍana-mantra* in Parāśara's *Kṛiṣisaṃgraha*,[6] which resembles an early medieval charter recording the gift of land. This *mantra* in its form of a pseudo-charter solves the problem of the symbol, because *mantras* are learnt orally and are generally recited, and the symbol at the beginning of the pseudo-charter had therefore to be expressed in words. The *mantra*, in question, is given in two versions beginning with the expression *Oṃ siddhiḥ* which evidently stands for the auspicious symbol found at the beginning of Indian inscriptions.

Let us quote the text of the *mantra* in full, so that one may compare its form with that of early medieval grants. It is interesting to note that the second version of the *mantra* actually calls itself a *śāsana*.

ॐ सिद्धिः। गुरुपादेभ्यो नमः। स्वस्ति। हिमगिरिशिखरात् शङ्खकुन्देन्दुधवलशिखरतटात् नन्दनवनसङ्काशात् परमेश्वर-परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-श्रीमद्रामभद्रपादा विजयिनः समुद्रतटावस्थित-नानादेशागत-वानरकोटिलाङ्गूलाग्रगण्यं खरतरनखरातितीक्ष्णहस्तमूर्द्धलाङ्गूलं लीलागमन-समुद्भूतवातवेगावधूतपर्व्वतशतं परचक्रमथनं पवनसुतं श्रीहनुमन्तमाज्ञापयन्ति। अमुकग्रामे अमुकगोत्रस्य श्रीमतोऽमुकस्य अखण्डक्षेत्रे राताभोन्ता-उदा-गान्धिया-भोन्तो-गान्धी-द्रोढ़ी-पाण्डरमुखी-महिषामुण्डो-धूलिशृङ्गा-मण्डुकादयः ताल्जङ्घाः चटक-शूकर-मृग-महिष-मूषिक-वराह-पतङ्गादयः

[4] *Cf.* ॐ ओं नमः शिवाय in the grants of Vijayasena and Ballālasena (*Ins. Beng.*, III, pp. 46, 61, 71); Bilhari inscription of Yuvarājadeva II (*E.I.*, I, p. 254); Benares grant of Karṇa (*E.I.*, II, p. 305); ॐ ओं नमो नारायणाय in the grarts of Lakshmaṇasena and his successors (*Ins. Beng.*, III, pp. 85, 94, 101, 109, 121, 133, 143); ॐ ओं नमः श्रीविश्वनाथाय in the Veraval inscription of Arjuna (*I.A.*, XI, p. 242); etc., etc.

[5] *Cf.* however ॐ सिद्धिः at the beginning of the Baud grant published in *I.H.Q.*, X, p. 475.

[6] Baṅgabāsī ed., p. 41 ff.

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सर्व्वं शस्त्रोपघातिनो यदि त्वदीयवचनेन न त्यजन्ति तदा तान् वज्र-लाङ्गुलेन ताड़यिष्यसीति ॥ ॐ आँ क्रौँ क्रौँ नमः ॥[7]

The second version adds श्रीरामचन्द्रचरणेभ्यो नमः after गुरु-पादेभ्यो नमः, and reads °शिलातटात् and °पादाः कुशलिनः instead of °शिखरतटात् and °पादा विजयिनः respectively. It however ends a little differently—

श्रीमन्तं हनुमन्तमाज्ञापयत्यत्यत् अमुकग्रामे अमुकगोत्रस्य श्री-अमुकस्य अखण्डक्षेत्रे भोल्ला-भोल्ली-पाण्डरमुखो धूलिशङ्कादि-रोगक्लेन त्रिपुटो नाम राक्षसी सप्त पुत्रानादाय विविधविघ्नं समाचरन्त्यवतिष्ठते। इदं मदीयशासन-लिखनमवगम्य तां पापराक्षसीं सपुत्रबान्धवां वज्र-दण्डाधिकलाङ्गुलदण्डैः खरतर-नखरैश्च विदार्य्य दक्षिणसमुद्रे लवणाम्बुधौ खण्डशः प्रणिधेहि। यद्यत्र त्वया क्षणमपि विलम्ब्यते तर्हि त्वं कौपुरुषेण(?) पित्रा पवनेन मात्रा चाञ्जनया शास्त्रश्योऽसोत्यन्यथा नाहं प्रभुन त्वं भृत्य इति ॥ ॐ घ्राँ घ्रीँ घ्रूँः ॥

The auspicious symbol followed by *namaskāra* to some deity and the word *svasti* is found in a number of records.[8] The first version of the *mantra* adores the feet of the *guru* instead of a deity. This is quite in consonance with the high regards with which the *guru* or *ustād* is looked upon by the professional *ojhās* and with the belief that spells are pointless if homage to the *guru* is not paid on all occasions. The second version has however found out a deity to be adored together with the *guru*, just to complete its resemblance with early medieval grants. As regards the date of the composition of the *mantra*, the passage परमेश्वर-परम-भट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-श्रीमद्रामभद्रपादा विजयिनः or °पादाः कुशलिनः

[7] The following is the indication with reference to the use of the *mantra*: इमं मन्त्रं बिल्वकाष्ठकीलेन कैतकीदले लिखित्वा सुक्लकेशेनादित्यवारे चैत्रस्यैशान्यां शस्यमध्ये मञ्जरीषु बन्धयेत्। As to the second version of the *mantra*, the indication is:

लिखित्वालक्तकैस्तन्मन्त्रं शस्येषु बन्धयेत्।
न व्याधिकीटहिंस्राणां भयं तव भवेत् क्वचित् ॥

[8] *Cf.* ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय। स्वस्ति। in the Khoh grant of Samkshobha (*C.I.I.*, III, p 114); Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva (*Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 128); ॐ नमो बुद्धाय। स्वस्ति। in the Manahali grant of Madanapāla (*ibid*, p. 148); etc., etc.

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definitely points to the early medieval period. The Tantric formula at the end of the *mantra*, if not added afterwards, may indicate a slightly later date. The *dhānyavyādhis* called Rātā, Bhontā, Bhontī, Pāṇḍaramukhī, Gāndhī, Gāndhiyā, Droḍhī, Dhūliśṛṅgā or °śṛṅgī, Mahiṣāmuṇḍī, etc., may offer clues as to the country where the mantra was composed. I have not been able to trace them in Bengal.

Al-Bīrūnī's mistake as regards the interpretation of the symbol may be explained. The *Oṃ* in the expression *Oṃ siddhiḥ* (the pronounced or literal form of the symbol) might have led him to confusion. Instances of such confusion are found in the Baud grant (58th year) of Raṇabhañja[9] which begins with ॐ सिद्धिः and the Belabo grant of Bhojavarman[10] which begins with ॐ ॐ सिद्धिः. The symbol pronounced as *Oṃ siddhiḥ* in the *Kṛiṣisaṃgraha* is doubtless evolved from the word *siddhaṃ* found in a number of earlier inscriptions. It may be suggested that *Oṃ siddhiḥ* may not have been the only pronunciation of the symbol in all parts of India; that is to say, it was differently pronounced in different parts of the country. Al-Bīrūnī's *Oṃ* and Bhattasali's *siddhir=astu* have however not been supported by literary evidence, as *Oṃ siddhiḥ* has been by the *Kṛiṣisaṃgraha*.

9 *I.H.Q.*, X, p. 475.
10 *Ins. Beng.*, III, p. 19.

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19

BAIMBIKĀNĀM KULAVRATAM

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The expression **वैम्बिकानां कुलव्रतम्** occurs in a verse of Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra*. Agnimitra, son of Pushyamitra thus refers to his own sense of courtesy:

दाक्षिण्यं नाम बिम्बोष्ठि वैम्बिकानां कुलव्रतम्। (Act IV).

There is difference of opinion as regards the meaning of the word *baimbika* which is not found in Sanskrit lexicons. Some scholars (*e.g.*, Apte in his *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*) believe that the word means "a gallant lover" or "a Nāyaka of the Dakshiṇa variety." Evidently these scholars have conjectured the meaning from the single *Mālavikāgnimitra* passage quoted above. There are other scholars who think that *baimbika* signifies a particular dynasty to which Agnimitra belonged.

According to the former interpretation, the word *kula* in the expression *kulavrata* would mean "a class", whereas it would indicate "a dynasty" according to the latter interpretation. The use of the expression *kulavrata* in the works of Kālidāsa however appears to support in all cases the latter interpretation, as it always refers to a particular dynasty. Attention may be drawn in this connection to the following passage which refers to the *kulavrata* of the Pauravas:

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अस्त्येतत् पौरवाणामन्त्यं कुलव्रतम्—

भवनेषु रसाधिकेषु पूर्वं क्षितिरक्षार्थमुशन्ति ये निवासम् ।
नियतैकपतिव्रतानि पश्चात् तरुमूलानि गृहीभवन्ति तेषाम् ॥

(*Abhijñānaśakuntalam*, Act VIII, 20)

and also to the following verse referring to the *kulavrata* of the Ikshvākus :

अथ स विषयव्यावृत्तात्मा यथाविधि सूनवे
नृपतिककुदं दत्त्वा यूने सितातपवारणम् ।
मुनिवनतरुच्छायां देव्या तया सह शिश्रिये
गलितवयसामिक्ष्वाकूणामिदं हि कुलव्रतम् ॥

(*Raghuvaṃśam*, Canto III, 70)

It is therefore almost certain that, in the verse in question, Agnimitra refers to his own family as *Baimbika* which was evidently derived from the name of a near ancestor or a distant distinguished ancestor. As Pushyamitra himself did not belong to any royal family, there is hardly any possibility of a very distant ancestor to have had remarkable exploits to his credit and to have been remembered on that account. Bimbika therefore might have been the name of the father (or grandfather) of Pushyamitra.

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ADMINISTRATION IN ANCIENT BENGAL

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THE SAHASRALIṄGA LAKE

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Introduction

The artificial lake Sahasraliṅga at Pātan (Anhilvādā) occupies a unique place in the Mediæval history of Guzarat. It was a splendid achievement of Jayasiṃha Siddharāj, the greatest Chaulukya sovereign. Its name is still recited in thousand tongues in Guzarat.

Says the Sarasvatī-Purān which is still a manuscript and not published :—

न सिद्धेशसमो राजा न सरस्ताट्टशं क्वचित् ।
समं सहस्रलिंगेन तीर्थमन्यन्न विद्यते ॥

सरस्वती-पुराण, 16, 222.

There is no king vying with Siddheśa and no lake parallel to that one excavated by him. There is no Tīrtha (a place of sanctity) equal to Sahasraliṅga.

This lake was decorated with countless temples, *ghats*, etc., erected on its banks which were regarded as Tīrthas. This Purān is still in manuscript and is guessed to have been written by a poet of the court of Siddharāj. The guess is about a scholar named Keśava who was well versed in Purān and History and who was in direct touch with the King. He might have been commissioned to write the poem in commemoration of the Sahasraliṅga Lake—a splendid specimen of art. Prabhābak Charit is the only

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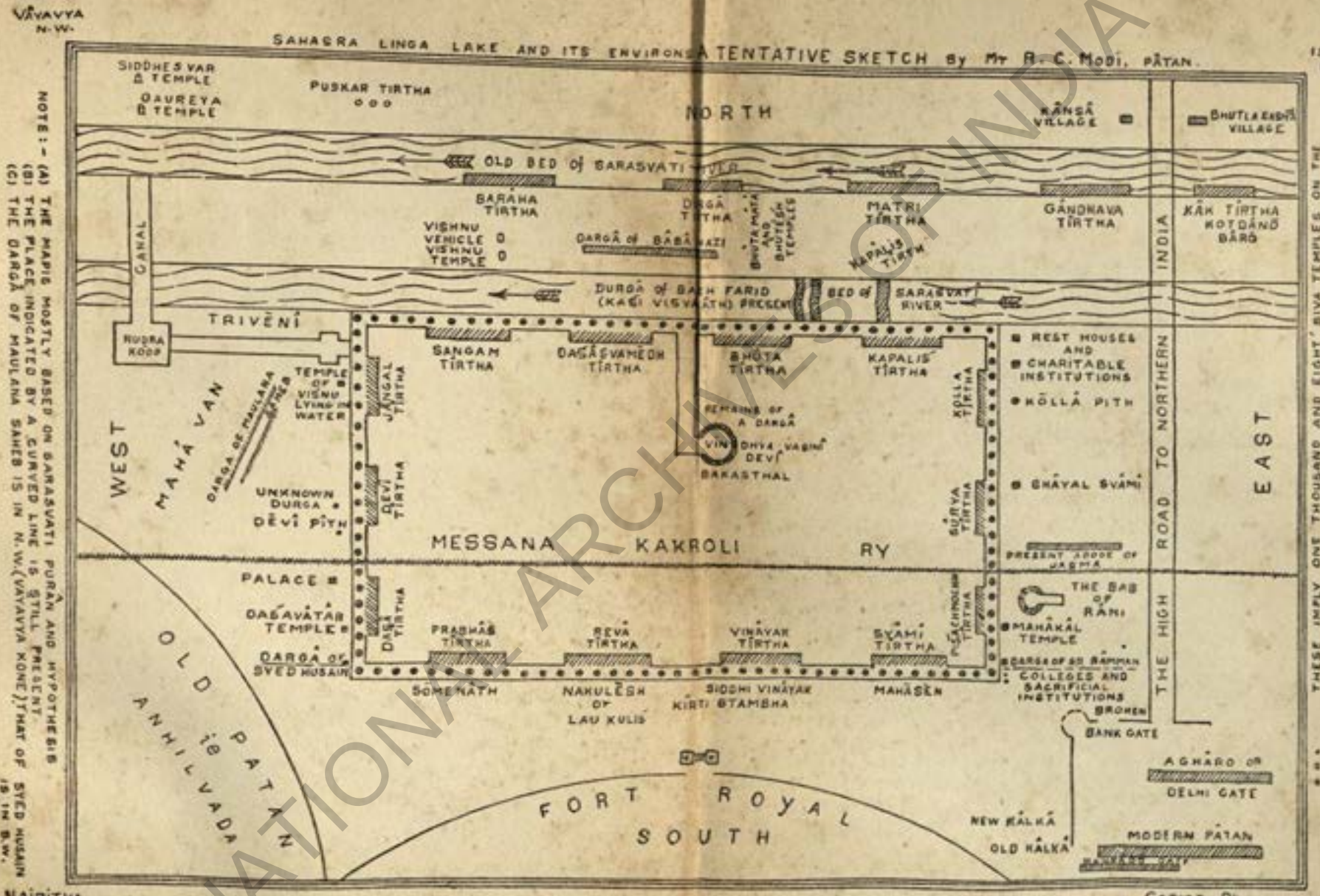

NOTE:- (A) THE MAPS MOSTLY BASED ON SARASVATI PURÂN AND HYPOTHESIS
(B) THE PLACE INDICATED BY A CURVED LINE IS STILL PRESENT.
(C) THE DARGÂ OF MAULANA SAHEB IS IN N.W.(VAYAVYA KONE) THAT OF SYED HUSAIN IS IN S.W.

* * * THESE IMPLY ONE THOUSAND AND EIGHT SIVA TEMPLES ON THE BRINK OF THE LAKE OR ON STAIRS RISING OUT OF WATER.

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work which refers to the name of Keśava. Sarasvatī-Purān supplies a complete list of the temples and Tīrthas and in many places supplies their location. We find references to this lake in numerous works—Sanskrit, Prākrit, Old Guzrati, Arabic and Persian. The important works may be cited as follow :—

Dvyāśraya-Kāvya, Kīrti-Kaumudī, Mōharāja-Parājaya, Hammira-Mada-Mardana, Vasanta-Vilāsa, Apabhraṃśa-Kāvyatrayī (Samrā Rāsō), Sarasvatī-Purān, Ain-i-Akbari, Mirat-i-Ahmadi, Mirat-i-Sikandari, and others.

The hands of time have wrought their ravages on this superb specimen of art and sanctity. There is practically no trace of this lake at present. The majority of temples have vanished and only a few Dargas or mausoleums of Muslim saints are standing in their places. The bed of the lake has practically been filled up by earth where cultivation is going on at present and the Messana Kakroti Railway has passed over it. One is reminded of its existence only on account of the remnants of its high banks which have not yet disappeared.

Recently two papers were contributed on the Sahasraliṅga Lake in Guzrati by two gentlemen of Pātan, in the Baroda State, namely Messrs. Kanailal Bhai Shankar Dave, and Ramlal Chunni Lal Modi. The first gentleman contributed his paper as a supplement to a weekly Guzrati paper of Bombay named 'Guzrati.' The second gentleman read his paper in the Twelfth Session of the Guzrati Sahitya Parishad of Ahmedabad.

Mr. Dave in his paper has tried to furnish details of information about the lake, temples and Tīrthas on its banks so far as information about them could be gleaned from the Sarasvatī-Purān.

Mr. Modi, on the other hand, has tried to reconstruct the whole geography of the Sahasraliṅga Lake by a scientific sifting of the entire account of the Sarasvatī-Purān. He has

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tried to locate the temples, Tīrthas, the high roads, the canal, the river and the geographical relation of the lake with the old and new city of Anhilvādā or modern Pātan. Wherever the account of the Purān has not helped him, Mr. Modi has offered his own suggestions. So far as I think, he has succeeded remarkably.

For my present paper, the authorities cited above have been consulted and the papers have been freely utilised. Mr. Modi's paper is an important contribution and I fully acknowledge my debt to him in writing out my paper. The annual report of the Archæological Department, Baroda, and the Baroda Gazetteer too, have been utilised while writing out this paper. The publications of the Archæological Department of the Indian Government have not been lost sight of.

Designation of the Lake

This lake is popularly known as 'Sahasraliṅga Sarovar.' Mr. Dave thinks that this name is not correct as some works name it as Siddha Sara or Siddha Sāgara and following the Sarasvatī-Purān, identifies it with Durlabha-Sāgara. The Sarasvatī-Purān states that Siddharāja, while lying on his bed, meditated one night how he could repair a lake near the city which was situated on the north of the city and which had been excavated by Durlabha-Rāja.[1] The Sahasraliṅga Lake, too, lies on the north of old Pātan and it is just possible that Durlabh-Sāgar after a new orientation with numerous temples and Tīrthas on its banks, had been renamed as Sahasraliṅga Sarovar.

Mr. Modi, however, is of opinion that the title Sahasraliṅga is quite correct. Prabandha-Chintamani distinctly

[1] एकदा पार्थिवेंद्रोऽसौ निशि सुप्तोत्थितः सुखम्।
सस्मार सरसतस्य जलहीनं स्वके पुरे ॥ 101.
यल्लरी नगराभ्यासे उत्तरस्यां दिशि स्थितम्।
ज्ञातं दुर्लभराजेन जलपूर्णं कथं भवेत् ॥ सरस्वती-पुराण, सर्ग 15, 102.

mentions the name of the lake as Sahasraliṅga. The old Guzrati work Samrā Rāsō in the Apabhraṃśa-Kāvyatrayī also calls the lake as Sahasraliṅga. Ain-i-Akbari also calls it Sahasrāṇak.[2] But he is not definite as to whether the Sahasraliṅga Lake was a fresh excavation or the orientation of an old one.

The date of the Sahasraliṅga Lake

As regards the date of excavation of the lake and the building of temples, etc., on its banks, only a surmise can be made. Prabandha-Chintāmaṇi states that the excavation of the lake started before the conquest of Malwa.[3]

Hemchaṇdra in his Dvyāśraya-Kāvya says : " Just as after the war waged on account of Maithilī, Rāghava performed a sacrifice, so he (Siddharāja) on an auspicious day devoid of any evil constellation of stars, fixed the appropriate time (Muhūrta) for the excavation and decoration of the lake with temples, etc., after the war of conquest (of Malwa)."

Thus according to Hemchandra, the work of the Sahasraliṅga Lake with its countless temples and Tīrthas, etc., was undertaken after the conquest of Malwa.[4]

The Sarasvatī-Purān according to Mr. Dave refers to the beginning of the Sahasraliṅga Lake after the conquest of Malwa.[5]

Jaya Siṃha reigned from *c.* 1094-1143 A.D. and his contemporaries Nara-Varman (*c.* 1097-1111 A.D.) and Yaso-Varman (*c.* 1134-1143 A.D.) of Malwa from *c.* 1097-1143 A.D. For full twelve years the war with Malwa continued and after the completion of the war the lake was excavated.

[2] Modi's paper, p. 4.

[3] ततस्तेनैवामर्षेण मालवमण्डल-प्रतिष्ठासु सचिवान् श्रिल्पिनश्च सहस्रलिंगघर्मस्थानकर्मस्थाने नियोज्य त्वरितमत्या निष्पद्यमाने नृपतिः प्रयाणकमकरोत्। प्रबन्धचिन्तामणि, p. 94.

[4] अतीत्य मैथिली युद्धं राघवो नक्रतक्रतुः।
प्रयाते तरतीर्थां स पूर्तं चक्रे महासरः॥ द्व्याश्रय महाकाव्य, सर्ग 15. 114.

[5] Dave, p. 273.

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It is presumed that the lake was excavated and adorned with temples, Tīrthas, Ghāts, etc., somewhere in the early part of the twelfth century A.D. as the Malwa war seems to have been concluded at the time. The Sahasraliṅga Lake came to be regarded as a place of sanctity in Guzarat from the middle of the 12th Century A.D. and retained its prestige as such till its complete destruction, say, towards the end of the 16th century A.D.

The size of the Lake

Some writers have compared the lake with an earring, some with a bangle, and others with the lower portion of a Vīṇā.[6] Mr. Dave's suggestion as to its oval shape is rather bold based as it is on literary account. An observation of the remaining portion of the high banks of the lake, will convince one that the size of the lake was rather rectangular. The Munēsar Lake of Viragaon is a miniature of the lake and was planned on its model. It may be said with some certainty, therefore, that the Sahasraliṅga Lake was rectangular in form.

Water supply to the Lake

It is current in Guzarat that on account of the curse of Jasmā the lake had dried up and was again filled up with water owing to the sacrifice of his life by Māyā, an untouchable. The popular story has no leg to stand on.[7]

The author of the Prabandha Chintāmaṇi thinks that the water rising from the natural spring as a result of excavation,

6 Various poetical works describe the size of the lake as follow:—

(*a*) अमुक्तमौक्तिकं भूमेर्भात्येकमिव कुंडलम् ॥ 72.
कीर्त्तिकौमुदी, सर्ग 11.

(*b*) अमिय सरोवर सहलिंगु इकु धरणि ही कुण्डलु ॥ 47.
वसंतविलास, सर्ग 211.

7 Dave, p. 281.

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was not sufficient to fill in the lake, so it was filled in later on by rain water.[8]

These two versions, however, carry no weight before "an interesting epigraph which is incised on a stone slab now built into the wall of a modern shrine at Pātan named Bijal Kuān Mahādeo. Unfortunately it is fragmentary. The whole record must have been a store-house of historical information. The Praśasti of which it is a portion is mentioned in the Prabandha Chintāmaṇi and was incised on the Kīrti-stambha that once stood on the banks of the Sahasralinga Lake in Anhilvādā or old Pātan. The contents of this fragment suffice to prove that the famous king Siddha-rāja either got a canal dug out from or directed the course of the river Sarasvatī to fill in the lake for irrigation and other purposes."[9] This inscription was discovered by Mr. Modi and a paper was read by him on it in the VIIth Oriental Conference at Baroda. Mr. Modi, however, is of opinion that a canal was dug out from which the water passed into the lake.

Lines 5 and 6 of the inscription referred to the fact stated above.

नृपः ॥ 79.
चूडेन्दुपादैरिव शांतियोगै-
र्गंगातरंगैरिव पुण्यरूपैः ।
स्वप्ने समागत्य तमेकभक्तं
प्रबोधयामास..... ॥
(व)रदा च जन्न
भगीरथस्य त्रिदशापगेव ॥ 97.
ततः सा पूरयामास सरः सिद्धेशकारितं ।
खानितं सगरेणेव साग..... ॥

They may be rendered thus :—

Line 5—"She (*i.e.*, Sarasvatī) appeared in a dream and by means of, as it were, the cold applications of the rays of

[8] Modi, p. 4.

[9] Annual Report of the Director of Archæology, Baroda State, 1934-35, p. 18.

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the moon on the forehead or of the sacred waves of the Ganges, awakened that king, her sole devotee.

Line 6—And there came into existence . . . . . as the Ganges unto Bhagīratha. Then she filled the lake which was caused to be made by Siddheśa (*i.e.*, Siddharāja) or was caused to be dug out as it were by Sagara.'

There are instances of the filling up of artificial lakes or tanks by means of river water. Karna Sāgar near Modhera, Sāmedā of Baḍ Nagar, Pichola of Udepur, were filled in by this process. There is a written record of this practice in the Pṛthvīrāja Vijaya-Kāvya that Ānā Sagar in Ajmere was filled in through the waters of Chandra Nadī.[10]

The Canal, its location

The point to be taken up now is the question of the place from where the canal was taken out from the river. At present there is no trace of it. The present bed of the Sarasvatī river runs towards the north practically touching the lake and the Darga of Saikh Farid has come inside the bed of the river. The flow of the river is from the east to west. In the days of Siddharāja, too, there had been no difference. The old bed of the river is at a distance of a mile or two. No house can be built inside the bed of a river and so from the present bed to the old, a distance of a mile or two, stretches of sands are visible at present.

The second point to be taken up is whether the canal was taken out from the river by the eastern or western side of the lake. Mr. Dave thinks that it was taken out from the river by the east, but Mr. Modi is of opinion that it was

[10] या पुष्कराण्य विहारशीला मन्दाकिनी वेन्दु नदी प्रसिद्धा।
भगीरथः स्विन्नुमिव स्रवन्त्यासथा तटाकं तमपूरि देवः॥
पृथ्वीराज, सर्ग 5, 310

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taken out by the west. The latter conclusion may be arrived at for three reasons :—

(1) If the canal had been taken out by the eastern side, then its course moving in the same direction as that of the river, the flow of currents would have been strong and in the rainy season, the lake would have been exposed to damage. But if the canal had taken a turn from the river in the west, thus flowing in the contrary direction to the river, the force of currents in the canal would have been diminished.

(2) There were big gardens on the western side and for watering the plants therein, the water of the canal might have been utilised. This is another reason for issuing the canal from the river by this side.

(3) On the Agnikoṇa (south-east corner) of the lake there stands the gate of modern Pātan named Phātī Pāḍnō Darvājō, 'the gate of broken bank.' This indicates that perhaps at one time the bank of the lake on this side had burst out. This also suggests that the superfluous water of the lake used to flow from this side. It is quite plain that the direction of the in-coming is always in front of the direction of the out-going water. When south-east (Agni-kōṇa) was the direction of the out-going water, it is quite reasonable and natural to suppose that Vāyukoṇa or north-west corner of the lake had been the side of the in-coming water. At present there are some traces of the channel of the canal on the high banks of the lake still standing.

Rudra-kūpa

Inside the canal, there was a Kuṇḍa or reservoir which went by the name of Rudra-kūpa.[11] The Sarasvatī-Purān indicates that the current was so strong in the beginning

[11] सरस्वत्याः कृते रुद्रस्तत्र कूपं चकार सः ।
सा च तं कूपमाख्याय तदा ख्याऽभवन्मुने ॥ स° पु० 15, 310.

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that it had frightened Siddharāja. In order to diminish the force, he prayed to god Śankar. On this, the god constructed the Rudra-kūpa and the entire current of the canal having flown into it, its force subsided. In mediæval times, the canal contrivances such as, iron sluices or gates, in order to check the flow of the currents of the canal water, were unknown. A reservoir or a brick or stone structure (Kōṭhī) was made inside a canal for the smooth flow of its water. In the Khan Lake at Pātan or in the Kānkōri Lake at Ahmedabad, such a structure with or without holes for checking the flow of water or for the passage of water has been planned. The title Rudra-kūpa has been rightly applied to the reservoir (Kuṇḍa). Just as the god Rudra checked the flow of the Ganges in her descent on earth, so by the construction of this Kuṇḍa or reservoir, the force of the Sarasvatī currents passing through the canal was moderated.

The Triveṇī

The Purān indicates that in the Rudraa-kūpa, the rivers Ganges and Jumna had come along with Sarasvatī. Mr. Dave is not quite definite as to the location of this Triveṇī. Mr. Modi, however, thinks that the waters of the canal might have flown from the Rudra-kūpa into the lake through three channels and these might have been designated as the Triveṇī, *i.e.*, three rivers meeting conjointly in the lake.[12] This plan also obtains in the Khan Lake at Pātan as well as in the Kānkōri Lake at Ahmedabad.

It has been recorded that Sarasvatī again from this spot diverted towards the east.[13] The suggestion can be made that the channels stated above existed on the eastern side of Rudra-kūpa. The surmise, therefore, is that the canal issuing from the river first flowed towards the south and entered the

[12] यत्र गंगा च यमुना मध्ये देवी सरस्वती।
वेणीभूतं हि तत्तीर्थं प्रयागादतिरिच्यते ॥ स० पु० 16, 3.

[13] रुद्रकूपात्तच···प्राच्यां वेणी सरस्वती ॥ स० पु० 16, 4.

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Rudra-kūpa and from there its currents passed from the west to east into the lake in three channels. Thus there being devices in the canal for checking currents, the flow of water had been controlled or moderated.

Sacred places on the lake

Thousand Liṅgams of Śiva to whom the lake is dedicated might have been planted on the brink of the lake or inside small shrines built on small stairs rising out of the waters of the lake. The Purān states that these Liṅgams were placed by the demon Bāṇa at first in the Narmada waters at Amarakaṇṭaka and from there Siddharāja brought them to Pātan. (These Liṅgams are called Bānaśahī as they were brought by Bāṇa.)[14] These Liṅgams are found in countless numbers at Amarakaṇṭaka even up to these days. They were one thousand and eight in number as has been stated by Hemchandra in his Dvyāśraya-kāvya.[15]

Kīrti-kaumudī and other Kāvyas record that on all sides of the lake there stood temples of gods and goddesses and a detailed description of these temples has been given in the Sarasvatī-Purān. The banks of the lake confronting different temples were named after the deities in the temples.[16] These temples might have been bigger than the shrines on stairs on the brink or in the waters of the lake and might have been erected at some distance from the bank. Some temples have been saved on account of their being converted into Dargas or mausoleums of Muslim saints. Of these temples, one or two have been suitably described

[14] यदा तु सिद्धराजेन पर्वते ऽमरकंटके ।
स्नात्वा च नर्मदातीये ओंकारस्तोषितः प्रभुः ॥
बाणेन यानि लिंगानि नियुक्तानि नदीजले ।
तेषां सहस्रमुद्धृत्य सिद्धराजः समानयत् ॥ स० पु० 16, 85, 92

[15] शंभोः सहस्रमष्टौ चायतनानि सरस्वटे । स० पु० 16, 117.

[16] यस्य यस्य हि देवस्य यज्जलं पुरतः स्थितम् ।
तस्य देवस्य तत्तीर्थं विज्ञेयं पापनाशनम् । स० पु० 16, 44.

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in the Purān and hence their sites can be easily located, whereas, the majority of them have been slightly touched upon and hence their location can be fixed by mere guess only.

Saṅgam Tīrtha

Says the Purān that this lake contained the Saṅgam Tīrtha but its place has not been mentioned. Mr. Modi is of opinion that the place where the canal water fell into the lake might have been given the name of Saṅgam Tīrtha. He suggests that this Tīrtha is situated in the north-west corner of the lake.[17]

Viṣṇu lying in water

The Purān mentions Viṣṇu lying on the brink of the lake-water. Mr. Modi advances the theory that near the Saṅgam Tīrtha there was a reservoir or Kuṇḍa in the lake for taking in the canal water discharged by the three channels and it is also guessed that an image of Viṣṇu might have been placed therein.

Images of Viṣṇu lying in water or on Śeṣa Nāga are found in many places. Such images are found in the Sūrya Kuṇḍa of Modhera and in the Brahma Kuṇḍa of Pātan near the temple of Hari Har Mahādeo. At present there stands the Darga of Maulana Saheb.

Daśāśvamedh Tīrtha

The name of this Tīrtha has been given in the Purān, but it cannot be located at present. Mr. Modi placed it on the left side of the Saṅgam Tīrtha in the northern bank of the lake. The road from Pātan to Benares passed to Māḍwāḍ through the northern bank. For this reason, Mr. Modi locates this Tīrtha in the northern bank specially on account of the connection of Daśāśvamedh with Benares.

[17] तस्यैव सरसो मध्ये तीर्थं पापभयापहम् ।
संगमं नाम विख्यातं दर्शनात्सर्वकामदम् ॥ स० पु० 16, 127.

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The road leading to Prabhās Tīrtha passed through the southern side of Pātan and for this reason the Prabhās Tīrtha might be located to the southern bank of the lake.

The Purān does not locate the temple of Kāśī-Viśvanāth but it may be surmised that the temple stood on the bank of the Daśāśvamedh Tīrtha. The present Darga or mausoleum of Shaikh Farid may be identified with the temple. Mr. Burgess in his antiquities of northern Guzarāt states that the architectural style of this Darga is of the Hindu pattern and that originally it might have heen a Hindu temple.

Jāṅgal Tīrtha

The Purān distinctly states that the Tīrtha was situated in the west. It has been mentioned along with Prabhās.[18] Mr. Dave by mistake regards it as Jaṅgal (forest). A dip in the Tīrtha is supposed to bring in endless virtues.

On the west of the lake, stood Mahāban which will be specially dealt with later on.

Jāṅgal signified in Sanskrit according to Apte 'A ridge of earth running along the edge of a field to collect water and to form a passage over it, *i.e.*, a landmark.' Mr. Modi opines that the side of the lake bank where the canal water passed through and ultimately fell into the lake, might have been spoken of as Jāṅgal and this is why this part of the lake has been spoken of as Jāṅgal Tīrtha.

Devī Tīrtha

Devī Tīrtha lay by the side of the Jāṅgal Tīrtha. The Purān distinctly states that on the western bank existed Devī Pīṭha where stood 108 temples of Harasiddhā and other gods and goddesses.[19] The Dvyāśraya, too, also concurs

[18] प्रभासं दक्षिणे भागे पश्चिमे दिशि जांगलम्।
तेषु स्नानादिकं सर्वं जनयत्यक्षयं फलम्॥ स० पु० 16, 61.

[19] अपरस्यां दिशि ख्यातं तस्मिन्सरसि सिद्धिदाः।
हरसिद्धां समाश्रित्य यत्र देव्योऽप्यवस्थिताः॥
विजयांतं समुद्दिष्टं शतमष्टोत्तरं द्विज॥ स० पु० 16, 136. 151.

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with this fact.[20] At present a Darga or a mausoleum stands here.

Vindhyavāsinī Devī

The Purāṇ states that the temple of the Devī stood in the middle of the lake and rose very high.[21] The suggestion of Mr. Dave that the temple stood on the rising ground in the middle of the lake, seems to be quite appropriate. The rising ground has been spoken of in the Purān as Bakasthal. Moharāja-Parājaya also refers to the rising ground. It exists even up to this day. People suggest that the harem of royal ladies stood there. Mr. Burgess is of opinion that the rising ground contained the temple of Rudreśvar. The account of the Purān, however, leads to a contrary view. It is not possible that in a lake which comprised the assemblage of different Tīrthas, the palace of royal ladies would be built. If a new temple of Rudreśvar was built at Pātan, inspite of the fact that Rudra-mahālay at Sidhpur was not far off, then the sanctity of the old temple would have been lessened. Neither in the Sarasvatī-Purān, nor elsewhere, is any mention of the Rudreśvar temple. At present, there are some ruins on the rising ground. They might have been the ruins of any old temple or Darga. For nearly two or three years the Ban-Kararas or weavers have fixed this place for the abode of Māyā, the untouchable, who is alleged to have sacrificed his life for the supply of water to the lake.

Daśāvatār Tīrtha

The Sarasvatī-Purān and Dvyāśraya Kāvya mention the Daśāvatār Tīrtha and temple of the Daśāvatār or the

[20] स देवानां शतं सायप्रासादान्मातृकल्पिकः ॥ द्व्या० 15 119.

[21] जलमध्येन यो गत्वा तत्रस्थां विंध्यवासिनीम् ।
संपश्येत्परया भक्त्या न स दुर्गाणि पश्यति ॥
तस्यैव सरसो मध्ये स्वर्ग-मार्ग-प्रदर्शकः ॥
विंध्यशृंगाद्यधिकं तं हृद्यातिमनोरमम् ॥ स० पु० 16, 158, 172.

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ten incarnations of Viṣṇu.[22] This Tīrtha is located in the south-west (Nairṛt) of the lake. At present there stands the Darga of Syed Husain.

Prabhās Tīrtha

The Purān distinctly states that this Tīrtha stood on the southern bank of the lake but it is not quite clear as to what temple stood there. Mr. Modi, however, suggests the existence of the temple of Somanāth there. Somanāth was the presiding deity of the Solankis and hence, it is in the fitness of things that Siddharāja had built this temple here.

The Temple of Laukuliś and the Revā Tīrtha

The Purān states that the temple of Laukuliś stood on the banks of the lake and its sanctity was equal to that of Kāyāvarohan.[23] This place is identified with the village of Kārvān on the bank of Narbada and is regarded as the original place of this Śaiva sect (Laukuliś sect). The name of the side of the lake in front of this temple has not been given in the Purān but this may be identified with the Revā Tīrtha. The road leading to Kārvān lay on the southern side of Pātan. For this reason the Revā Tīrtha has been placed on the southern bank of the lake along with Prabhās.

Vināyak Tīrtha

The Vināyak Tīrtha and the temple of Siddha-Vināyak have been mentioned along side. Mr. Modi is of opinion that Gaṇapati had been inaugurated at the very start of excavation of the artificial lake.

It is also surmised that the Kīrti-stambha Pillar inscription commemorating the Mālva victory must have stood there.

[22] दशावतारके तीर्थे दशमूर्तिः स्वयं स्थिता ॥ स० पु० 16, 162.
दशावतारौ प्रकृतं व्याख्यामत्र व्यधत्त सः ॥ द्वया० का० 15, 162.

[23] तत्र पुण्यतमे स्थाने नकुलीशः स्वयं स्थितः।
स्थापितः सिद्धराजेन यथा कायावरोहणे ॥ स० पु० 18, 19.

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This seems rather strange that the Sarasvatī-Purān makes no mention of the pillar whereas other works refer to it. It is just likely that the Kīrti-stambha Pillar might have been erected after the composition of the Purān or that in a work dealing with the sanctity of sacred places, the author did not think it proper to make any mention of it.

Svāmī Tīrtha

It is quite natural that the temple of Kārttikeya would stand by the side of Gaṇapati. The Purān furnishes a description of Svāmī Tīrtha and also mentions that on the side of the lake stood the temple of Mahāsēna.[24] There is also a mention of the fact that Mahāsēna along with Mahākāla came there being pleased with Siddharāja. Mr. Modi advances the suggestion that these images were brought from Malwa as trophies of victory. Karṇa, father of Siddharāja, brought the image of Nīl Kaṇṭha Mahādeo from Dhārā according to Sukrita-Saṃkīrtana.

Piśāca-mocana Tīrtha

On the bank of the lake stood the Piśāca-mocana Tīrtha where were performed cremation ceremonies, such as, Tarpan, Śrādh and others pertaining to the names.[25] It is stated in the Purān that on this side of the lake stood the temple of Mahākāla. The road leading to Mālvā from Pātan, passed by the eastern side of Pātan, hence the temple may be expected to have stood on the eastern bank. At present, there stands the Darga of Syed Saheb and close by its side, stands the Bāb of Rāni.

[24] यदा यातो महाकालः सिद्धराजेन तोषितः ॥
महासेनस्तदा यातः सिद्धेशस्य जयप्रदः ॥ म० पु० 16, 925.

[25] पिशाचमोचनं तत्र तीर्थं मुक्तिप्रदं भुवि ।
प्रेत-भावाद्धि मुच्यन्ते पितरो यत्र तर्पिताः ॥ म० पु० 16, 222.

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Sūrya Tīrtha

This Tīrtha has been mentioned after the Piśāca-mōcana Tīrtha. The Purān states that here stood the temple of Bhāyal Svāmī and that it was a temple of the Sun. A solar temple of this name cannot be traced in Guzarat, but it is possible to search it out in Central India because Siddharāja is said to have pleased the deity by his devotion in the city of Vidiśā (Bes Nagar on the river Betwa = Vetravatī).[26] The Udaipur inscription of 1229 of Ajay Pāl gives the name as Bhaillā Svāmī.[27]

Kollāpīṭha

This Pīṭha has been mentioned after Sūrya Tīrtha. Here stood the temples of Mahālakshmī, Kollā and Kaṅkālī Devī. The bank of the lake in front of this temple was known as Kollā Tīrtha.

Kapālīśa and Bhūta Tīrtha

With the mention of Kapālīśa, Bhūtamātā and Bhūteśa, the sacred places on the banks of the lake come to an end. The Purān refers to Kapālīśa Tīrtha and the temple of Kapālīśa must have stood on the left side of this Tīrtha. The Purān does not refer to Bhūta Tīrtha, but it may be surmised that the portion of the lake in front of Bhūteśa and Bhūtamātā temples might have been designated as the Bhūta Tīrtha. Mr. Modi thinks that the Bhūta Tīrtha might have been on that side of the lake bank which faces the cremation ground of the river Sarasvatī.

[26] अतः परं तु तत्रैव सूर्य-तीर्थमनुत्तमम् ।
भायलस्वामिनामापि आदित्यो यत्र तिष्ठति ॥
भक्त्या तु सिद्धराजेन यः पुरा परितोषितः ।
वैदिशं नगरं गत्वा वेत्रवत्यास्तटे स्वयम् ॥ 16, 229, 230.

[27] *Vide* 'The Historical Inscriptions of Guzarat,' Vol. II. p. 71.

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The Tīrthas on the river bank

The Purān makes mention not only of the Tīrthas on the lake but also those on the river Sarasvatī, such as, Kāka Tīrtha, Gāndharva Tīrtha, Māṭṛ Tīrtha, Durgā Tīrtha and Barāha Tīrtha. All these Tīrthas were on the banks of the river Sarasvatī. The first two Tīrthas were concerned with the cremation ground and were naturally in front of it. Perhaps the Kotdāno Āro might have been the Kāka Tīrtha.

The Kuṇḍas and Temples on river bank

The Purān state, that on the southern side of the river towards the lake there existed Brahma Kuṇḍa, Vishnu Kuṇḍa and on the northern side of the river existed the three Kuṇḍas of Pushkar Tīrtha. In front of Viṣṇu Kuṇḍa stood the temple of Viṣṇu as well as the vehicle of Viṣṇu. At present there stands the Darga of Baba Hazi. Mr. Burgess is of opinion that this was the original temple. On the northern bank of the river stood also the temple of Gaureya (Gaṇeśa) and Siddheśvara. The temples and Kuṇḍas on the river were made, as the Purān says, in order to propitiate Gaureya and Siddheśvara before the Sarasvatī was brought to the lake through the canal. It seems that the canal might have been started from here (*i.e.*, from the opposite bank of the river).

The soil adjoining the temples is barren containing saltpetre for washing clothes . Mr. Dave thinks that in the third village from the lake, Bhūtiāvāsana, existed the temple of Siddheśvara but the village is in the north-east corner (Īśān) of the lake whereas Mr. Modi regards the existence of the temple in the north-west corner of the lake.

Mahāban

On the western side of the Sahasraliṅga Lake stood Mahāban. It was full of reservoirs, wells and tanks.[28] It

[28] पश्चिमे तस्य सरसः स्थितं ब्रह्मन्महावनम् ।
सर्वकालफला यत्र द्रुमाः सन्ति मनोहराः ॥

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contained fruit trees giving fruits of every season. The proximity of the canal facilitated the growth of a garden. The Mahāban might have been the palace garden or the public park.

The Palace

Mōharāja-parājaya states that on the bank of the lake stood the royal palace.[29]

It can be located to the south-west of the lake and to the south of Mahāban. In front of it to the south of the lake stood the massive royal fortress. Portions of a ruined wall which still stand behind the temple of Kālkā at Pātan are alleged to be the remnants of the fort wall of Anhilvādā.

Educational, sacrificial and charitable institutions

Dvyāśraya and Kīrti-kaumudī speak of the existence of colleges, monasteries, charitable, sacrificial and other religious institutions on the banks of the lake. The educational institutions provided education not only to Brahmins but they also made provision for Kshatriyas as well as for Vaiśyas.[30] The orthodox Brahmanical system of education was coupled with the military and commercial system of

वापीकूपतडागेषु जल-प्रस्रवणेषु यत् ।
तस्मिन्वने स्थितं पुण्यं स्नानात्स्वर्गप्रदं नृणाम् ॥ स० पु० 16, 260, 266.

29 एषा सुभ्रु सरस्वती सरिदिदं श्रीसिद्धभर्तुः सरः ।
चैत्यस्त्रि वकस्थलं पृथुयशः संभोऽयमभ्रंलिहः ॥
प्रासादो नृपते रवेर्निरुपमः सुश्लेषि सौधायणः ।
श्रोत्रिश्रेणिरियं श्रियां च नगरे द्रष्टव्यमस्मिन्न किम् । मो० प० 8, 3.

30 धर्मपालनपदोपाध्यायश्चित्राग्टहम् । (K. St. Ins. I. 1.)
सवार्तिकसूत्रिकाम्काव्य-सूत्रानागमविधिकान् ।
सांसर्ग-विद्यांस्त्रैविद्यानांगविद्यांश्च कोविदान् ॥
चाचविद्यान्धार्म विद्यां लोकायतिक-विद्विषः ।
याज्ञिकानैकिथकांश्चाव चक्रे प्रीणयितुं मठान् ॥
पापकाककुलश्येन पातायां तत्तटीभुवि ।
सत्रशालां नृपश्चक्रे तिलपातक्रियाजुषाम् ॥ द्या० का० 15, 116, 120, 121.

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the time. These institutions according to Mr. Modi stood on the main road leading to Northern India.

Dharmaśālās or rest houses for travellers

The Purān also states that on the lake, there were rest houses for Brahmins and Sadhus.[31] Mr. Modi thinks that these rest houses may be located on the high road to the north corner of the lake, because immediately after crossing the river Sarasvatī, the travellers would first of all search for rest houses for rest and shelter.

The above account is on the whole based on Sarasvatī Purān. It has been corroborated in many places by other works. This Purān seems to have been written after the excavation and consecration of the Sahasraliṅga Lake most probably to record the sanctity of the newly created Tīrtha.

Destruction of the lake

Dvyāśraya Kāvya followed by a host of others as seen above, have referred to the glories of the Sahasraliṅga Lake. Kīrti-kaumudī of Someśvara, who flourished in the time of Vīradhaval, Tejpāl and Vastupāl towards the end of the 12th century A.D. gives a description of the Sahasraliṅga Lake as obtaining in its full glory. The Bāghels continued to rule up to the early part of the 14th century A.D. and no record is available to show that the lake sustained any damage up till then.

In the early part of the 14th century A.D. Anhilvādā was attacked by Alf Khan, general of Alauddin. The Bāghel King Karan Deva was defeated and the Rajput rule came to an end leading to the dawn of the Muslim rule in Guzarat. If the city of Anhilvādā had suffered in the hands of the invaders, the lake also would have been affected.

[31] तत्रागाराणि तेनैव स्थापितानि सरस्तटे ।
ब्राह्मणानां यतीनां च तृत्यर्थं च तपस्विनाम् ॥ स० पु० 15, 123.

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But it may be guessed that the Muslims had come to India for ruling the country. Therefore, it seems improbable that they had destroyed the lake without any reason or rhyme. It is just possible that the temples on the lake might have been affected by the Muslim invasions but there was no reason for the destruction of the lake.

This guess is confirmed on the authority of Brigg's Ferishta which says that at the time of Akbar, the lake was in a good condition. Bahram Khan, general of Humayun and guardian of Akbar, had come to Pātan before proceeding to Mecca and the Magistrate of Pātan named Musa Khan Faladi had gone with him to visit the lake Sahasanak decorated with thousand temples (Brigg's Ferishta, p. 203). In 1561 A.D. on January 31, Bahram Khan was enjoying a trip in the lake in a boat when he was murdered by an Afghan whose father he had killed before. This shows that up to 1561, Sahasraliṅga Lake was in its normal condition.

Perhaps its destruction might have taken place some times after this event. Mr. Burgess thinks that the Khan Sarobar might have been paved by means of the stones of the Sahasraliṅga Lake because the paved stones of the Khan Lake at Pātan are mostly of the Hindu style. This lake was excavated and paved by Aziz Khan Koka, Governor of Guzarat, who ruled from 1589 to 1594 A.D. It may be concluded, now, with some certainty that the Sahasraliṅga Lake practically perished towards the end of the 16th century A.D. or perhaps it was in a dilapidated condition and its stones, etc., might have been used for paving the new Khan Lake which was being excavated and paved at that time.

It seems that no human hand had destroyed the lake. Muslim invasions brought in pillage and pestilence in their train no doubt, but they seem to have left Anhilvādā and its Sahasraliṅga Lake unaffected.

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The destruction of Anhilvādā might have been due to a flood of the river Sarasvatī in which the whole city might have been submerged and consequently, the whole city, and the lake were destroyed.

It is also possible that the bank of the lake towards the city might have once burst out as is indicated by the name of the gate " Phātī Pāḍnō Pōle " (the gate of broken bank) of modern Pātan, as a result of which the city and the lake itself might have been destroyed.

The destruction of the Sahasraliṅga Lake—a splendid specimen of art—implies that every thing of this world is transcient and doomed to perish. The ruined condition of the once glorious Sahasraliṅga Lake may be spoken of in the words of a poet as

" Here's a world of pomp and state,
Buried in dust."

Some hints for understanding the sketch map of " The Sahasraliṅga Lake "

1. At a little distance from the Triveṇī Tīrtha is the temple of Viṣṇu lying in water and in front of it is the Darga of Maulana Saheb.

2. In front of Rudra-kūpa, Sarasvatī water falls in the lake and here are three Kuṇḍas in the lake.

3. Just below the Daśāvatār Temple is the Darga of Syed Husain.

4. Below the Bāb of Rānī is the temple of Mahākāl.

5. * * * indicate Śiva temple on stairs rising out of water or on the brink of the lake, 1008 in number.

6. Sahasraliṅga Lake is covered over with earth at present and the Messana Kakroli Railway is passing over it.

7. Old bed and new bed of river Sarasvatī—worth noticing.

8. The curved line indicates ' Phātī Pāḍnō Pōḷe ' or ' the Gate of broken bank '

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22

THE VARMANS OF EASTERN BENGAL

MR. BISWESWAR CHAKRAVARTI, B.A., B.T.

Dacca

Vaṅga to-day designates the whole country extending from the Himalaya to the Bay of Bengal. But in no remote antiquity the name was confined only to the "anuttaragaṅga-pradeśa." Unfortunately, however, the history of that part of the province still remains to be written. Researches in recent years, have, of course, tried to reveal its glorious past. But even now a Cimmerian darkness envelops the period following the downfall of the Pālas. The light thrown over it by eminent scholars has only helped to show the depth of the vast abyss. So with much diffidence I step into a region of which very little is known. "Matamastu bhavatām."

Mahīpāla I, though he regained his patrimony, had no peaceful reign and in his time ended the Pāla suzerainty over Eastern Bengal. Two dynasties now ruled over this tract—the Candras and the Varmans. This paper is an humble attempt at presenting a connected history of this latter dynasty. The material with which to build it up is unfortunately meagre. There is only one complete copper plate inscription (Velāva Grant of Bhoja Varmādeva) in a good and readable condition. Of the other two copper plates, one (Sāmantasār or Vejnisār Grant of Harivarmādeva) is burnt and the other (Vajrajoginī Grant of Sāmalavarmādeva) is fragmentary, some pieces being missing. The Bhuvaneśwara-Praśasti of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva mentions two kings of the dynasty. There are also two dated manuscripts and a

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reference in the Rāmacarita by Sandhyākara Nandi. A good number of Kulaśāstras, of course, mention kings of this dynasty but these should not be taken as reliable history. When the material is so scanty and the mason a novice, the building is sure to make a poor show. Yet I venture to present this only because " vāde vāde bhavati tatvabodham."

Whatever might have been the traditional origin of the dynasty, Vajravarmā was the founder of its power in Bengal. He came from Siṃhapura. The place has been satisfactorily identified with modern Singapuram between Chicacole and Nara Sannapeta. Towards the middle of the eleventh century A.D. this part of the country was overrun by a number of invaders. This renders unacceptable any suggestion to the effect that Vajravarmā himself was a great king and led his own army to the fair plains of Vaṅga. The phrase " Yādavīnāṃ camūnāṃ samaravijaya-yātrā-maṅgalam " then means that he led the vanguard of a victorious Yādava army. At this time two invaders knocked open the south-western gate of Bengal—Rājendra Cola I and Kalacuri Karṇa. The Colas were looked upon as descended from the sun. But the Haihayas were descendants of Sahasrajit, a son of Yadu. Evidently then the Varmans came in the wake of the Kalacuri invasion.

According to the Tibetan tradition, Karṇa invaded Bengal during the reign of Nayapāla and before Atīśa Srījñāna's departure for Tibet. It was then between c. 1041 and 1042 A.D. The Cedi prince, it is told, was badly beaten. But certainly there is some exaggeratian in it. The victorious career of the Kalacuri king seems to have continued unchecked, up to c. 1047 A.D. after which date he overthrew Bhoja. At this time, if the story of Prabandha-chintāmaṇi is to be believed, he suffered some reverses in the hands of Calukya Bhīma of Anhilwārā. This event, too, is not supported by any inscriptional evidence. During his second encounter with the Pālas in the reign of Vigrahapāla III

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(*c.* 1055-81 A.D.), Karṇa was "raṇajita evaṃ parantu rakshitaḥ na unmūlitaḥ" and was also forced to conclude a "Santāna-sandhi." The Paikore inscription cannot then be assigned to this period. A consideration of all these makes us suggest that the first invasion of Karṇa resulted in no great disaster to either side and his power was well established in southern Bengal and that before 1047 A.D. The meteoric fall of the Kalacuri king began in *c.* 1059 A.D. at the latest, when Udayāditya recreated the Paramāra kingdom. This was the first of a long series of crushing defeats. Karṇa then attacked Bengal between *c.* 1055 and *c.* 1059 A.D. or more probably Vigrahapāla III gave him a thud from the east when he was too busy with the Chandellas and the Paramāras. Curiously enough "Yoginītantra" gives *c.* 1059 A.D. (indvāṣṭanavān gate śāke) as the date of the liberation of Prāgjyotiṣa from the Haihayas. Of course the book can claim no hoary antiquity and we have no other evidence of the Kalacuri invasion of Kāmarūpa.

Whatever that might have been, Karṇa's two encounters with the Pālas may be assigned to *c.* 1042 and *c.* 1055-59 A.D. Our suggestion is that Vajravarmā came in the wake of the first invasion. Had the Varmans come during the second encounter we find no reason why the Kalacuri king gave his daughter in marriage to Jāta. The honourable reference to this event in the Vajrajoginī grant shows that it was the most notable event in their dynastic history. Our interpretation of the story is that Jāta had by this time consolidated his position in "anuttaragaṅga pradeśa." Karṇa, too, busy with the Candellas and the Paramāras, concluded Santāna-sandhi with both the princes of the East. A period of 12 years is thus assigned to Vajravarmā but he certainly claimed no higher status than that of a general.

Jāta was the first independent king of the dynasty. He is said to have defeated Divya (*i.e.*, Divyoka)—the Kaivartta rebel of Varendri. The latter rose to power on the death of

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Vigrahapāla III in c. 1081 A.D. But Jāta did not probably live to see the restoration of Rāmapāla. So his reign period extended from c. 1055-59 to c. 1082 A.D. The late Mr. R. D. Banerji suggested that Divya probably attacked Vaṅga. But the rebel could not consolidate Varendri in his life-time. So it was impossible on his part to extend his arms to Vaṅga. The Varman prince also had a successful encounter with the king of Kāmarūpa. Did it result in any permanent occupation of any territory ? Most probably it did.

Sandhyākara Nandi calls the Varman prince who propitiated Rāmapāla, the lord of the Eastern Tracts. The Nālandā Praśasti of Vipulaśrīmitra has been assigned to the first half of the 12th Century. It refers to the burning to death of a Buddhist monk at Somapura Vihāra (mod. Pāhārpur) by an invader, a Vaṅgāla king. This can be ascribed to a Varman king probably. The late Mr. J. C. Ghosh suggested that it was done by a Candra king. But they were devout Buddhists. The Varmans on the other hand had a burning zeal for the three Vedas. Our interpretation of the story is that Jāta occupied a slice of land on the eastern bank of the Karatoyā and even carried depredations to the western bank.

Harivarmā succeeded his father Jāta sometime between c. 1081-1084 A.D. and was a contemporary of Rāmapāla. Two manuscripts of his time have been discovered. Of these one is dated his 39th year. So his reign extended up to c. 1124 A.D. Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva of Siddhala was his minister. So his kingdom might have extended to Uttara Rāḍha and touched the fringes of modern Santal Parganas. He suffered at least two reverses. Of these the first was in the hands of Rāmapāla. Dr. H. C. Ray suggests that Hari afraid of an attack by Vijayarāja (*i.e.*, Vijayasena) of Nidrāvala sought the protection of Rāmapāla. The late Mr. R. D. Banerji suggested that Hari perhaps extended his power to Orissa and Rāmapāla marched against him

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to reinstate the "Bhavabhūṣaṇa santati" there and so the Varman prince acknowledged his suzerainty. We have suggested earlier that the Varmans might have had a slice of land on the eastern bank of the Karatoyā. This was overrun by the victorious Pāla army on their way to Kāmarūpa. The building up of a frontier city Rāmāvatī at the confluence of the Ganges and the Karatoyā, supports this contention. Sureśvara, the author of Sabdapradīpa (a little known medical treatise) says that his father was a medical officer to Vaṅgeśvara Rāmapāla while his grand-father served in the same capacity king Govinda Chandra. This claim of the Pāla king is certainly too bold, but there may be a grain of truth in it.

Mr. Adris Chandra Banerji assumes that the Varman king who propitiated Rāmapāla was in all probability the unnamed son of Harivarman. But Hari and not his son was a contemporary of Rāmapāla.

The other invader of the Varman kingdom was Paramāra Lakshadeva who reigned between *c.* 1087 A.D. to 1097 A.D. Dr. H. C. Ray has suggested that Jagaddeva was but a 'biruda' of this prince. The Jainād Inscription has proved his historicity. The Nagpur Inscription reads—"Prayāti Yaṣmin prathamaṁ diśaṁ harerjjihīrṣayānanyasamānadantinām." Now the words "diśaṁ hareḥ" have been given different interpretations. Dr. H. C. Ray supports the meaning "to the east." While the late Mr. N. N. Vasu suggested that the Paramāra king to capture some elephants went first to the kingdom of Hari. The second seems more reasonable in view of the fact that elephants were most extensively used in war by the kings of Vaṅga. But it appears that the Paramāra king had not a very successful encounter. Or at least a friendly relation was soon established and his daughter Trailokyasundarī was given in marriage to Sāmalavarman, the brother of Hari.

We have one copper plate inscription of Harivarmā—the Vejnisār (or Sāmantasār) Grant. It ascribes to Hari no great

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victory or conquest. In the Vajrajoginī Grant the words referring to Hari are unfortunately missing. The Sāmantasār grant is also conspicuous by its silence about many familiar royal officials. Was there a drastic retrenchment in the reign of Harivarmā? All these tend to support the contention that Rāmapāla once more extended the sphere of Pāla influence to East Bengal.

About c. 1124 A.D. Harivarmā was succeeded by his son whose name is unfortunately lost. Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva in his Bhuvaneśwar Praśasti tells us that the kingdom remained unimpaired during his reign. But it was uneventful. He probably died without any issue.

Sāmala ascended the throne of Vikrampur. He being an uncle of Hari's son certainly became a king at the very fag end of his life and his reign was necessarily short.

It was perhaps at this time that Ananta Varmā Coḍagaṅga snatched away the territory on the western bank of the Ganges. The Kamauli Grant of Vaidyadeva shows that the Pāla navy had an engagement in "anuttara vaṅga pradeśa," during the reign of Kumārapāla (c. 1126-30 A.D.) The Vajrajoginī grant, though fragmentary, appears to have contained some verses in praise of the unnamed son of Hari. Moreover Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva clearly mentions that the extent of the kingdom remained intact during his reign. So it was certainly Sāmala who was unfortunate to lose this territory lying west of the Bhāgīrathī. We do not know when this inglorious reign ended.

Sāmala had two sons Udayī and Bhoja. The first predeceased his father and Bhoja ascended the throne of Vikrampur. The Velāva charter issued by him is the only Varman grant discovered in a good and readable condition. But it makes no mention of Hari and his son. Mr. Adris Chandra Banerji has suggested that there was a rupture of cordial relations between Sāmala and his nephew. Any dispute over the throne is likely to be settled when the

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(so called) usurper first tries to assert his might. But the Vajrajoginī grant contains some laudatory verses in the praise of Hari's son. So the rupture took place over Sāmala's throne.

As to when Bhoja ascended the throne and when his reign ended and what became of the dynasty we have no knowledge at all.

The next grant issued from Vikrampur in point of time is the Barrackpur inscription of king Vijayasena in his sixty-second regnal year. If Vijaya ascended the throne of Rāḍha in *c.* 1097 A.D. (or *c.* 1099 A.D. as Mr. G. M. Sircar suggested) the Barrackpur grant was issued in *c.* 1159 A.D. (or *c.* 1161 A.D.). The other inscription of this period is the Deopārā praśasti which is undated. Here some conquests of Vijayasena are mentioned. But Vaṅga is not amongst them. Nor is it mentioned in his Barrackpur Grant or any other grant of the Senas. The Varman power has now sunk into insignificance. But even Bhoja Varmā granted land in Khāḍī Maṇḍala, just on the eastern bank of the Ganges. After his death this vast kingdom, extending from the Ganges to the Meghna was perhaps partitioned amongst the many claimants to the throne. How else could such a kingdom vanish or sink into insignificance within a short time? Certainly, however, the last glimmering glow of the Varman power did not vanish before the middle of the twelfth century. Thus they ruled over eastern Bengal about a century and not for sixty years only (*c.* 1030 to 1090 A.D.).

The form of government was monarchical and the list of royal officers contains no peculiarity. The Varmans followed a system of administration identical with that of the Pālas. But in the Velāva grant a very high position is given to Mahāpurohita. The other peculiarity is the high position given to Maṇḍalapati,—his name being mentioned between Mahāvyūhapati and Mahāsāndhivigrahika whereas Viṣayapati comes as usual at the end of the lists of officers. This

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honourable mention of Maṇḍalapati shows that Viṣayas were subdivisions of Maṇḍala and Khaṇḍalas (*e.g.*, Kauśāmbī Aṣṭāgaccha Khaṇḍala) perhaps were subdivisions of Viṣayas. Thus the territorial division were—Bhukti, Maṇḍala, Viṣaya and Khaṇḍala. As there is no mention of any officer administering over a Khaṇḍala we assume that these divisions came after Viṣayas. In the Velāva grant no mention is made of a Viṣaya : Kauśāmbī aṣṭāgaccha Khaṇḍala was perhaps too famous to require such an identification.

The Varman kings bore the title Paramavaiṣṇava and the verse in Velāva Copper plate shows their burning zeal for the Vedic religion. The high position occupied by the Mahāpurohita among the officers also indicates the same. It is a pleasure to note that inspite of these the kings were patrons of Buddhism. Religious toleration was the order of the day. We have seen that the Pāla Emperors, though paramasaugatas, attended the Yajñas, and here we find a Varman king Sāmalavarmādeva, granting land to the temple of the Buddhist deity Prajñāpāramitā or as a Dakṣiṇā for chanting the Prajñāpāramitā. This was also done "Bhagavantaṃ Vāsudevam Bhaṭṭārakamuddiśya." In recent years an opinion is gradually gaining ground that with the revival of Brahmanism the Buddhists were ruthlessly persecuted. The blame should never be attached to the fair name of the Varmans.

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23

A NOTE ON THE GEOGRAPHICAL KNOWLEDGE OF THE ANCIENT HINDUS

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Though geography as distinguished from the science of elements (*Bhūta-vidyā*) is not one of the subjects specifically mentioned in the list of *Vidyās*, or branches of knowledge, in which the Aryan scholar sought to acquire proficiency in the Vedic age, the earth, its rivers, mountains and forests were already objects of interest and even adoration in the Vedic hymns. The vision of the priestly singers and theologians was not, as is usually believed, confined to the country lying between the Himālayas and the Southern hills (*dakshiṇa-parvata*),[1] but extended to peoples and countries (*Janapadas*) beyond the snow-capped mountains in the north and the lesser heights of the north-west, such as Uttara Kuru, Uttara Madra, Balhika (Balkh)[2] and even Parśu or Persia (*Rig Veda*, VIII. 6. 46). The mysterious "old home-land" of the *Rig Veda*, I. 30. 9 cannot be precisely located. But Indra was worshipped there by the fathers of the Vedic singers; and the connection of that deity with lands far away from the country of the Five Tribes is clearly hinted at in the *Rig Veda*, I. 36. 18 and VI. 45. 1. The discovery

[1] *Kaushītaki Upanishad*, II. 8.

[2] *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII. 14; *Atharva Veda*, V. 22. 5, 7 and 9.

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of inscriptions in Anatolia referring to Indra and some other Vedic gods may be recalled in this connection.

Before the Vedic canon finally closed cosmographic ideas relating to the encirclement of the earth by the sea (*Ait. Br.*, VIII. 25. 1; *Bṛh. Up.*, III. 3. 2) and the location of a Mahāmeru (*Tait. Ār.*, I. 7. 1, 3; *Vedic Index*) in the interior, made their appearance. The conception of the earth as an aggregate of seven island-continents (*Saptadvīpā*) was an accomplished fact before Patañjali wrote his *Mahābhāṣya* and one of the islands, *viz.*, Jambu-dvīpa finds prominent mention in an Aśokan inscription of the third century B.C. The subdivision of the *Dvīpas* into *Varṣas*, or sub-continental zones, seems to be presupposed by the Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela, dating from the first century B.C. at the latest, which seems to contain a reference to Bhārata-varṣa

Enterprising merchants and pious missionaries, intrepid navigators and princely adventurers braved the heat of the Mesopotamian plains, the cold of the Arctic Tundra and the perils of the unknown deep, to reach the stately city of Baveru (Babylon), the Yona realms of Ptolemy, Magas, Antigonas, Alexander and Antiochos, the countries of Romans and cannibals (*Romakān Puruṣādakān*, Mbh., II. 51. 17), Alakanda (Alexandria?) on the coast of Barbara (North Africa ?), Vivarṇa (Hibernia or Ireland ?), a maritime territory in the "Island of the Yavanas" (Kauṭilīya, II. 11, the British Isles or Europe?)[3], the golden lands of Sumatra and Java, the fertile country of Kambu (Kauṭ., II. 13) or Cambodia and the bleak plains of Airāvata-varṣa. The epic traveller crosses the Himālayas and finds stretching before him the ocean of sands, *Bālukārṇava* (Mbh., XVII. 2. 1-2), apparently the desert of

[3] *Cf.* the account of ship-wrecked Indians in Western Europe, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature* by M'Crindle, p. 110; Shamasastry, *Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra* (Eng. Trans.), p. 90 (1st ed.), including footnotes, and Yona, Parama-Yona and Allasanda of the *Mahāniddesa*, Vol. I, p. 155.

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Gobi, and in that neighbourhood the lofty (*tuṅgāyatā*) central plateau of Asia and, beyond it, the Airāvata-varṣa on the borders of the Arctic Ocean (Mbh., VI. 8. 10)—the *Uttaraḥ payasāṃ nidhiḥ* of the Kiṣkindhyā Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa (canto 43)—where a self-luminous (*Svayamprabhā*) goddess

> "*Lightens with perpetual glow*
> *The sunless realm that lies below.*"

The Rāmāyaṇic passage has been taken by several writers to refer to the Aurora Borealis. The view finds support from the verses about the *Svayamprabhā Devī* in the longer epic (Mbh., VI. 8. 10).

The mariners, who crossed the eastern and southern seas in the age of the later Rāmāyaṇa saw stretching before them Yavadvīpa (Java) with "seven flourishing realms" and the islands of gold and silver (*Suvarṇa-Rūpyaka-dvīpa*, Sumatra and adjoining isles) adorned with mines of the precious metals. Some of the Purāṇic texts add to the epic list several new "islands" inhabited by fierce *mlechchhas* such as Malayadvīpa and Kaṭāha (in the Malaya Peninsula?). But the most notable addition to the stock of knowledge is made by the Vāyu (47.54) and the Matsya (121.56) Purāṇas which contain interesting references to extraordinary routes styled Asses' path (*Khara-patha*), Cane path (*Vetra-patha*), Spike path (*Śaṅku-patha*) and the like. As has been pointed out by former writers these difficult paths receive more detailed notice in the Buddhist Niddesa texts.

The knowledge, sometimes detailed and at times vague, that Indians came to acquire about their own country "lying between the *Samudra* and Himādri," and about the world at large from the sea of the "Vaivarṇikas" and land of Romakas in the far west to the countries of the Śakas, the Hāra Hūṇas, the Chīnas (Mbh., II. 51. 23-24; Kauṭ., II. 11,

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and 25) and Kambu (Kauṭ., II. 13) or Cambodia, in the far east, from the "Sunless realm" of the north (Rām., IV. 43.55) to the Malay Archipelago in the south, leads to the composition of special treatises on geography which describe "the names of rivers and of mountains, of countries and all other things that rest on the earth :"

Nadīnāṃ parvatānāñca nāmadheyāni sarvaśaḥ
Tathā janapadānāñca ye cānye bhūmimāśritāḥ.

Some of these treatises were incorporated in the epic and the Purāṇas under the name of *Jambu-ḳhaṇḍa-vinirmāṇa-parvādhyāya* and *Bhuvana-ḳoṣa*. They came to include conventional accounts of the *saptadvīpavatī mahī, i.e.*, the earth as an aggregate of seven concentric island-continents, encircled by an equal number of seas. The encircling oceans are enumerated in the Purāṇas as the sea of salt, the sea of sugarcane juice, the sea of wine, the sea of clarified butter, the sea of curd, the sea of milk and the sea of (sweet) water :—

Lavaṇekṣu-surā-sarpir-
dadhi-dugdha-jalaiḥ samam.

The date of the original composition on which these conventional treatises are apparently based is uncertain. They must have been known in some shape to the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali who has a reference to *saptadvīpā vasumatī* (Kielhorn's ed., Vol. I, p. 9). The *Mahābhāṣya* is usually assigned to the second century B.C But the evidence adduced in support of this view is not quite convincing. The passages referring to king Puṣyamitra and the Greek invasions may have been taken by the author as traditional illustrations (*Mūrddhābhiṣikta udāharaṇa*) from preceding commentators. They (and not

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Patañjali himself) may have been contemporaries of Puṣyamitra who ruled in the second century B.C. It is, however, almost certain that the *Mahābhāṣya* existed before the *Uttara-kāṇḍa* (Ch. 41. 44-45) of the Rāmāyaṇa. An epic hero is described there as well-versed in grammar including aphorisms (*sūtra*), the gloss (*Vṛtti*), the commentary (*Arthapada*), and the compendium (*saṃgraha*). Knowledge of the work of Patañjali is said to have spread to Kashmir immediately after Huviṣka and Kaniṣka, the well known Kuṣān kings of the second century A.D., through the efforts of Candrācārya (*Rājataraṅginī*, I, 176). We shall not be far wrong if we place the *Mahābhāṣya* between 150 B.C. and 100 A.D.

A more definite clue regarding the antiquity of the original version or source of the *Jambu-parva* and the *Bhuvana-kośa* is afforded by Dion Chrysostom, a Greek orator, who was born in Mysia about the middle of the first century A.D. This writer alludes to expanses of water in the country of the Indians that "flow not (like those of the land of the Phrygians) with water, but one stream with pellucid wine, another with honey, another with oil." As the same writer mentions an epic sung by the Indians that describes "the woes of Priam, the weeping and wailing of Andromache and Hecuba, and the heroic feats of Achilles and Hector" (M'Crindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, pp. 175, 177) it is not improbable that he had actually heard of the *Mahābhārata*—the lamentations of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, the agony of Gāndhārī and other royal ladies who lost their beloved ones in the terrible fight at Kurukṣetra, and the deeds of valour that have rendered the names of Arjuna, Karṇa and a host of other warriors immortal. If Dion Chrysostom really knew the *Mahābhārata*, the great epic in his days may have included the *Jambu-khaṇḍa* section where we have references to the seas of wine, milk, etc. It is also possible that the

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Greek orator derived his information not from the epic but from some text which forms the basis of the Purāṇic *Bhuvana-kośa*. The extant *Bhuvana-kośa* with its references to Chulikas (Mārk., 57.40), Mahārāṣṭras (*ibid.*, 46), Vardhamāna in Eastern India (*ibid.*, 58.14), Simhalas (58.27) etc., could however, hardly have been compiled before the later Kuṣān and Gupta Age.

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24

THE 'GURJARAS' IN THE RĀṢṬRAKŪṬA INSCRIPTIONS

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The Rāṣṭrakūṭas held sway over the Deccan from about A.D. 750 to A.D. 972. They frequently came in conflict with the Gurjaras. Dantidurga was the founder of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty in the Deccan. The fragmentary Daśāvatāra Cave Inscription[1] states that Dantidurga defeated the kings of Mālava and other countries (V. 23). He performed a *Mahādāna* ceremony at Ujjayinī (V. 26). He attacked Tīrakṣiti and did some thing in the edifice made by the king of Gurjara (V. 29). The Sanjan copperplates of Amoghavarṣa reports that Dantidurga made the Gurjara lord and other kings door-keepers (Pratihāra)[2] when in Ujjayinī the Hiraṇyagarbha ceremony was completed by the Kṣatriyas. It has been argued that there is a pun in the above verse of the Sanjan plate, and it actually means that the Pratihāra dynasty of the Gurjara tribe, ruling in Ujjayinī was made a door-keeper by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king.[3] But the verse makes it clear that there were kings other than the Gurjaras, who were also made door-keepers.[4] Hence the expression Pratihāra, appearing in the above inscription, is to be taken to mean a chamberlain or door-keeper, and not a ruling family of this name.

1 *Report on the Elura Cave Temples in Western India*, by J. Burgess, 88.
2 *EI*, XVIII, 252.
3 *Ibid.*, VI, 249.
4 *Ibid.*, 102.

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Dantidurga was followed in succession by Kṛṣṇa I, Dhruva III, and Govinda III. The Radhanpur plate of Govinda III, dated Ś. 730, registers that the Gurjara, seeing Govinda III's military achievements, in fear, vanished nobody knew whither, so that even in a dream he might not see battle. It is known from the Nilgund inscription of Amoghavarṣa that Govinda III fettered the people of Kerala, Mālava and Gauḍa, together with the Gurjaras who dwelt in the hill fort of Citrakūṭa. The Sanjan plate glorifies Govinda III by remarking that "he was destruction to the valour of the head of the thundering Gurjaras." The Baroda plate of Karkarāja,[5] dated 812 A.D., remarks that Govinda III for the protection of the king of Mālava caused Karkarāja's arm to become an excellent door-bar to the direction of the lord of Gurjara.

After the close of Govinda III's reign, the throne of the Deccan was occupied by Amoghavarṣa I and Kṛṣṇa II in succession. The Deoli plate[6] of Kṛṣṇa III, dated Ś. 862, states that Kṛṣṇa II terrified the Gurjaras.

Kṛṣṇa II was succeeded respectively by Indra III, Amoghavarṣa II, Govinda IV, Amoghavarṣa III, Kṛṣṇa III, Khoṭṭiga, and Karka II. The Deoli plate[7] of Kṛṣṇa III, dated Ś. 862, mentions that "on hearing of the conquest of all the strongholds in the southern region simply by means of his angry glance the hope about Kālañjara and Citrakūṭa vanished from the heart of the Gurjara." The Karhad plate[8] of the same king, dated Ś. 880, repeats this verse.

The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Lāṭa also warred with the Gurjaras. The Baroda plate of Karkarāja,[9] dated 812 A.D., states that Indra forced the lord of the king of Gurjara to take to flight. The Bagumra grant[10] reports that Dhruva II defeated the host

5 *IA*, XII, 164.
6 *EI*, V, 189.
7 *Ibid.*,
8 *Ibid.*, IV, 289.
9 *IA*, XII, 163.
10 *Ibid.*, 188

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of the powerful Gurjaras. The expression Gurjara appearing in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions, referred to above, may mean a family or a country. Scholars take it to mean a family. There is one more Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscription, which also refers to the Gurjaras, and which makes a definite statement about their identity. This is the Karda plate[11] of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Karka II, nephew of Kṛṣṇa III, dated Ś. 894, A.D. 972. It records that Karka II was "a king of irreproachable deeds, who has conquered the multitude of (his) enemies in (the country of) Gurjara, who has disported himself with the Colas and others; whose mind has not been disquieted in battles with the lord of the Hūṇas; (and) who has been fierce to the Pāṇḍyas . . ." Gurjara, mentioned in this inscription, means a country. Hence in the absence of any contrary evidence the same expression Gurjara, appearing in other Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions, is to be taken to be conveying the identical meaning, *i.e.*, a country of this name. In the light of this observation the political history of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty, as has been written by some modern scholars, should be thoroughly revised.

[11] *IA*, XII, 268. Satyaṃ Gūrjjara-nirjjit-āri-nikaraś Col-ādi-līlā-rato | Hūṇādhīśa-raṇesv akampita-matiḥ Pāṇḍi (ṇḍya) -pracaṇḍo nṛpaḥ.....etc. (ll. 32, 33, p. 265).

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25

THE TALKAD GANGAS AND THE PALLAVAS

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Conflicting Theories

In the Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the year 1930 (p. 121 ff) it has been shown at length how conflicting the evidence is in regard to Western Ganga genealogy, particularly after the time of Mādhava I. It has been suggested that three theories are possible according as it is considered that there was only one dynasty, or two dynasties or three, though each theory has its own weaknesses. (*Vide* Mys. Arch. Rep., 1930, p. 113 ff; also Ep. Ind., XXIV, p. 234 ff.)

Ganga-Pallava Connections

It would nevertheless appear very probable that there were three branches of the same dynasty and that one of them, that identified by Prof. J. Dubreuil as the Paruvi line, was subordinate to the Pallavas for about three generations as seen from the Penukonda Plates (Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 331 ff) and the Nittur Plates (Mys. Arch. Rep., 1930, p. 257). Till now at any rate, there has been found no mention of Pallava suzerainty or other relationship in any of the copper plate grants belonging to the larger or Talkad branch of the Gangas.

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The Hoskote Grant

Recently, however, a set of plates has been discovered at Hoskote (Mysore Archaeological Report for 1938) which, while it is definitely of the Talkad branch, mentions Pallava connections or associations. These are not, of course, like those that existed between the Paruvi branch and the Pallavas. But they are, though remotely, indicative of some kind of close relationship between the Talkad branch and the Pallava dynasty. The set also establishes the contemporaneity of Avinita Ganga with Simhavishnu Pallava. The late Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar indicated the contemporaneity of Durvinita, Avinita's son, with Simhavishnu from the literary evidence of the *Avanti Sundari Katha* (Mys. Arch. Rep., 1920, p. 48). Now this literary evidence has been for the first time confirmed by an epigraphical one.

The set consists of five plates strung on a ring with an elephant seal. The characters are old Kannada and the language is Sanskrit.

Talkad Gangas

It has been stated above that the genealogy contained in these plates refers to the Talkad branch of the Ganga dynasty. The following succession of kings is given :—

Kongunivarma-dharma-mahādhirāja
|
Mādhavavarma-mahādhirāja (I)
|
Harivarma-mahādhirāja
|
Vishnugopa-mahādhirāja
|
Mādhava-mahādhirāja
|
Konganyādhirāja (Avinita)

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The donor Avinita is not mentioned by his name but by the epithets describing him as Mādhava's son and as having become king while still he was on the lap of his mother. The identity is clear.

Date of the Grant

The contemporaneity of Durvinita with Simhavishnu on the one hand and that of either of them with Kubja Vishnuvardhana and Bharavi on the other help us to fix the accession date of Durvinita at about 605 A.D. His father Avinita must have ruled for at least 50 years since he was crowned even as a baby. Thus we may suppose that Avinita ruled from 555 to 605 A.D. The present grant was made by him on the full moon day of Kārttika in his 12th regnal year corresponding roughly to about 567 A.D.

Purpose of the Record

The object of the record is to describe the grant by Avinita, of some plots of land and a house at the village Pulliyur in the division of Korikunda to a Jaina temple built by the mother of the Pallava King Simhavishnu for the glory of her husband and her own merit.

Significance

Her husband, the father of the Pallava king Simhavishnu, was presumably Vishnugopa. But her own parentage is not given in the grant. The place where she built the temple was certainly in the Ganga territory since the Ganga king makes to the temple donations of the lands at the place. A Pallava queen, however, would not build a temple outside her own territory unless she had some personal attachment to the place. It is, therefore, probable that the queen was a native of a place near about Pulliyur. She must have belonged to the Ganga territory, if not also to the Ganga

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dynasty itself. If, as seems very likely, she belonged to the Ganga family, it is remarkable that Avinita has remained silent about his relationships to her. Could she have been his sister or a close cousin? Probably she was a sister of Mādhava II, and Avinita was her nephew.

History

The rift in the Ganga dynasty and the consequential break up of the dynasty into at least two branches—the Talkad and the Paruvi branches took place after about 480 A.D. (Halsi Plates, I.A., VI, p. 25). The Paruvi branch appears to have endured for some generations under Pallava overlordship. But it seems very probable that the branches became reunited under Tadangala Mādhava (II) of the Talkad branch, who was the father of Avinita (E.C., X. Mb. 263). Thus by the time of Avinita, the Pallava suzerainty over the Gangas had ceased. Yet the present record mentions the Pallava King Simhavishnu. We have, therefore, to suppose that the two dynasties—the Gangas and the Pallavas had already come under some friendly or more probably matrimonial relationship at the time the present grant was made by the Ganga king Avinita.

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WAS CANDRAGUPTA MAURYA A JAIN ?

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One is almost tempted to say that Lewis Rice created imaginary history about Mysore from the host of Sravana Belgola inscriptions and especially No. 1 and from legendary books of the modern period including the *Rājāvali-kathā* of the 19th century. It is unfortunate that he arrived at a wrong conclusion from correct premises. Rice attempted to read in the inscriptions of the sixth and later centuries after Christ the history of the fourth and third centuries before Christ. He was certainly within his bounds to take up an examination like that. But his conclusion was made to rest on traditions as reflected in the pages of legends written in the nineteenth century. Anxious to fit in these stories with the inscriptions which he discovered at Sravana Belgola, Rice stated categorically that Bhadrabāhu, the last of the Śruta Kevalins,[1] migrated to South India and founded a settlement of the Jains at Sravana Belgola, and died there, when the first Mauryan king Candragupta tended him.[2]

Three years after Rice published his inscriptions at Sravana Belgola, the late Dr. J. F. Fleet, one of our veteran Indologists, critically examined the position taken up by Rice

[1] Śruta Kevalins are six teachers who were contemporaries and who heard the teachings of the first Masters according to Wilson. (Works: Vol., I, p. 336; see also Rice, *op. cit.*, p. 6.)

[2] See Introduction to Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. II, ed. by Lewis Rice (1889).

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and pointed out with precision and accuracy that the conclusions reached by Rice have no leg to stand on.[3] It is not a little surprising that scholars who wrote subsequently on the subject did adopt the incorrect views of Rice and did not adopt the sober views of Fleet.[4] The distinguished Mysore archaeologist, Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar, who had occasion to re-examine this question still left it open though he was inclined to view that the evidence was not quite decisive.[5] The writer has shown elsewhere that the whole tradition of the synchronism of Candragupta and Bhadrabāhu, of both coming to South India, and of establishing a colony of the Jains in the Karnataka country has to be discredited.[6]

As on this theory hangs the determination of the personal religion of Candragupta Maurya and consequently of the State religion of the Mauryas let me re-state the reasons briefly. The first assumption that Candragupta Maurya was a Jain by faith or adopted Jainism at the evening of his life has yet to be proved. On the other hand the evidence furnished by the *Arthaśāstra*, its unerring reference to the chamber of the sacred fire (agnyāgāra)[7] from which the king gave audience to the respected public, the ministership of Cāṇakya, his prohibition of indiscriminate sannyāsa, the little or no reference to Jainism or its tenets in the Kauṭilīya, all go to show that Candragupta's religion was pre-eminently Brahmanical. In other words he was an orthodox follower of the Vedic school. Again much is made of the mention by Megasthenes of his leanings towards the Śramaṇas. As has been ably pointed out by

3 See IA., Vol. XXI, p. 156 ff.

4 See for example V. A. Smith: Oxford History of India, pp. 75-76.

5 EC. Vol. II, p. 42 (Revised ed. 1923).

6 See my Mauryan Polity, pp. 262-75.

7 *Ar. Śās.*

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Lassen [8] and by H. T. Colebrooke,[9] Śramaṇas in the days of Megasthenes meant Brāhmaṇa ascetics and Brāhmaṇa philosophers, and the term did not stand for members of Jaina or even Buddhist church. Even in the Dialogues wherever the Śramaṇa-Brāhmaṇa combination occurs, the term Śramaṇa invariably stands for a Parivrājaka or Yati of the orthodox school. Thus the evidence of a contemporary record of high value like that of Megasthenes furnishes no clue that Candragupta was either a Jain by birth or a convert to it at any time in his life.

If we approach to examine the Sravana Belgola inscriptions and the Kanarese legends in the light of the *Arthaśāstra* and records of Megasthenes they yield a different interpretation altogether. There are a number of inscriptions at Sravana Belgola which do not agree with one another. While some inscriptions mention the name of Candragupta, others like No. 105a of A.D. 1398 do not mention his name. Inscription No. 1 which may be dated about 600 A.D. refers to one Ācārya Prabhācandra, and locates Bhadrabāhu at Ujjayinī. The passage relevant to our discussion runs as follows :

" Bhadrabāhusvāmī who was acquainted with the true nature of the eight-fold great omens and was seer of the past, the present and the future, having learnt from an omen and foretold in Ujjayinī a calamity lasting for a period of twelve years, the entire *saṅgha* (or community) set out from the North to the South and reached by degrees a country counting many hundreds of villages and filled with happy people, wealth, gold, grain and herds of cows, buffaloes, goats and sheep.

" Then separating himself from the *saṅgha*, an *ācārya*, Prabhācandra by name, perceiving that but little time remained for him to live and desiring to accomplish *samādhi*,

[8] Ind. Alter., II, p. 705 ff.

[9] Miscellaneous Essays, Vol. II, Ch. VII.

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the goal of penance associated with right conduct, on his high-peaked mountain which forms an ornament to the earth and bears the name Kaṭavapra, with rocks dark as a mass of great water-laden clouds and variegated with the embellishment of masses of the flowers and fruits of various choice trees, and with extensive lowlands, valleys, ravines, great caverns and inaccessible places filled with herds of boars, panthers, tigers, bears, hyenas, snakes and deer—bade farewell to, and dismissed the *saṅgha* in its entirety, and, in company with a single disciple, mortifying his body on the wide expanse of the cold rocks, accomplished (*samādhi*).''[10]

Now it is pertinent to ask who this Candragupta of the legends and inscriptions is? Lewis Rice disposed of this difficulty of Ācārya Prabhācandra with the remark that Candragupta Maurya 'appears to have taken the clerical name of Prabhācandra on retiring from the world and it was the usual custom so to change the name on such an occasion.'[11] But we are not aware of any authority to confirm this proposition. Even the legends do not relate the story of the clerical name adopted by Candragupta. Tradition comes into real conflict when it makes Candragupta tend Bhadrabāhu in his last days. In support of this statement Rice quotes the evidence first of inscription No. 17 (Sravana Belgola). The inscription is not clearly worded and records how the wife of Śāntisena-Munīśa ended her life at that mountain, believing as she did that the faith followed by Bhadrabāhu and Muni Candragupta was the true faith. From a reference to these two names it is not possible to infer that Bhadrabāhu died at Sravana Belgola, attended to last by his disciple Candragupta. That the Mauryan king Candragupta became Muni has nothing to confirm it. Secondly, Rice bases his argument on the two inscriptions

10 EC., II, (Trans. No. I).

11 *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

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found at the Gautama Kṣetra near Seringapatam, which record that the summit of Kalbappugiri was marked with the footprints of Bhadrabāhu and Candragupta. These inscriptions belong to the ninth century A.D. and it is difficult to grant their trustworthiness, especially when there is a tendency in this country for traditions to grow rapidly. Here again the reference is to Candragupta Muni. Thirdly, the inscription No. 108 is quoted. One sees from this which belongs to A.D. 1433 that there was a Candragupta who was a disciple of Bhadrabāhu, the last of the Śruta Kevalins. As we shall see in the sequel, this Candragupta cannot be the Mauryan king as we have to put Bhadrabāhu some centuries down. The attribute to Candragupta under reference is *samagra-śīlanata-devavṛddhaḥ* (an incarnation of good conduct). Lastly, inscriptions No. 54, dated 1128 and No. 40, dated 1163 are pressed to service. The reference is again to the discipleship of Candragupta to Bhadrabāhu for a long time served by forest deities. No. 40 shows he had a *gaṇa* of munis, who were worshipped by forest deities. Consolidating these references, one wonders whether the documents separated by a wide gap of time constituting of many centuries could be utilised as a material source of information for the 4th century B.C. history. Inscriptions Nos. 1 and 17 could not be accurately dated, but still they are not earlier than the sixth or seventh century. Even granting their authenticity, one has to conjecture an identification from the mere accidental mention of a name Candragupta. Judging impartially and knowing as we do from other data the age of Bhadrabāhu, we are unable to accept the theory so ingeniously propounded by Lewis Rice. If we are to believe No. 1 of the Sravana Belgola inscriptions, Bhadrabāhu stayed at Ujjayini and never came south. But it is certain that directed by him, the Jaina Saṅgha went towards the south, Ācārya Prabhācandra probably leading it. When the Saṅgha was on the mountain Kaṭavapra the

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Ācārya became ill. Therefore he dismissed the *Saṅgha* and stayed there until his death, when all the while a disciple was attending on him. Thus this inscription once for all settles the fact that Bhadrabāhu's coming to the south with Candragupta Maurya has to be entirely discredited.

But we have not answered who this Candragupta or Prabhācandra was. At the most what could be inferred from the inscriptions especially Inscription No. 1 is that Prabhācandra was a Jaina teacher of celebrity and the inscription commemorates his death. As it is to be dated in the sixth or seventh century A.D. Prabhācandra could not have been a very ancient teacher. Examining the *paṭṭavali* of the Śravasti-Gaccha,[12] we find the name of Prabhācandra I who became pontiff in A.D. 396. This could not be the teacher under reference. For either he must be more ancient according to traditions or must be later by three centuries, nearer the date of the inscription. Critically studying this *paṭṭavali* of the Śravasti-Gaccha Dr. Fleet came to the only possible conclusion that the celebrated Bhadrabāhu was Bhadrabāhu II, the last but one of the minor Angins represented to have become pontiff in B.C. 53.[13] If this were accepted and we find no reason why it should not be accepted—Candragupta, the disciple of Bhadrabāhu, should be evidently Guptigupta, who, according to the same record became pontiff in B.C. 31.[14] The *paṭṭavali* credits this Guptigupta, also known as Arhadbalin, with a number of disciples of whom one Mahānandin established the Nandisamgha or Balatkasaganga, which fact is noted in the inscription No. 40 at Sravana Belgola.[15]

Proceeding to study the real historical bearing of the traditions and inscriptions of Sravana Belgola, we are driven

12 IA., Vol. XX, p. 35.
13 *Op. cit.*, p. 159.
14 Vol. XX, pp. 350-51.
15 EI., IV, p. 339.

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to the following conclusions : (*i*) It is undoubtedly a fact that neither Candragupta Maurya nor his contemporary Bhadrabāhu of Pataliputra are under reference. There are no records of comparatively early date either southern or northern to corroborate a theory like this. That there is nothing on record about the end of his career has been mooted as an argument in corroboration of the late tradition associated with Candragupta. But this is no argument. For we do not judge one known fact from another unknown fact. It would be quite handy and reasonable explanation if it has been recorded in any early literature or epigraphical records. The fact that no mention is made of his last days shows that he died quietly in peace and his son succeeded him equally in peace. For we do not hear of any disputed succession in the case of Bindusāra.[16]

(*ii*) The migration to the south of the Jain Saṅgha can be accepted as a fact. In the words of Dr. Leumann[17] it is 'the initial fact of the Digambara tradition.' It marks the historical division for the first time of the whole Jaina community into two sects—the Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras. It started from Ujjayini if we are to believe the No. 1 inscription of Sravana Belgola.

(*iii*) This migration was not synchronous with the first Mauryan ruler but three centuries after the foundation of the Mauryan empire, roughly in the latter half of the first century before Christ. To be more exact it must have happened between B.C. 53 and 31, that is, after Bhadrabāhu assumed pontifical robes and a little before Candragupta who has been identified with Guptigupta became pontiff.

Thus our search for the period of the first introduction of the Jain faith into the southern parts of India leads us to fix up the first century before Christ, which may be accepted

16 See Narasimhachar: EI., Vol. II, Intro., p. 41.

17 Vienna Oriental Journal, VII, p. 382.

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as a working hypothesis until the contrary is proved by future research. We have also to take it that the first location of the Jaina settlement was on the two hills at Sravana Belgola, the smaller one being known as Candragiri or Chikkabetta. These regions were very fertile and rich in foodstuffs, and hence on them fell the choice of the newcomers. In the march of time these seem to have spread from this part of Mysore in different directions to Tamil districts.

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GOVINDAPĀLA RECORDS RE-EXAMINED

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In this short paper I propose to re-examine eight records—one, a stone epigraph and the remaining seven colophons of palm-leaf manuscripts, with a view to offer a proper interpretation of the dates in years mentioned in them, so that we can better adjudge the position and kingdom of a Gauḍeśvara named Govindapāla in the 12th Century A.D. The time indicated by these records and the mention in some of them of the imperial titles of *parameśvara, paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *mahārājādhirāja* used by this king and also the reference to his religious faith (Buddhism) which was the dynastic religion professed by all the rulers of the Pāla family of Bengal, appear to leave no doubt regarding the fact that this Saugata Govindapāla belonged to the latter family. There is, however, no direct evidence that he, as a member of that dynasty, ever ruled in any part of Bengal in the vast Gauḍa dominion.

For the last quarter of a century or over, a controversy about the interpretation of the peculiar phrases introduced into these records for expressing their dates has been going on amongst scholars. The other Pāla records, their copper plate and stone inscriptions, and most of the records of the Senas invariably used the regnal years of the reigning monarchs for expressing dates. But, almost quite unusually most of the records under re-examination expressed the dates by reference to the *gata, atīta* or *vinaṣṭa rājya* of king Govindapāla, and not in terms of his *saṃvarddhamāna*

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vijayarājya. One may feel tempted at first sight to explain the terms as referring to the already expired or past portion of the reign of the king from the beginning with the idea that the king's rule may have ceased to exist at those dates, while he himself continued to live probably in other localities near by. But Indian epigraphy of the Hindu period almost up to the end of the twelfth century A.D. hardly knows any such way of expressing dates by reference to *gata*, *atīta* or *vinaṣṭa rājya* of kings. MM. H. P. Sastri and, following him, the late Mr. R. D. Banerji, and some other scholars took the phrases to refer to the expiration of the length of time since the commencement of the reign of the king and they explained the dates and the records in that light. But the natural interpretation of these terms should be that the king's *rājya* or reign was past or gone for ever, *i.e.*, it had ceased to exist or become a thing of the past for the period of time indicated by the date-years of the records. Only in the case of it being described as *vinaṣṭa*, it may carry the additional import that the reign no longer exists but its destruction may have been brought about by enemy actions. After the disappearance or cessation of the reign of King Govindapāla (no matter whether the king was still alive or dead) and on the prevalence of dark anarchy in his kingdom, his subject-people in the various localities of Magadha, specially those who were Buddhist by religion, such as the scribes of some of the manuscripts under consideration, continued to reckon their deeds and events in the name and date of this Buddhist monarch, out of reverence to him or his memory. Thus probably came into vogue this hitherto extraordinary procedure of calculation of dates in terms of the *gata*, *atīta* or *vinaṣṭa rājya* of this king, as my friend, Rai Bahadur R. P. Chanda,[1] also once felt inclined to think.

[1] *Gauḍarājamālā*, p. 65.

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The only parallel use of date-calculation with *atīta-rājya* is met with in three[2] inscriptions, two of Aśokacalla and one of Jayasena, which refer to the years 51, 74 and 83 respectively of *Lakṣmaṇasenasya atīta-rājya*. As by no stretch of imagination can we ever say that Lakṣmaṇasena's rule continued for 74 years from the beginning, so also we must not think that Govindapāla's reign continued to be calculated from the beginning of his reign in the years of the records, although it ceased to function at those times. Hence *gata*, *atīta* or *vinaṣṭa rājya* must refer to a reign that has ceased to exist.

Let us now quote the relevant passages regarding Govindapāla's name and date in years, as culled from the eight records referred to above, and explaining them in the above light discuss briefly the question of the duration of Govindapāla's reign in Magadha and his likely political position there, incidentally bringing out the significance in this connection of some passages in the Deopārā Stone *praśasti* of king Vijayasena, which seem to have a bearing on Govindapāla's rule. The extracts are :

No. 1. From the Gayā (Viṣṇupāda temple) Stone Inscription, *viz.*,

"ब्रह्मणो द्वितीयपरार्द्धे वाराहकल्पे वैवस्वतमन्वन्तरे अष्टाविंशतिमे युगे कलौ पूर्व्वसन्ध्यायां सम्वत् १२३२ विकारि (?) संम्व(व)त्सरे। श्रीगोविन्द पालदेव-गत-राज्ये चतुर्दश संम्व(व)त्सरे गयायाम्।"

No. 2. From the colophon of a MS. of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (acquired by the late MM. H. P. Sastri). *viz.*,

"श्रीमद्-गोविन्दपालदेवस्यातीत-संवत्सर १८ कार्त्तिकदिने १५"

No. 3. From the colophon of a MS. of the *Amarakoṣa* (Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal), *viz.*,

"परमभट्टारकेत्यादि-राजावली-पूर्व्ववत्-श्रीगोविन्दपालीय संवत् २४ चैत्र शुदि ८"

[2] P. Paul, *History of Bengal*, pp. 102-3.

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No. 4. From the colophon of a MS. of *Guhyāvalī-Vivṛti* (University of Cambridge), *viz.*,

"गोविन्दपालदेवानां सं ३७ आम(व)णदिने ११ लिखितमिदं पुस्तकं का श्रीगयाकरेणेति"

No. 5. From the colophon of a MS. of *Pañcākāra* (University of Cambridge), *viz.*,

"परमेश्वरेत्यादि राजावली-पूर्व्ववत् श्रीमद्गोविन्दपालदेवानां विनष्ट-राज्ये अष्टत्रिंशत्-संवत्सरेऽभिलिख्यमाने ज्येष्ठकृष्णाष्टम्यां तिथौ यत्र सं ३८ ज्यैष्ठदिने ८ लिखितमिदं पुस्तकं का श्रीगयाकरेणेति।"

No. 6. From the colophon of a MS. of *Yogaratnamālā* (University of Cambridge), *viz.*,

"परमेश्वरेत्यादि-राजावली-पूर्व्ववत् श्रीमद्गोविन्दपालदेवानां सं ३८ भाद्रदिने १४ लिखितमिदं पुस्तकं का श्रीगयाकरेणेति।"

No. 7. From a MS. of the *Prajñāpāramitā* written at Nalanda(?) (collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland), *viz.*,

"परमेश्वर-परमभट्टारक-परमसौगत-महाराजाधिराज-श्रीमद्गोविन्द-पालस्य विजयराज्य-संवत्सरे ४।"

No. 8. From another MS. of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñā-pāramitā* (examined by the late MM. H. P. Sastri) it is known that it was copied in the 38th year of the *atīta* reign of Gauḍeśvara Govindapāla.

Of these, Extract No. 1 indicates that Vikrama year 1232, *i.e.*, 1175 A.D. is the 14th year since the *rājya* of Govindapāla has become *gata* or past. Hence (1175—14, *i.e.*) 1161 A.D. must have been the year of the end of his reign. From Extract No. 7 which is dated in the 4th year of the king's prosperous reign, it is clear that he undoubtedly ruled in parts of Magadha during, at least the years 1157-1161 A.D. Again, we feel inclined to think that the

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phrase *Govindapālīyasaṁvat* in Extract No. 3 should also be referred to the king's regnal year and as it is dated 24 years, it may be inferred that he probably ruled during the years 1137-1161 A.D. This calculation, if true, may cause a slight readjustment of the hitherto accepted Pāla chronology. Extract No. 2 should be explained as containing the date of 18 years since the end of the king's reign in 1161 A.D., *i.e.*, the MS. was copied in 1179 A.D. Extract No. 5 is very important. It is clearly stated here in that the 38th year that is being recorded in writing (*abhilikhyamāna*) refers to the *Vinaṣṭa-rājya* of king Govindapāla who is here, as in Extracts Nos. 3 and 6, described as *Parameśvar-etyādi-rājāvalī-purvvavat*, *i.e.*, one who had a preceding lineage of kings with the titles of *Parameśvara*, etc. Now these titles in the phrase do not directly refer to Govindapāla as thought by the late R. D. Banerji [3] who took them as adjectives, which were applied to the name of the king and which in his opinion indicated his existence. As regards *vinaṣṭa rājya* of Govindapāla referred to here, it must mean that the reign of the king has already ceased to exist, *i.e.*, it has disappeared or vanished, and it may have so done by the destructive action of any enemy or enemies. Hence the 38th year in this extract, as mentioned by the scribe (kā =kāyastha) named Gayākara, is to be reckoned since the cessation of Govindapāla's reign in the year 1161 A. D. and it, therefore, falls in the year 1199 A. D. It may be noted here that Extract No. 8 refers to the same year 38th, but it refers to the *atīta* reign of Gauḍeśvara Govindapāla, and in our opinion this year 38th of *atīta rājya*, as well as of the *vinaṣṭa*, is the same year 1199 A.D. The attention of scholars may be drawn to the fact that as we find that the same scribe of Extract No. 5, *i.e.*, Gayākara, also copied

[3] R. D. Banerji—*Pālas of Bengal, Mem.* A.S.B., Vol. V, p. 112.

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the Mss. of Extracts Nos. 4 and 6, the years 37th and 39th mentioned respectively therein, although unqualified by any such word as *gata*, *atīta* or *vinaṣṭa* refer to Govindapāla's *vinaṣṭa rājya*.

So the net result obtained from a study of the above records is that Gauḍeśvara Govindapāla must have exercised his sovereignty in parts of Magadha, specially southern Magadha, undoubtedly during the years 1157-1161 A. D., having begun his reign earlier by twenty years; and that the people of Magadha, which under the Pālas, was a great stronghold of Buddhism, introduced the procedure of reckoning their time in terms of the *gata*, *atīta* or *vinaṣṭa rājya* of the king, out of reverential remembrance of the recent sovereignty over their own land by this *parama-saugata* Govindapāla, and they did so during the next period of anarchy when Magadha partly passed away into the hands of the Gāhaḍavālas on the one side and the Senas on the other and also a little later when they both again were being disturbed by the new aggression of Muhammadan raiders. We have hinted above that the period of such reckoning of dates continued at least up to the year 1200 A. D. We should, therefore, no longer hold the view that 1161 A. D. was the starting year of Govindapāla's reign somewhere in Magadha. Rather it was the year of the end of his reign, and so there could not be a [4] gap of half-a-century between the death of Madanapāla the seventeenth and the last direct ruler of the famous family of Pāla kings of Bengal (and Magadha).

In our view Govindapāla was most likely a member of the Pāla dynasty of kings, although his relation with Madanapāla is not known to us from any records hitherto discovered and he reigned in parts of Magadha during the years 1137-1161 A. D. Scholars hold different views

[4] *Ibid*, p. 104.

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regarding the identity of the *Gauḍendra* referred to in the Deopārā *praśasti*[5] of Vijayasena (V. 20), who was assailed by the latter. Most of them take him to be Madanapāla, but Rai Bahadur R. P. Chanda expressed his view[6] that it was either Govindapāla or his predecessor who was driven away by Vijayasena and that that king was forced to seek shelter in Magadha. If it is subsequently supported by future discoveries that Govindapāla ruled at least for 24 years, *i.e.*, from 1137-1161 A. D., as we propose to think according to our interpretation of Extract No. 3 of his records, we shall not be surprised to find possibly that it was Govindapāla who might have first succeeded Madanapāla as king in Varendrī and was afterwards forced by circumstances to move from there to Magadha, when king Vijayasena (c. 1097-1159 A. D.) became the sole sovereign authority (*aikarājya*, v. 17, of Deopārā *praśasti*) over Varendī and all other parts of Bengal. So it appears from the dates discussed above that Govindapāla was a contemporary of both Vijayasena and his son Vallālasena (c. 1159-1178 A.D.). It may also be mentioned here for the understanding of the political position of Govindapāla that Vijayasena, before his final occupation of the whole of Varendrī, ruled in other parts of Bengal, *e.g.*, in Rāḍha (West Bengal) and in the southern portions of North Bengal sometimes, as a contemporary of all the Pāla kings from Rāmapāla downwards, if not from Mahīpāla II. There is absolutely no doubt that Vijayasena's Deopārā temple of *Pradyumneśvara* was erected and the *praśasti* composed after he had established his full supremacy in the whole of Varendrī by driving away the last Pāla ruler or rulers therefrom. We are inclined to think that there is a latent hint in a verse (v. 18) of that *praśasti* that Vijayasena at first gave help to Divya,

[5] Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 48.

[6] *Gauḍarājamālā*, p. 55.

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the Kaivarta chief during the rebellious times in Varendrī, by extirpating his (Divya's) enemies (namely the Pāla kings, e.g., Mahīpāla II). We know from the *Rāmacarita* [7] that Divya usurped the Pāla throne after killing Mahīpāla II. The significance of verse 19 of the Deopārā *praśasti* has hitherto escaped the notice of most scholars. From that verse it is learnt that there took place sometime some sort of an exchange of territorial divisions between the Sena king, Vijayasena, and his rivals, who must have been the Pāla kings, to whom he gave away the parts of Varendrī belonging formerly to Divya, and he himself accepted for his own occupation some lands (probably in South Varendrī) from the Pālas. This historical event appears to have taken place in the form of a mutual contract. The poet (Umāpatidhara) describes that Vijayasena's sword which he used at an earlier period in the act of extirpation of his own enemies and which was tinged with their blood was preserved secure by the Sena King as a kind of writ or document (patra) written, as it were, in the words of blood, which could be produced as an evidence, if and when the validity of the contract is called in question. It is then clearly stated in the second half of that verse that such a dispute on the claim of possessions of certain lands in Varendrī really arose later on between Vijayasena and the descendants of the Pālas (*dviṣāṃ santatiḥ*) and on the former's producing that sword-document in support of his own claims, the latter fled away (*bhaṅgaṃ gatā*). Had the Gauḍa king, who was assailed by Vijayasena, been Madanapāla himself, as historians generally suppose, we may believe that the latter probably ruled during his last days from Magadha and that Govindapāla who was in all appearances a descendant of the Pāla family succeeded him there. Another probable view is that after Madanapāla's death, Govindapāla succeeded

[7] *Cf.* Varendra Research Society edition (just published), I. 29, pp. 22-23.

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to the position of Gauḍeśvara in parts of North Bengal where Vijayasena's kingly influence was not at first prevalent, and when later a dispute regarding possession of lands arose between the two parties, the Sena king drove away Govindapāla (a descendant of his Pāla enemies) from Varendrī and the latter proceeded to seek for establishing himself as king in Magadha, over which, as we all know, the preceding Pāla rulers held political jurisdiction. Then it may be surmised [8] along with Rai Bahadur R. P. Chanda that at a still later date Govindapāla was probably deprived of his rule in Magadha by Vijayasena's son and successor, Vallālasena. It is then that the year 1161 A.D., in all probability, began to be regarded as the year of cessation of Govindapāla's reign in Magadha too, and that since then the Buddhists of the localities commenced counting their time in terms of this fact during the next anarchical period in Magadha, out of a spirit of reverence to the Buddhist king Govindapāla. The evidence of the records under re-examination shows that such calculation of time continued at least for 39 years, *i.e.*, up to the year 1200 A.D., when the pressure of the Muhammadan raid was being felt by both Magadha and Bengal. Whether Govindapāla was still alive or not is a matter of contention and doubt.

[8] *Gauḍarājamālā*, p. 66.

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THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN KAUTILYA'S ARTHAŚĀSTRA

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Kauṭilya, in his *Arthaśāstra*, describes the woman in many of its chapters, the piecing together of which will give us a picture of women and would enable us to determine their status in his age. The *Arthaśāstra* says very little about the girlhood or the period before marriage. Kauṭilya simply says that a woman attains majority (*Vyavahāra*) at the age of 12, and that on reaching that age, if she proves to be disobedient to her lawful guardians, she shall be punished. From the general tone of the work it is apparent that the girls before their marriage lived under the protection of their parents and after marriage under their husbands.

Marriage Contracts and Marriageable Age

The marriage system in the *Arthaśāstra* is in agreement with that of the *Mānava Dharmaśāstra*. Kauṭilya, however, does not give us any hint regarding the marriageable age of the girls. But from the classical authors we learn that the 7th year was usually regarded as the marriageable age. Megasthenes says that the " females bear children at the age of 7 and are old at 40." Arrian says, " it is said that women when 7 years old are of marriageable age." Manu also is not very definite about this point. It appears from his work that the girls were married before the age of

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puberty but this was not obligatory. In general, however, the girls were married after they had reached the age of puberty or even after puberty. Manu says that a man of 30 should marry a girl of 12, and a man of 24 should marry a girl of 8 years (*Manu*, Chap. 9, 88-89). The general rule seems to be that the age of the girls should be $\frac{1}{3}$ of the age of the bridegroom. The *Arthaśāstra* states that the woman attains majority at the age of 12. It is rather probable that the women were generally married at a proper age, *i.e.*, after they had reached the age of puberty, in the age of Kauṭilya.

The *Arthaśāstra* enjoins compulsory marriage of both the males and females, as Kauṭilya definitely states that the foremost duty of a man is to marry and to lead the householder's life. We are told that there were marriage contracts before the performance of the sacred ceremonies. Whatever is to be settled before marriage is to be kept intact at the time of the sacred ceremony. Kauṭilya, further, lays down that any person desirous of giving his daughter in marriage must speak to the bridegroom's party about all the drawbacks of the bride, otherwise he shall not only be fined but would also return the *Strīdhana*. Again, the substitution of bride is also severely dealt with by Kauṭilya. Manu also lays down a rule that " if one damsel has been shown and another is given to a bridegroom, he may marry both for the same price." On the other hand, the refusal of giving in marriage of a particular maiden is to be severely punished.

Intercaste Marriage

The general rule of marriage in the *Arthaśāstra* is the " marriage, among equals, of different ancestral Ṛshis." In this respect Kauṭilya is in agreement with the Dharma-śāstras and the classical authors. Megasthenes says that " no one is allowed to marry out of his own caste." According to

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Strabo an exception is made in favour of the philosophers. Arrian says that the "custom of the country prohibits intermarriage between the castes. For instance the husbandman cannot take a wife from the artisan caste nor the artisan from the husbandman caste." Marriage between relations is condemned by Manu when he says that "a damsel who is neither a *Sapiṇḍa* on mother's side nor belongs to the same family on father's side, is recommended to the twice-born men for wedlock and conjugal union." Though both Kauṭilya and Manu are indignant towards intercaste marriage yet they accept such marriages. Manu accepts inter-marriage on condition that a man of the lower caste must not marry a woman of the higher caste. Kauṭilya probably accepts the theory of cross-marriages in order to explain away the infusion of new elements into the Hindu society. The existence of inter-marriage in the *Arthaśāstra* is proved by the mention of the names of the issues of such marriages. In the Chapter on पुत्रविभागः (Bk. III, Chap. VII), Kauṭilya like Manu describes the various castes to which the issues of the cross marriages are to be assigned. We have the mention of *Savarṇas* and *Asavarṇas*; the former are those who are begotten by a Brāhmaṇa or a Kshatriya on a woman of next lower caste, while the latter are those who are begotten on women of castes lower by two grades. In general the sons begotten by men of higher castes on women of lower castes are called *anuloma*. But sons produced by a Śūdra on women of higher castes are Āyogava, Kṣattā and Caṇḍāla; by a Vaiśya, Māgadha and Vaidehaka; and by a Kshatriya, Sūta. The son of a Brāhmaṇa by a Vaiśya woman is called Ambashṭha, by a Śūdra woman, Nishāda, of a Kshatriya by a Śūdra woman, Ugra; of a Vaiśya by a Śūdra woman, Śūdra. The son of a Ugra by a Nishāda woman is Kukkuṭa, but in the reverse case the issue is called Pukkasa. The son of an Ambashṭha by a Vaidehaka woman, is Vaiṇa, but the issue of an Ambashṭha woman by a

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Vaidehaka is called Kuśīlava ; and a Śvapāka is one begotten on a Kshattā woman by an Ugra. All these references clearly indicate that inter-marriage was prevalent in the age of Kauṭilya, and in these we also find a clue to the origin of various degraded castes.

Different forms of Marriage

Like Manu, Kauṭilya, in his chapter concerning marriage, describes the 8 forms of marriage and defines each of them, but differs from the law-giver in respect of the order in which these names are placed.[1] Kauṭilya, however, unlike Manu, enumerates the first four forms in the same order as Vātsyāyana. The giving of a maiden well-adorned is called Brāhma marriage (कन्यादानं कन्यामलङ्कृत्य ब्राह्मो विवाहः). This form is highly praised by the law-givers, and is still prevalent among the Hindus. The second is the Prājāpatya marriage which mainly requires the observation of some sacred duties (सहधर्मचर्यां प्राजापत्यः). Generally in this form of marriage the God Prajāpati is invoked to shower his blessings upon the pair. According to the Dharmaśāstra writers, in this form of marriage, the father gives away the bride with due honour saying distinctly, " may both of you perform together your duties." The 3rd is the Ārsha form of marriage in which the father gives her daughter after having received from the bridegroom a couple of cows (गोमिथुनादानादार्षः). This form is also recognised by the Greek writer Magasthenes who says that "they marry many wives whom they buy from their parents, giving in exchange a yoke of oxen." The 4th is the Daiva marriage in which the daughter is given to an officiating priest in a sacrifice (अन्तर्वेद्यामृत्विजे दानात् दैवः). The 5th is the Gāndharva marriage which is voluntary union of a girl with her lover

1 ब्राह्मो दैवस्तथैवार्षः प्राजापत्यस्तथासुरः ।
गान्धर्वो राक्षसश्चैव पैशाचश्चाष्टमोऽधमः ॥ (Manu)

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(मिथस्समवायात् गान्धर्वः). This is the most usual form of marriage, highly appreciated by the Sanskrit classical writers. The 6th is the Āsura marriage. When the bridegroom having given as much wealth as he can to the father and the paternal kinsmen and to the damsel herself, takes her voluntarily as his bride, that marriage is called Āsura (शुल्कदानादासुरः). The 7th is the Rākshasa marriage which is performed after abducting the maiden (प्रसह्यादानाद्राक्षसः). The 8th and the last is the Paiśācha marriage in which the maiden is abducted while she is asleep and intoxicated (सुप्तादानात् पैशाचः).

Besides these, Arrian mentions a peculiar form of marriage when he says that "the women, as soon as they are marriageable, are brought forward by their fathers and exposed in public to be selected by the victor in wrestling or boxing or running or by some one who excels in any other manly exercises." But we have no such reference in our source which can prove the authenticity of such a remark. It may be something like the svayamvara system of marriage which has been over-coloured by Arrian. But it seems more probable that the custom might have been prevalent among the barbarian hill tribes of frontier India.

Of the different forms of marriage, Manu prescribes the first 6 forms for the Brāhmaṇas and the last four for the Kshatriyas. The last four forms, excepting Rākshasa, are prescribed for the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras. But Manu condemns the Āsura and Paiśācha forms, for he definitely states that " Paiśācha and Āsura must never be used." The law-giver is also indignant towards the dowry system, and he says, " No father who knows the laws must take even the smallest gratuity for his daughter, for a man who, through avarice, takes a gratuity is a seller of his offspring. Even a Śūdra must not take the nuptial fee " (Manu, 9.98.) Kauṭilya, however, does not condemn any one of these forms of marriage, but he approves the first four kinds which are

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regarded by him as old custom. Vātsyāyana also regards the first four forms of marriage as approved by society. Further Kauṭilya says, सर्व्वेषाम् प्रीत्यारोपणमप्रतिषिद्धम्. Thus he permits any kind of marriage provided it pleases the parties concerned.

Remarriage

Remarriages of both the males and females are allowed in the *Arthaśāstra* (Bk. III, Chaps. II and IV). A man can only marry in the case of the barrenness of the wife or if the wife does not produce any male child. In this respect Kauṭilya is in agreement with Vātsyāyana and Manu. Vātsyāyana says that, in the case of barrenness, the wife herself would induce her husband to marry again. Kauṭilya, further, says that as the girls are married for progeny, a man can marry as many wives as he likes on condition that he must provide his previous wives with adequate subsistence and compensation.

Regarding the remarriage of women, Kauṭilya emphasises the principle that the marriage of the first four kinds cannot be dissolved, and the wives from these forms of marriage cannot remarry. Inspite of this general rule the remarriage of the females is recognised in the *Arthaśāstra*, and Kauṭilya lays down elaborate rules by which he imposes certain conditions under which a woman can remarry. Before marrying, a childless wife whose husband is a "*hrasva-pravāsin*" should wait only for a year, but more than a year, if she is mother of children. She should wait twice as long if she be provided by her husband; if not, she is likely to be maintained by her relatives for 4 or 8 years after which she is allowed to remarry. If the husband is a Brāhmaṇa studying abroad, his childless wife should wait for 10 years and if mother of children, 12 years. The wife of a Kshatriya, however, is not allowed to remarry. But if she bears children to a Savarṇa husband in order to keep her

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race, she shall not be disgraced or degraded. Again a Kumārī engaged in any of the first four kinds of marriage must wait for 7 months for her husband who has gone abroad but is heard of, provided his name is not published, otherwise for one year. But in case the absent husband is not heard of the wife shall wait for 5 months; if he has been heard of, ten months. The wife who receives the śulka from her absent husband who is not heard of, shall wait for 3 months, but 7 months, if he is heard of. But the wife who has received the whole amount of śulka shall wait for 5 months, and 10 months, if the husband is heard of. Further a woman whose husband is dead is also allowed to remarry. Under all these circumstances a woman is allowed to marry any one of the brothers of her former husband (ततः पतिसौदर्य्यं गच्छेत्).

But if there be a number of brothers, she may marry the brother who is next in age to her former husband or one who is virtuous and capable of maintaining her or the youngest one who is unmarried. (बहुषु प्रत्यासन्नं धार्मिकं समर्थं कनिष्ठमभार्य्यं वा). These are the rules regarding remarriage of the woman, and these laws are obligatory as Kauṭilya distinctly lays down that "if a woman violates the above rules by remarrying one who is not a kinsman of her husband, she, her husband and those who have given her in marriage shall be liable to the punishment for elopement" (Bk. III, Chap. VI).

Polygamy

Polygamy in man is an act of merit with all ancient nations. Like many ancient writers, Kauṭilya allows unlimited polygamy. In this respect he is in agreement with the Greek writers and the Indian writers like Vātsyāyana who says that the wealthy people had generally a plurality of wives. Megasthenes says, "They marry as many wives as they please, with a view to have numerous children, for by having many wives, greater advantages are employed and

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since they have no slaves, they have more need to have children around them to attend to their wants." He, further, says that "they marry many wives.....Some they marry hoping to find in them willing helpmates; and others for pleasures and to fill their houses with children." The general rule of polygamy in the *Arthaśāstra* is वृत्तिं दत्त्वा बह्वीरपि विन्देत, as the girls are married for progeny. Moreover that the kings, in the age of Kauṭilya, were polygamous is also proved by his description of the Antaḥpura. The system of polyandry however is nowhere mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra*.

Divorce system

Regarding the Divorce system we have important and clear indications in the works of both Manu and Kauṭilya. In the opinion of Manu, the wife is praised as equal to the husband in honour, only if she bears children, otherwise she may be divorced. But unpleasant speech on the part of a woman is a serious crime in the eyes of Manu, and he allows the husband to divorce his wife in such a case (Manu, IX, 80-81). Again a woman attempting to run away from the house of her husband can be divorced in the presence of the assembled relatives and other persons. Similar other references certainly indicate that divorce is allowed in the laws of Manu. Kauṭilya also like Manu lays down rules by which he empowers both the husband and the wife to divorce each other. He discusses the rejection of brides in his chapter on विक्रीतक्रीतानुशयः (Bk. III, Chap. XV). A bride can be rejected before the proper marriage rites: "The rejection of a bride before the rite of Pāṇigrahaṇa, clasping of hands, is valid." A bride can also be rejected if she is proved to be guilty of indecorous conduct with another man. But these rules are not applicable to the brides and the bridegrooms of high family and of pure character. The general rule laid down in the

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Arthaśāstra, however, is that "from mutual enmity, divorce may be obtained" (Parasparaṃ dveshānmokshaḥ). Neither the husband nor the wife can dissolve the marriage against the will of one and the other. Kauṭilya lays down the following rules for divorce :—

स्त्रीविप्रकाराद्वा पुरुषस्येच्छेन्मोक्षमिच्छेत् यथा गृहीतमस्यै दद्यात्
पुरुषविप्रकाराद्वा स्त्री चेन्मोक्षमिच्छेत् नास्यै यथागृहीतं दद्यात् ॥
(Bk. III, Chap. III).

From this it follows that both the wife and the husband are able to dissolve the marriage and to leave each other on condition that the husband desiring divorce shall return to his wife whatever he had given to her, while the wife desiring divorce shall be deprived of her claim to her property. But this rule is not to be applied to the husband and wife who have been married according to the first four kinds of marriages, because Kauṭilya says that these marriages cannot be dissolved (अमोक्षो धर्मविवाहानामिति). Further Kauṭilya empowers the wife to divorce her husband on the following conditions :—

नोचत्वं परदेशं वा प्रस्थितो राज किल्बिषी ।
प्राणाभिहन्ता पतितस्त्याज्यः क्लीबोऽपि वा पतिः ॥ (Bk. III, Chap. II)

The Wife

Kauṭilya is in favour of worldly life. He is very indignant towards the theory of accepting asceticism by women whose foremost duty is to serve their husbands. Disobedience on the part of the woman is a great crime in the eyes of Kauṭilya and beating is prescribed for this sort of offence. Further, numerous punishments are prescribed for indecorous conduct and for leading independent life by the women. From Kauṭilyan laws it is apparent that the wives were kept confined within the house, and so many restrictions were imposed upon them that they were no better than prisoners. A wife is allowed, neither at day nor at night,

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to get out of the husband's house to attend to any sports or amusements or to see other women. Holding conversation in suspicious places is a serious offence and Kauṭilya prescribes whipping by a Caṇḍāla, as he says :—

शङ्कितस्थाने सम्भाषायां च जनस्थाने शिफादण्डः
स्त्रीणां ग्राममध्ये चण्डालः पञ्चान्तरं पञ्चशिफा दद्यात्।
(Bk. III, Chap. III).

But this whipping may be remitted on payment of fine at the rate of one paṇa for each stroke. Generally men and women are forbidden to carry on mutual transactions. For treason and indecorous conduct Kauṭilya lays down the following rules :—

राजद्विष्टार्तिचराभ्यामात्मापक्रमणेन च।
स्त्रीधनानीतशुल्कानामस्वाम्यं जायते स्त्रियः॥

Thus leading of independent and unlawful life would deprive a woman of her strīdhana and also the śulka which her father had obtained from the bridegroom.

A woman, under no excuse than danger, shall get out of the house of her husband. She is not even allowed to take into her house any known or unknown person or woman against the order of her husband. Kauṭilya's teacher, however, finds no fault on the part of a woman who gets out of her house for avoiding danger and takes shelter in the house of the headman of the village or to any one of her or her husband's relatives. But Kauṭilya objects to this theory of his teacher and asks "स्वपुरुषं वा ज्ञातिकुलं कुतोऽहि साध्वोजनस्य छलं सुखमेतदवबोद्धम्।"

He, however, finds no fault if the woman leaves the house and takes shelter with her relatives in the cases of "death, disease, calamities and confinement of women." He, further, informs us of the fact that under such circumstances neither any woman nor any one of her relatives can conceal or prevent her from going, and if so, they will be punished.

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Again a wife is not allowed to leave the village of her husband except in cases of receiving subsistence or on pilgrimage. The husband is also forbidden to allow his wife to take any unlawful journey. On the other hand, a woman holding conversation in suspicious places and falling into the company of forbidden persons shall be guilty of elopement. But it is no offence in the case of falling into the company of actors, players, singers, herdsmen and others who generally travel along with their wives. Kautilya, further, discusses the enmity between the husband and the wife. He lays down a rule that the wife hating her husband shall allow him to marry another woman and also shall return to him whatever she had obtained from him. On the other hand, the husband who hates her wife must keep her in the house of a female mendicant or of her guardians or of her kinsmen (भिक्षुकयन्त्राधि ज्ञातिकुलानामन्यतमे वा भर्ता द्विषत् स्त्रियमेकामनुश्रयीत)।

Again a man falsely accusing his wife of immorality shall be fined. But on severe quarrel between the husband and the wife Kautilya prescribes divorce on mutual consent.

Harem or Antaḥpura

Antaḥpura is a special feature of ancient Indian society. About the harem of the King, Kautilya gives us a little information. The chapter on आत्मरक्षितकम् (Bk. I, Chap. XX) is chiefly concerned with the regulations for the King's safety giving instances of the monarchs who were assassinated by their queens. The queens are, no doubt, necessary for successors to the throne, but they are also a source of trouble and danger. Therefore Kautilya is very careful against this sort of danger when he says that the "Kings shall be careful in the harem because many kings were killed in the harem." Regarding the construction and the management of the harem Kautilya is in conformity with Vātsyāyana and other writers. The Arthaśāstra lays down that on a selected and

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protected site the King shall construct his harem which shall consist of many compartments provided with doors. The officer in charge of the harem shall be stationed in the intervening places of 2 compartments. Everything that goes into and comes out of the harem is to be carefully inspected. The inmates of the harem are to be watched by the aged men and women "in the guise of mothers and fathers and eunuchs." The members are also forbidden to maintain any communication with the wandering ascetics, female slaves and other outsiders. The regular attendance on the harem is entrusted on the Rūpājīvās who are neat and clean. In short Kauṭilya says that all kinds of precautions are to be taken for the protection and the welfare of the harem.

The Widow

In India where the mother is an object of worship and veneration widow-marriage is unthinkable. Inspite of this we learn from the sacred literature that widow-marriage was prevalent in ancient India. The general rule in the Arthaśāstra as well as in the Mānava Dharmaśāstra is that a woman after the death of her husband must remain pure and virtuous and would lead the life of a brahmachāriṇī. Manu is indignant about widow marriage although he cannot conceal the fact that widow-marriage was prevalent in his time, even if not accepted by the orthodox class to which he belonged. Manu lays down that a widow must never even mention the name of another man and that a second husband is nowhere prescribed in the sacred books for women. But Manu refers to the system of Niyoga and to Punarbhū whose sons are recognised because they are regarded as legitimate heir to the father's property (Manu, Chap. 9. 145-46). References to sons of remarried women and widows certainly prove that widow-marriage was prevalent at the time of Manu. The Vedic custom of producing sons by the brother of the dead husband, though personally condemned by

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Manu, was in vogue in his age as we are told that on failure of issue a wife or a widow may obtain sons by a brother-in-law or by some other Sapiṇḍas of her husband. Though there is no general rule for widow-marriage in the Kāmasūtra, yet the remarriage of widows was prevalent in its age. A remarried widow is called punarbhū whose "position in Vātsyāyana approaches nearer to that of a mistress than that of a wedded wife." Kauṭilya also, in his work, accepts the Vedic custom of producing sons by the brothers of the dead-husband when he says that a widow may remarry any one of the brothers of the dead husband. In the absence of brothers she may marry any one of the Sapiṇḍas of her husband, and the selection of the bridegroom is entrusted to her father-in-law. And a widow not marrying one according to the selection of her father-in-law had to be deprived of her property, otherwise she would receive her due maintenance. But generally the widows used to remain pure and virtuous by maintaining themselves by various sorts of industries such as weaving, spinning, etc.

Prostitutes or Gaṇikās

The institution of prostitutes is an important factor in the social history of ancient India. Kauṭilya describes the prostitutes in their different phases in his chapter on Gaṇikādhyakṣa (Bk. I, Chap. XXVII). The terms used for the prostitutes in the Arthaśāstra are—Gaṇikā and Rūpājīvā. But whether Rūpājīvās were a particular class of Gaṇikās or the two terms are equivalent, is not clear. Kauṭilya, however, generally uses the term Gaṇikā for the prostitutes.

The " term Gaṇikā appears to mean a woman who is the member of a gaṇa or corporation whose charms are the common property of the whole body of men associated together by a common bond, economic or political." That there was no dearth of prostitutes in the time of Kauṭilya and that the women prostituted themselves are also proved

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by the testimony of the Greek writer Megasthenes who says that "the wives prostitute themselves unless they are compelled to be chaste . . ." In Kauṭilya, though a Gaṇikā belongs to the class of public women, she appears to have been treated with special consideration.

The Gaṇikādhyakṣa or Superintendent of prostitutes is charged with the duty of determining the earning and expenditure of every prostitute. He is also to watch the movements of such women and to prevent them from being extravagant. Again, every prostitute is under the obligation of submitting an account of her daily earning, expenditure and also future income (**भोगं दायमायव्ययमायतिं च गणिकायाः निबन्धयेत्। अतिव्ययकर्म च वारयेत्। गणिका भोगमायतिं पुरुषं च निवेदयेत्।**).

After due considerations of all these, taxes are to be imposed on them which should be twice the amount of one day's earning, as Kauṭilya says, **रूपाजीवा भोगदयगुणं मासं दद्युः।** The state, in return, employs teachers for teaching the prostitutes singing, dancing and other necessary arts. The sons of the prostitutes are taught to become *raṅgopajīvī*, *i.e.*, public actors. The state also takes proper steps to protect the life and the property of the prostitutes against the mischievous persons who are properly punished in the cases of applying illegal means upon them. On the other hand, the prostitutes too are not exempted from punishment if they are found to be guilty of any crime, and burning is recommended in the case of the murder of a paramour in her house.

But the importance of the prostitutes in the Arthaśāstra lies in the fact that they were regarded as essential factors in administration, politics and in palace services. They were employed in different departments of the government, and some of them held high and responsible offices. The chapter on Gaṇikādhyakṣa begins with the legislation that the superintendent shall appoint a beautiful and accomplished

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Gaṇikānvayā (A gaṇikā who has not a daughter of her own, adopts a minor girl and brings her up as a gaṇikā girl. This adopted girl is to be regarded as gaṇikānvayā) and also a pratigaṇikā or a rival prostitute in order to look after the former. Again a rule lays down that the Gaṇikās employed in the King's personal services are to be divided into 3 grades—high, middle and low—according to beauty and accomplishments which are, according to the commentator, the sole considerations in the selection of prostitutes, and payment is to be made in accordance with such grades. It is also laid down that every prostitute is under the obligation of attending the King's Court, otherwise proper punishment is to be awarded, and Kauṭilya says that "a prostitute who putting herself under the protection of a private person ceases to attend the court shall pay a paṇa and a quarter." Further we are told that from the "age of 8 years a prostitute shall hold musical performance before the King." The prostitutes are to be generally employed for the purpose of performing the duty of bath-room servants, washermen, garland-makers, etc. The servants together with these prostitutes shall present to the king water, scent, garlands, etc. The prostitutes employed in the palace services are, no doubt, female slaves. Regarding the palace gaṇikās or female slaves it may be said that some of them were educated and accomplished women while others were employed in the menial services of the King's person, but all were alike slaves. It is not, however, clear from Kauṭilya whether all the female slaves of the palace can be classed with the Gaṇikās. In the chapter dealing with the laws relating to the slaves there are rules which imply that the masters have no sexual rights over their slaves, and we are even told that the violation of the chastity of a female slave by her master entitles her to liberty, whereas with regard to the palace gaṇikās it appears, at least in theory, that they were under the direct disposal of the King. From this it follows that

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probably there were different degrees of status among the palace gaṇikās, and it is also possible to assume that some of them were not even gaṇikās or prostitutes, but Kauṭilya calls all of them Gaṇikās and places them under the charge of the superintendent of the prostitutes. It appears that the superintentent recruited these palace gaṇikās, by voluntary engagement, perhaps also by acquisition through purchase or gift of girls from their relatives and of female slaves from private owners.

When a Gaṇikā grows old and loses her beauty she is called a mātṛkā (सौभाग्यभङ्गे मातृकां कुर्य्यात्) . Again those who are incapable of such duties are to be appointed in the store house or kitchen of the King. If an old Gaṇikā has no such means of support, she shall be employed in the royal factory of weaving and spinning. But the most important office held by the Gaṇikās is in the institution of espionage. " The prostitute spies under the garb of chaste women may cause themselves to be enamoured of persons who are seditious" (Bk. V, Ch. II). A Gaṇikā's daughter would accordingly follow her mother's profession. The Gaṇikā's son, although according to Bhaṭṭasvāmin he could not succeed to his mother's property, probably acted as a royal slave, his ransom being fixed at 12000 paṇas. Generally the sons of the Gaṇikās were engaged as public actors.

The rule regarding the succession to a Gaṇikā's property, on her death, is quite different from that applied to the property of other slaves. In the chapter on slaves we are told that on the death of a slave, his or her property passes ultimately to his or her master in the absence of any kinsmen, while regarding the Gaṇikās Kauṭilya says that " sons are no heir to the property of the prostitutes," and that in the absence of any daughter the property passes to the Crown.

But a Gaṇikā is not doomed to her position for life. A prostitute is also allowed to regain her liberty and to

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become what she was before and to become a free woman. For gaining liberty a prostitute is required to pay 24000 paṇas as ransom to the Government and a prostitute's son 1200 paṇas.

Regarding the status of the Gaṇikās some light is thrown by the Arthaśāstra to the effect that a woman resorting to prostitution shall become the King's slave. This rule enabled the State to use them as Government officers and to obtain revenue from them. Further it is clear from the Arthaśāstra that the Gaṇikās were not the moral outcasts of the day but were educated and accomplished in different arts which enabled them to occupy not a neglected corner of the society but a prominent one.

Woman ascetics or parivrājikās

In the age of Kauṭilya there was no dearth of female ascetics inspite of his severe condemnation. Kauṭilya is very indignant towards the women accepting asceticism, their supreme duty being to serve their husbands and to lead the household life. Under no circumstances a woman shall be allowed to adopt asceticism. Every person is prohibited to convert any woman to asceticism and in that case he shall be punished. Inspite of all these we find references of parivrājikās and bhikshunīs in the Arthaśāstra which is also testified to by the celebrated Greek writer Megasthenes who says that "woman pursues philosophy but abstains from sexual enjoyment." By this Megasthenes probably meant woman-ascetics. According to Kauṭilya a woman ascetic is one who is a poor widow of the Brahman caste, very clever and desirous to earn her livelihood. Ascetic women appear to have been employed by the superintendent of weaving in spinning and weaving. They are allowed to travel whenever they like without any restriction and obligation. And a Bhikshukī held an honourable and respectable position not only in the society but also in

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the palace. They, further, commanded respect because of the fact that they were used to fish out political secrets. A parivrājikā shall frequent the house of the prime-minister, and Kauṭilya enjoins that no one should prevent them from entering into the palace.

Sexual crime

The chapter on कन्या-प्रकर्म (Bk. IV, Chap. XII) discusses the various forms of sexual crimes and the punishment to be prescribed. Besides this chapter we have also incidental references of sexual crimes elsewhere. The general rule of Kauṭilya regarding sexual intercourse is that "no one should have sexual intercourse with an immature girl against her will (न च प्राकाम्यमकामायां लभेत)." A man having sexual intercourse with an immature girl is liable to have his hand cut off or pay a fine of 400 paṇas; if the girl dies in consequence the punishment is death. According to another rule, a man having intercourse with a mature girl is liable to have his middle finger cut off or pay a fine of 200 paṇas and also compensation to her father. Another rule lays down that a man having such intercourse with a maiden with her consent shall pay a fine of 54 paṇas and the maiden half the amount. But a man having sexual connection with a woman who has remained unmarried for 3 years after attaining maturity commits no offence because her father by keeping her unmarried loses all authority over her. On the other hand if the girl possesses jewellery and the seducer takes possession of it, it should be regarded as theft.

A woman who desiring intercourse yields her person to a man of the same caste shall be fined 12 paṇas and the abettor twice the amount. Further, "a woman who, of her own accord, yields herself to a man, shall be a slave to the King." The abduction of a maiden is also to be severely punished. Again a man having any sexual connection with a harlot's daughter or a female slave's daughter

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shall not only be fined but also shall have to provide them with subsistence.

Adultery and rape cases also are to be properly punished and the punishment is to be prescribed according to the nature of the crimes. "For committing adultery with a Brāhmaṇa woman, a Kshatriya is liable to Uttamasāhasadaṇḍa, a Vaiśya to consfication of all his property and a Śūdra to be wrapped in mats and burnt alive." Again, a Brāhmaṇa, a Kshatriya or a Vaiśya committing adultery with a woman of degraded caste (Śvapāka) shall be banished or be degraded to the same caste. A Śūdra or a Śvapāka committing the same crime with a higher class woman should be put to death and the woman should have her ears and nose cut off. On the other hand, a man having illicit intercourse with a female ascetic is liable to a fine of 24 paṇas. But committing rape with a noble woman is to be punished by banishment and hanging.

Besides these we have the mention of a number of peculiar customs prevalent in the age of Kauṭilya. One rule lays down that a relative or a servant of an absent husband may take his wife of loose character, and if, on return, the husband approves such a case, they are to be allowed to live together, otherwise the woman shall have her nose and ears cut off while the keeper shall be put to death as an adulterer. Kauṭilya mentions another peculiar custom by which a man who rescues a woman from the hands of thieves or saves her from flood and famine or forest, acquires a right to have sexual intercourse with her. But this custom seems to have fallen into disuse, as we are told in the same place that this custom is not to be applied to any woman of high caste or to one who does not desire intercourse or one who has children.

State Officials including the Slaves and the Labourers

The special feature of the description of women in Kauṭilya is the employment of a large number of women in

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the Government and palace services. The women are to be employed in the institution of espionage, and they are required to test the purity and impurity of the ministers. In the chapter on Sūtrādhyakṣa (Bk. I, Chap. XXII) Kauṭilya discusses the industry of weaving and spinning in which the women were largely employed. In the royal factories, women of the lower classes including the cripples, girls who have not found out their husbands, mendicants, convicts, old courtesans, Rājadāsī and Devadāsī are to be employed (**जर्णावल्ककार्पासतूलशणच्छोमाणि चाविधवान्यङ्गाकन्याप्रव्रजिता दन्ता-प्रतिकारिणीभी रूपाजीवा-मातृकाभिर्वडाराजदासीभिर्व्यपरतोपस्थाने देव-दासीभिश्च कर्तयेत्**; Bk. I, Chapter XXII). We are further told that spinning is also to be given out to women of a more respectable class to be done at their own home. Kauṭilya is also very careful for the preservation of the chastity and honour of these female workers as he enjoins that a Sūtrādhyakṣa looking at the face of a female worker shall be fined. The workers, on the other hand, are to be regularly paid, and delay in payment is not allowed (**वेतनकालातिपातने मध्यमः**). But very serious punishment is to be awarded to a female worker who does not attend to her work after having duly received her wages as Kauṭilya says—**गृहीत्वा वेतनं कर्म अकुर्वन्त्याः अङ्गुष्ठसन्दंशनं दापयेत्।**

Further in the chapter on Sūtrādhyaksha (Bk. II, Chap. XXV) we are told that women and children are to be generally employed " to collect Surā and Kiṇva ferment." (**सुराकिण्वविचयं स्त्रियो बालाश्च कुर्युः**).

But the women were mainly employed in the palace and in King's personal services. The women shall be employed in the harem to watch the movements of the princes and to save them from immoral tendencies (Bk. I, Chap. XVII). As regards the employment of the women in the personal services of the King, Kauṭilya and the Greek-writers are in conformity. Megasthenes says, "Crowds of women surround him (King)." Again he says that " the care of the King's

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person is entrusted to women who are bought from their parents." The Arthaśāstra lays down that the King, on rising from his bed, shall be received first by troops of women armed with bows (Bk. I, Chap. XXI). That the women used to wear weapons is also proved by the testimony of the Greek writer who, while describing the hunting procession, says, "of the women, some are in chariot, some on horse-back, some on elephants, and they are equipped with weapons of every kind as if they were going on a campaign." Concerning the personal services of the King, Kauṭilya lays down that the female slaves shall bathe and massage the King, make his bed, wash his clothes and adorn him with garlands and also do similar other duties relating to the King's person. Curtius says, "His (King's) food is prepared by women who also serve him with wine...." Strabo and Kauṭilya also are in conformity in referring to the attendance on the King of a body of armed women and the personal services rendered to him by the female slaves. Thus from the testimony of both the classical authors and Kauṭilya it can be inferred that as guards and personal attendants on the King, the women were regarded as more trustworthy than men. But as regards the caste and the race from which these women were recruited the Arthaśāstra is not clear, and it also cannot be said definitely whether all of them were slaves.

That the women were employed as slaves and labourers is also clear from the chapter on दासकल्पः (Bk. III, Chap. XIII) which discusses the various forms of sexual crimes and their punishments, and also the methods to be adopted for the protection of such women. The selling of a pregnant woman is to be punished with the first amercement. On the other hand, the punishment for stealing a female slave is the cutting off of the thief's legs. "Selling or mortgaging the life of a female slave shall be punished with fine." But the most important and significant rule laid

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down by Kauṭilya is that the birth of a child by the union of a female slave with her master entitles her to liberty. All these legislations clearly show that Kauṭilya is careful enough to preserve the chastity and honour of the female slaves and the labourers.

Property and Inheritance

Kauṭilya discusses the property of women in his chapter on Strīdhana (Bk. III, Chap. II) **वृत्तिरावध्यं वा स्त्रीधनं**, *i.e.*, Strīdhana consists of subsistence and jewellery. Kauṭilya says that there is no limit to ābadhya or jewellery but vṛitti or subsistence (property producing income) valued above 2000 may be endowed on her name. It is laid down in another place that the daughter should be paid adequate dowry at the time of marriage (Bk. III, Chap. V). Manu also lays down a rule that the woman's property consists only in wedding gifts, tokens of affection and gifts from her father, brothers and mother and also what is given to her after marriage by her husband. All these constitute what is called the property of women. The women are endowed with property with the view of warding off the evils or calamities (**आपदर्थं हि स्त्रीधनं**), and they are entitled to spend their property only in cases of danger and calamities. A wife is allowed to make free use of her property for the maintenance of her sons and daughters-in-law in the absence of her husband. The husband is permitted to spend his wife's property only in " cases of death, disease, famine or other calamities and on pious objects."

In the Dharmishṭha marriages, *i.e.* those of the first four kinds, the use of the Strīdhana by mutual agreement is allowed. In the Gāndharva and Āsura forms of marriage, the use of the Strīdhana by the husband, even with the consent of the wife, is not allowed, and in such cases the property must be returned with interest (evidently to the wife). But in the Rākshasa and Paiśācha marriages, the use of the Strīdhana

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by the husband is to be considered as theft. Regarding the property of the widows Kauṭilya lays down— **मृते भर्तरि धर्मकामा तदानीमेवाख्याप्याभरणं शुल्कशेषं च लभेत। कुटुम्बकामा तु श्वशुरपतिदत्तं निवेशकाले लभेत।**

Thus a widow leading a pious and virtuous life may receive her property but if she marries again, she shall have to return whatever her father-in-law or husband had given to her. Concerning the claims of the wife over the property of her husband Kauṭilya says :—

पतिदायं विन्दमाना जीयेत। धर्मकामा भुञ्जीत।

The woman is not entitled to claim the property of her husband but she may enjoy it if she leads a pure and virtuous life. Further Kauṭilya lays down—

पुत्रवती विन्दमाना स्त्रीधनं जीयेत। तत्तु स्त्रीधनं पुत्रा हरेयुः।

Thus a woman with sons is not permitted to make free use of her property because that property finally belongs to her sons. On the other hand if she likes to hold her property under the pledge of maintaining her sons, then too she must endow it in their name. But a childless widow, if she remains faithful to her dead-husband, is allowed to enjoy her property for life under the guardianship of her Guru and on her death the property passes to her heirs. In the case of death of the wife before her husband's, her property shall be divided among her sons and daughters (**जीवति भर्तरि मृतायाः पुत्रा दुहितरश्च स्त्रीधनं विभजेरन्**) and in the absence of children the property shall pass to her husband except what has been given to her by her relatives. Manu also is of opinion that the "property of a childless wife belongs to her husband."

In the chapter on Dāyavibhāga (Bk. III, Chap. V) Kauṭilya discusses the division of inheritance. In the Brāhmaṇas and the Saṃhitās we are told that the women are not entitled to inheritance. The Mahābhārata rule also is "no property for women." Kauṭilya too like the previous

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writers, says that the "sisters shall have no claim to inheritance; they shall have the bronze plate and jewellery of their mother after her death." (Bk. III, Chap. VI). But that the women were not altogether deprived of inheritance is also clear from the Arthaśāstra. Kauṭilya lays down that on the death of the mother, her property shall be divided among her sons and daughters. Further the daughters of the last four kinds of marriages are entitled to inherit their father's immovable property (riktham) only, but the daughters of the first four kinds of marriages shall have property.

Maintenance

The maintenance of women is discussed in the chapters on "maintenance of woman" and **जनपदनिवेश:** (Bk. II, Chap. I). A married man is under the obligation of providing the female members of the family with adequate subsistence. A capable person neglecting to provide his daughter, mother, wife, sisters, etc., shall be duly punished, as Kauṭilya says: **अपत्यदारं मातापितरौ भ्रातॄन् प्राप्तव्यवहारान् भगिनी: कन्या विधवास्वा-बिभ्रत: द्वादशपणो दण्ड:।**

On the other hand a wife is eligible to receive her due maintenance as long as she is devoted and obedient to her husband or to other lawful guardians. Every wife shall be given as much food and clothing as required and even more than that (**भर्मन्यायामनिर्दिष्टकालायां ग्रासाच्छादनं वाऽधिकं यथा पुरुषपरिवापं सविशेषं दद्यात्।**).

But the wife who parts with her husband and lives independently or places herself under the protection of another person shall be deprived of her claim to maintenance from her husband (**श्वशुरकुलप्रविष्टायां विभक्तायां वा नाभियोज्य: पति:**).

On the death of the husband the widow is to be provided by her own property and also by her sons, if she remains pure, but in the case of remarriage she shall be maintained by her protector or second husband. Moreover as already

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observed, Kauṭilya is very indignant towards the acceptance of asceticism as he definitely states that it is a bounden duty on the part of a man adopting asceticism to make adequate provision for the maintenance of his family (**पुत्रदारमप्रतिविधाय प्रव्रजतः पूर्वस्साहसदण्डः ।**).

The State is also required to look after the helpless and diseased women who have none to look after them. As already observed, the State maintains the cripple, widows and other poor women by providing them with employment in the State factories. Moreover Kauṭilya enjoins upon the King himself that "he shall provide subsistence to helpless women and also to the children they give birth to" (Bk. II, Chap. I).

Conclusion

From what has been said above it is apparent that Kauṭilya was born in an age when morality was to a great extent degraded. This moral degradation led Kauṭilya to frame stringent rules restricting the liberty and freedom of the woman which she enjoyed for the long time past. As regards the position, power and influence of the women the Arthaśāstra proves that these did not differ essentially from those described in the Mānava Dharmaśāstra. In both these works the women are regarded not as equals of men but rather inferior to the latter. The general rule laid down in both the treatises is that a woman must never be independent and must remain ever devoted and obedient to her husband. Manu says, "Though destitute of virtue, seeking pleasures or devoid of good qualities yet a husband must be constantly worshipped as a god by a faithful wife." If a wife obeys her husband, she will for that reason alone be exalted in heaven." It is also laid down in the Arthaśāstra that a woman can claim maintenance from her husband as long as she remains devoted to him. But notwithstanding the restrictions imposed by Kauṭilya, it appears from his work that the women

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were given a certain measure of independence in domestic affairs. As an unhappy union between a man and woman may lead to chaos in the domestic life, Kauṭilya prescribes divorce with mutual consent. The women are also given the right to remarry on certain conditions imposed by him. The widows, not desirous of leading the life of a Brahmachāriṇī, are also allowed to marry any one of the brothers of the dead husband. By this legislation Kauṭilya recognises the Vedic custom of producing sons by the brothers of the dead husband. Even the women of the lower classes, such as the slaves, labourers, and the Gaṇikās, did not suffer in the least in the hands of Kauṭilya who has framed rigid rules for the preservation of their chastity and honour. The Dāsīs and the Gaṇikās were also given a certain measure of freedom and respect. The Gaṇikās were not the moral outcasts of the day. On the other hand they were most educated and accomplished in different fine arts which enabled them to occupy a prominent place in the society. Though Kauṭilya is very indignant towards the theory of accepting asceticism by women yet it is clear from the Arthaśāstra that in his age there was no dearth of the Bhikshukīs as Parivrājikās who occupied an honourable position not only in the society but also in the palace. But the special feature of the women in Kauṭilya is that they were largely employed in the Government and palace services, and that they were regarded as more trustworthy than men in the personal services of the king. The position attached to the women is also proved by the legislation that the King will personally attend to the business of the women along with others. Another rule enjoins upon the King to provide the helpless women along with their children. Similar other legislation designed with the sole object of protecting the chastity and the honour of the women certainly indicates the place occupied by women in the age of Kauṭilya. From a critical study of the Arthaśāstra, it appears, no doubt, that

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the women lost much of the liberty and freedom but the honour and the prestige which they enjoyed from the earliest times did not suffer in the hands of Kauṭilya. In other words women in Kauṭilya were placed in high regard and esteem, though their liberty was to a great extent curtailed. But liberty is not the sole consideration by which the status of the woman would be judged in a particular period. The aspects which should be given proper consideration are the position and honour in which they are placed in the society. With regard to these aspects it can be said that Kauṭilya is careful enough to grant them their legitimate claims and rights allowing them to occupy an honourable position in the society. On the whole Kauṭilya's spirit about the woman is humane and enlightened. All these considerations will naturally lead us to the conclusion that the women, in the age of Kauṭilya, occupied no inferior position in the Hindu society.

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29

FROM THE YAVANAS TO THE KUSHĀNS

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Although the advent of Alexander into India, which was the prelude to Greek rule within her borders, is an event well-marked in the scale of historical chronology, we are by no means in a position to ascertain with equal accuracy the succession of his "Yavana" successors. At the other end lie the "Kushāns" who join on to the "Guptas" assignable to definite dates ; and the "Kushān" chronology still remains a tangle. My investigation into the problem, commenced more than eighteen years ago, have brought me to certain tentative conclusions which I propose to place briefly before scholars in course of this paper, in the hope that their criticism may help me to correct myself where I may be wrong.

It is generally recognized that Alexander did not found an empire in India and that shortly afterwards his successor Seleucus Nicator had to abandon the Indian possession besides much territory to the west of the Indus in exchange for 500 elephants. About a century later (c. 208 B. C.), Antiochus III, great-grandson of Seleucus, renewed his friendship with Sophagasenus—an Indian monarch otherwise unknown,—and took some elephants for effective contest in another sphere, promising to bestow his daughter on Demetrius, son of Euthydemus who had made himself king in Bactria. It is this Demetrius, probably celebrated in Chaucer as "Emetrius, king of Inde", who established "Yavana" rule in India (c. 200 B.C.).

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From Demetrius down to Hermaeus, (whose position as the last in the list is clearly indicated by his coinage), we have a period of about two hundred years where, as the numismatic testimony shows, we have to accommodate about forty Yavana princes besides a few other rulers usually denominated "Saka-Pahlava" or "Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian." It is clear that all these rulers cannot be cramped into the period without assuming that some of them ruled contemporaneously in different localities. And numismatic evidence confirms this inference.

The Greeks outside India struck money of distinct types in different localities. *A priori*, their kinsmen in India may be expected to have adhered to the same tradition. We are however not confined to conjecture in the matter. Eucratides, who is known from literary evidence to have followed in the footsteps of Demetrius into India as a rival, has left us coins of the "Zeus enthroned" type which bear the legend —*Kavisiye nagaradevata*, "city-deity of Kapiśa." We have also coins reading—*Pakhalavadi devada*, "divinity of Pushkalāvatī," depicting a city-divinity in a distinctly Hellenistic style. We may infer that various other types of money issued by the Yavanas represent various localities.

Amongst the Yavanas, there is one name prominently remembered in Indian tradition. This is Menander, who figures as a ruler (Milinda) interested in the Buddhist religion and philosophy in that famous treatise, the *Milinda-pañho* or "Questions of Milinda." He was a great ruler, being mentioned as such in western literature. Accordingly, we are not surprised to find in his mintage a large variety of coin-types bespeaking dominion over many localities. One type initiated by him, that of "Athene Promachus," is continued by his successors numbering thirteen (or fourteen?) down to Gondofernes, a Parthian ruler who is made contemporary with St. Thomas by reliable Christian tradition. Since the silver issues of Menander are practically confined

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to this type, it is reasonable to hold that it belongs to his capital, and we have no reason to disbelieve the statement in the *Milinda pañho* that Menander's capital was Sāgala (modern Sialkot) described therein as a city with beautiful parks, of great wealth and much trade, where one could notice a number of white citizens, evidently Yavanas.

There are two groups of the Kushānas known as the Kadphises group and the Kanishka group. According to numismatic evidence, the first group connects itself with Hermaeus, the last Yavana monarch. It is also related to Rome in some way, since Kozola Kadaphes of this group figures the head of Augustus. It shares with the Kanishka group an important feature: the issue of a gold coinage doubtless modelled on Rome. This is proved by the application of the term dināra to denote Gupta gold coins in inscriptions of the Gupta period. A Kushāna gold coin weighs about 123 grains which agrees with the weight-standard in Rome prior to 64 A.D. when Nero reduced it. Clearly, therefore, the Kushāna gold series started before 64 A.D.

Who initiated this gold coinage? Usually, the Kadphises group is placed shortly before the Kanishka group, so that Wima Kadphises would have to be given credit for the introduction of gold money. But the stratification at Taxila, while it has definitely ruled out the suggestion that the entire Kanishka group should be placed before the entire Kadphises group, does not exclude a certain amount of overlapping between the two. That the two groups ruled in different localities is indicated by a remarkable circumstance. While we find that the coins of the Kadphises group bear Greek and Kharoshṭhī legends, the coins of the Kanishka group dispense altogether with the Kharoshṭhī, despite the fact that Kharoshṭhī continued to be the script of Gandhāra where Kanishka's inscriptions have been found and where his capital lay. We can hardly explain the absence of

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Kharoshṭhī otherwise than by assuming that Kanishka rose to power in Eastern India, outside the Kharoshṭhī area. The assumption is supported by Chinese evidence which connects Kanishka with Khotan and relates him to the "Little" Yue-che (Siao Yue-che) as distinguished from the "Great" Yue-che (Ta Yue-che) with which Kozoulo Kadphises (Kien-tsien-kio) is connected. Association with Eastern India is also asserted in Kumāralāta's *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*. And Kaniṣhka's earliest inscriptions come from the East.

A study of the coins of Wima Kadphises and the Kanishka group leads to the conclusion that Wima Kadphises reigned after Kanishka. Fleet has pointed out that Wima Kadphises employed the cursive *eta* and *upsilon* in his Greek coin legends along with the other letters in uncials; and the intrusive character of these cursives marks them out as borrowings, presumably from the Kanishka group which, with few exceptions, exclusively employs cursives. These exceptions, be it noted, pertain to the mintage of Kanishka some of whose coins bear a legend all in uncials, with no intrusion of cursives such as we might expect in the event of Kanishka having succeeded Wima Kadphises. That it was Wima Kadphises who succeeded Kanishka appears to follow from another fact. Wima figures on his coins two symbols the first of which he evidenlty inherited from his father (through whom it is traced back to Jihunia the Satrap). The other is intrusive on his coins and should be deemed to be a borrowing from Kanishka. We must remember that the Kushāns generally figure a single symbol. Their predecessors—Yavanas and Śaka-Pahlavas had employed symbols, monogrammatic or otherwise, which may in some cases be shown to have been inherited, in others borrowed after conquest. Carefully comparing the symbols employed by Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva, we find that

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Huvishka sometimes figures the same symbol as Kanishka and at other times figures a modified form with an extra horizontal below the prongs; and that Vāsudeva modifies this into a form with the two curves angularized. We may infer that normal succession in the Kanishka group implied successive modifications of the symbol. It is thus unlikely that Kanishka in the normal way succeeded to Wima or Wima to Kanishka, as usually assumed.

It would seem therefore that Wima rose to power at the expense of Kanishka—hence his pompous title *Sarvaloga-iśvara*. The Kushān gold coinage was thus initiated not by Wima but by Kanishka who must accordingly be placed before 64 A.D.—the date of reduction of the Roman aurei denarii.

Some coins of Huvishka connect him with Galba and Otho, two ephemeral Roman emperors ruling between 68 and 70 A.D. Huvishka's "Athene" type with the legend PIWM (Rome) is doubtless an imitation of Galbas' coin figured in the margin; and his *Oaninoo* (Pers. *Vanant*= Victory)—type connects itself with the "Victory"—type of Otho. Though the "Victory" type is not unknown to the Yavana and Saka-Pahlava predecessors of Huvishka, her representation on the Huvishka-coin is distinctive in as much as it shows the lower portion of Victory's garment as flowing, in the Roman style.[1] Galba and Otho being Roman emperors who ruled only for a few months each and left no traditions behind, their coins could scarcely have been imitated by an Indian Kushān emperor long after they had ceased to rule. We should consequently place Huvishka not long after 70 A.D. We may go further and urge that the first year of Huvishka's reign coincided with the rule of Otho and Galba; for it is unlikely that Huvishka should have thought of imitating Roman coins at a late stage of

[1] *Cf.* Gardner, B.M.C., p. lxvi, where the comparisons are made but not pushed to their logical conclusions.

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his reign, when he had a consolidated empire and had already minted a large number of types conforming to the early Kushān traditions. The position of Kanishka is thus fixed on to about 50 A.D.

Such a dating is favoured by another circumstance. The Ara inscription mentions Kanishka II as Mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra *Kaisara*. Here is a title borrowed from Rome in order appropriately to complete his claim to overlordship of "the four quarters"—the title Mahārāja for India (South), rājātirāja for Parthia (North), devaputra for China (East), Kaisara for Roman Empire (West). None of the other Kushāns are known to have taken the title "Cæsar". We learn from Western sources that the title originally belonged to the Cæsar family (by descent or adoption). It was only after Nero that the title was adopted (first by Galba) by a Roman emperor outside the Cæsar-family as denoting the dignity originally belonging to Roman emperors of that family. Vitellius refused it. Vespasian and Titus assumed the style. But Nerva (96 A.D.) bestowed it on Trajan as the heir-presumptive. The precedent was followed afterwards, so that henceforward we find normally two persons, one the emperor, another the heir-presumptive, dubbed "Cæsar". Lowered thus in prestige, the title would hardly be considered worthy of adoption by a Kushān monarch intent on signifying his overlordship of the fourth (Western) quarter, after 96 A.D. It could of course not be thought of by him before 68 A.D., because it was down to that date regarded as pertaining to the Cæsar-family. We are accordingly obliged to place Kanishka II between 68 and 96 A.D.; and, as Kanishka II calls himself "son of Vadjagha (=Vasishka), while Vasishka is known to have come after Kanishka I, *the date of accession of Kanishka I would lie somewhere near 50 A.D.*

The date should be pushed back a few years before 50 A.D. We have seen that Huvishka imitated Galba and

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Otho (69-70 A.D.). His earliest dated record comes from Mathura, being dated in the first day of the (Macedonian) month Gorpaeus in the year 28 of the continuous reckoning employed by Kanishka, Vasishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva. Although, as I have shown elsewhere, Huvishka's reign had begun at Mathura before Vasishka's reign terminated, Huvishka could not have commenced his rule before the year 24 when Vasishka is known to have been ruling at Mathura. Assuming, as is probable, that his imitations of Galba and Otho belong to his first year, and that news of their overthrow had been transmitted without much delay which also is probable in view of the closeness of Indo-Roman trade-relations at the period, the starting-point of the "Kushān" reckoning would have to be placed between c. 41 and 45 A.D.,—say c. 43 A.D. Tallying with this date is the circumstance that Huvishka is described in a Mathura inscription as the grandson of a prince with the title *Satyadharmasthita* who can only be Kozoulo Kadphises. This prince, according to Chinese testimony, attained the age of fourscore and more. His son and successor Wima Kadphises must have come to the throne at an advanced age (as his portraits on the coins indicate). Huvishka was probably the son of Wima. He came to the throne young, as some of his portraits show, and enjoyed a reign of at least 32 years (his earliest and latest epigraphic dates being years 28 and 60). If he began his reign c. 70 A.D. at the age of 25, he would have been born c. 45 A.D. His father would be born c. 20 A.D. His grandfather would thus be a contemporary of Augustus (27 B.C.—14 A.D.) whose portrait occurs on his coins.

There are two dated Kharoshṭhi records which scholars agree in assigning to either Kozoulo or Wima Kadphises. These are: the Panjtar record, dated in year 122, and the Taxila silverscroll, dated in year 136. The first mentions Mahārāja Gushana, while the second refers to Mahārāja

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rājātirāja Devaputra Khushana and employs the symbol common to the coins of Kozoulo and Wima. If Chinese testimony is not to be set aside, this king Gushana or Khushana must be identified with Wima; for, according to that testimony, Kozoulo effected no conquests in India (Tien-chu) where these records were found. Wima accordingly reigned in the years 122 and 136 of an unspecified era. That these dates should be referred to the Vikrama era seems admitted on all hands. Wima was thus reigning in the years 65 and 79 A.D. He probably did not succeed his octogenerian father long before 65 A.D., nor is it likely that he continued his reign much beyond 79 A.D. A reasonable period for him would be c. 64-80 A.D.—that is, shortly after Kanishka, with his dates between years 3 and 18 corresponding to c. 45 and 61 A.D.

What then is the era to which the dates in the Kanishka series—years 3 to 99—must be referred? Was it an era started by Kanishka? At first sight, this might seem to be a likely proposition. But certain circumstances lead to the inference that the reckoning is not a new one but the familiar Vikrama era with one hundred omitted; the "year 3" being equivalent to the year 103 of the Vikrama era or 46 A.D.[2] Śoḍāsa's Mathura inscription of the "year 72" is by common consent referred to the Vikrama era. Palæography places

[2] Attempts have been made from time to time, by eminent scholars like Edward Thomas, Bühler, D. R. Bhandarkar, Vincent Smith and Foucher, to explain the Kushān dates as pertaining to some omitted hundred system. The strongest onslaught on the idea came from the pen of Fleet (JRAS, 1913, Mr. 980-4) who held that (1) it would be an "irrational method of recording dates" (*ibid*, p. 984) and (2) it was first started in Kashmir in the 8th century A.D. (being applied to the "Śāstra or Saptarṣhi saṃvatsara,") the reckoning by omitted hundreds being designated "Laukika" or "popular." With due deference to Fleet's authority, I may point out that (*a*) it is not "irrational" since it is found regularly applied to the Saptarshi saṃvatsara as well as to "a few late Vikrama" dates as admitted by Fleet himself (*ibid*, p. 983), and since even to-day we often adopt that method in connexion with the Christian and other eras; (*b*) the evidence cited by Fleet (*ibid*, p. 983) that "the earliest recorded date in the Laukika reckoning is one of 'the year 89,' meaning 3889, A.D. 813-14, given by

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that record shortly before the Kushān series, and there is no distinction between that series and Soḍāsa's record in the phraseology of dating. Had Kanishka started a new era, common sense would have suggested some differentiation in the expression of dates in terms of the new era. To the North-Western records, also, the same reasoning applies. We find the Vikrama era alone in that area in the first century A.D.—the Taxila inscription of Moga (year 78), the Takhti-Bahai inscription of Gondophernes (year 103), the Panjtar inscription of Gushana or Wima Kadphises (year 122), the Taxila inscription of "Kushana" Wima Kadphises (year 136). Even if Kanishka had started a new era, he and the people would surely have realised the possibility of its being confused with the established (Vikrama) era, unless dates in the new era were expressed in a manner distinguished from the prevailing mode of expression in terms of the older reckoning.

Brāhmi palæography, if studied only from Bühler's charts, would lead to the paradoxical conclusion that, in the

Kalhana" does not prove that "the reckoning in this abbreviated form had plainly only been invented shortly before that time:" the fact is that Kalhana's definite dates begin from this year, and we may infer that the historical materials at his command gave him no definite date before this year (A.D. 813-14), his preference for the Laukika method and the Saptarshi (or Śāstra) saṃvatsara being clearly due to established practice followed in the older records he was drawing upon. I have elsewhere (JASB) adduced reasons for thinking that to the class of these older records belong the Purāṇas setting forth a dynastic account of the "Kali Age." Possibly, the omitted-hundred "Laukika" method was at first used most prominently in connexion with the Saptarshi saṃvatsara in Kashmir, whence it spread to Mathura and other places: in the days of Ptolemy (2nd century A.D.), the "Kaspeirioi" were already in possession of a large area including Mathura. Moreover, we have two Mathura inscriptions of the Kushān period alluding to the "lord of Wakhan" besides the pre-Kushān Mathura lion-capital inscriptions bespeaking intimate connexion with the extreme North-West. The Hindu sense of historical chronology is most in evidence in Kashmir, Magadha and Ceylon, as attested by the Rājataraṅgiṇī, the dynastic chapter in the Purāṇas (where reign-periods are given only in the Magadha list prior to Mahāpadma Nanda) or the Dīpavaṁsa and Mahāvaṁsa. I have a suspicion that Chinese influence accounts for this sense, so far as Kashmir and Magadha are concerned, and that the sense of Ceylon is merely a derivative from Magadha.

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Kushān period, early and late forms jostled each other. We should disabuse our minds of the false impression that if we come across an inscription say from Mathura, dated *Saṃvat 10* ....., it must be forthwith assigned to the reign of Kanishka, even if it reveals letter-forms later than those found in other similar inscriptions mentioning Kanishka. The scientific way is to group together those records which actually mention Kanishka, Vasishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva, and study their letter-forms as demonstrably pertaining to their period. The other similar inscriptions not alluding to these rulers must be judged palæographically in relation to the first group, and their chronological positions determined accordingly. It will be seen that many inscriptions classed by Bühler with the series pertaining to the period from Kanishka to Vāsudeva, have to be placed after that series. In the case of two such records (Nos. 32 & 71 in Lüders's list), even Bühler perceived the predominance of later forms but shrank from the legitimate inference. Indeed, if we do not separate such records from the period of Kanishka-Vāsudeva, we shall have to place Kanishka in the 3rd century A.D., in close proximity to the Gupta period.

We are thus obliged to posit a series of dates, 'years 5, 7.....,' after the Kushān series with its last year "98" (or 99 ?). The way of expression remains unchanged, excluding the likelihood of a fresh era after Vāsudeva. Moreover, with one single exception which has many peculiarities entitling us to rank it apart, all the dates are below 100. (The Mathura inscr. of unnamed Mahārāja rājātirāja is dated 199, not 299, as R. D. Banerji and others read). Our alternatives are to assume :—

(1) That the Vikrama era was in use at Mathura in the year 15 A.D. under Soḍāsa, with his "yr. 72," not long before Kanishka. Kanishka started a new era (78 A.D. or 130 A.D. etc.) which ran its course for about 99 years ; another new era was started again after Vasudeva ; all dates

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in these three different eras being expressed in the same manner, with no hint of distinction.

(2) That the Vikrama era was in use in Mathura from at least 15 A.D. down at least to the 3rd century A.D., the dates being generally expressed by omitting the hundreds,—records of Soḍāsa belonging to its first century, and the other records belonging some to second century and others to its third century.

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30

BRĀHMAṆA IMMIGRATIONS IN BENGAL

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(Abstract)

In this paper an attempt has been made for the first time to study the *Kulaśāstras* or the genealogical books of the Bengal *ghaṭakas* (match-makers) critically. None of them has proved to be very old and most of them were based on current traditions, sometimes orally transmitted from generation to generation. They are "propagandist" in the extreme sense of the term. Every genealogist or protagonist tries to prove the purity and superiority of those whose cause he espouses. In spite of these defects, the traditions contain some historical truths underlying them. But the accounts of the royal genealogies in the *Kulaśāstras* have proved to be faulty and inaccurate.

All the books are almost unanimous in the description of the story of the importation of five *Sāgnic* Brāhmaṇas through the efforts of king Ādiśūra with only slight variations regarding their names. Different dates of the migration have been referred to in different books and fall within 654 S.E. to 999 S.E. Ādiśūra cannot be held responsible for migrations on all the dates which fall within three centuries. It seems that Brāhmaṇas came to settle from time to time and every migration has been associated with the name of Ādiśūra whose zeal and effort was perhaps the cause of one.

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The Ādiśūra problem is one of the riddles of the history of Bengal. The present writer drew attention to a hitherto unnoticed king, *Magadhādhirāja* Ādisiṃha of the Dudhpani Rock Inscription (IHQ, XI, pp. 70ff), because of the similarity of the names, proximity of time and the continuity of the kingdoms overlapping each other and other circumstantial evidences.

Most of the books record that five Brāhmaṇas came from Kanauj or Kolāñca. There are many epigraphic evidences of the fact that many Brāhmaṇa emigrants from Tarkari, Kroḍāñca and Madhyadeśa figure as donees of the royal grants of different provinces. All these places seem to have been in Madhyadeśa, Śrāvastideśa and near about Kanauj. There were a Śrāvasti and a Kolāñca in northern Bengal. It appears from the Rāmāyaṇa and Vāyupurāṇa that there was a Gauḍa in Uttarakośala. All these clearly suggest that northern Bengal had very important relations with Madhyadeśa, so far as Brāhmaṇa immigrations were concerned. The allegation that there were no pure Brāhmaṇas in Bengal is perhaps to be understood with references to the manner and way in which tribes or parts of eastern India have been mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* and by Baudhāyana. In this connection it is also to be remembered that Bengal was first *Sramanised* and then *Brāhmaṇised*. In the epigraphic records of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods discovered in Bengal and Assam we find that Brāhmaṇical influence was spread by the Brāhmaṇas themselves, local officers and chiefs, and even by outsiders. It was in Madhyadeśa that Brāhmaṇical rituals and social institutions were developed and perfected and hence it became "the model country for all ages" and for all Āryāvarta. Viewed in this light, the tradition of the Kulaśāstras seems to reflect some truth and the migrations of the Brāhmaṇas from Madhyadeśa and the honours shown to them are intelligible.

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KALYĀṆAVARMAN, A NEW NAME IN THE HISTORY OF BENGAL

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(Abstract)

The author has found many notices of the name of Kalyāṇavarman in the MS. of the *Sārāvali*. He was a ruler of Vyāghrataṭī according to an India Office MS. which gives the correct reading.

In the verse in question Kalyāṇavarman is also connected with Devagrāma. Vyāghrataṭī is to be identified with Vāgḍi in the Nadia District, Bengal. In the same district there is also an old village called Devagrāma which should be identified with the village of that name mentioned in the *Sārāvali*. A line of Varman Chiefs ruled over Vyāghrataṭī during the reign of Dharmapāla and Devapāla. Kalyāṇavarman may have belonged to the dynasty of those chiefs and ruled about the 8th or 9th century A.D. The earliest MS. of the *Sārāvali* is dated in 1286, and the book is noticed by Bhaṭṭa Utpala (966) and Alberuni.

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SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF THE MAUKHARIS

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(Abstract)

The paper actually gives a more or less elaborate account of the Maukharis.

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33

SOME ASPECTS OF ANDHRA BUDDHIST ART

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The Buddhist period of Andhra history covering about five centuries (200 B. C.-300 A.D.) was an epoch of intensive life and extensive activities. There was Andhra expansion over the Deccan and Northern India. Andhra commerce and culture extended to Greece and Rome on the one side and to the Spice Islands and Indo-China on the other. The only Indian dynasty that minted ship-coins was the Andhra, and the Pallavas only imitated them. Andhra cotton was exported in large quantities and it fetched a large amount of foreign gold which was utilised for the patronage of Buddhism and Buddhist Art. The tone of the society was raised and an atmosphere of Dharma was created. Eminent savants like Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva lived here. And, above all, Andhra Art gave the country an individuality long before Telugu literature began.

Though early Andhra Art was like that of Sanchi and Bhilsa and was, later on, influenced by Gandharan art, it possesses features of its own which marks it off as a distinct type. Nowhere in India do we find such a multitude of floral designs, so much richness and variety in men and animals, in a word, so much of decorative beauty in marble. The appeal is to the senses and the artist's view-point was objective. The Art bespeaks a people full of physical joy and zest in life. The overluxuriance in

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composition indicates a society free from restraint. If Art expresses the genius of a race and is rooted in its heart and faith, Andhra Art full of vitality, movement and expression, symbolises a people conscious of its strength and enjoying a free and full life. When Andhra life was saturated with Buddhism and Brahmanism, Art became more restrained and intellectual.

Andhra Buddhist Art confirms literary and traditional evidences about the Nāga stock that once inhabited the Andhra country. There are plenty of Nāga sculptures from this period and Nāga names occur frequently in the inscriptions. Nāgas are represented with one or more hoods. There are scenes of Nāga conversion at Nagarjunakonda. There are also Nāga coins. It seems that recently a tooth-relic of Buddha was discovered in Nagarjunakonda. It confirms the story that one tooth was enshrined in Kalinga and another in the Nāga kingdom. The Mahāvamsa and the Daladavamsa of a later date call the lower Krishna valley by the name of Majerika of the Nāgas. Early Tamil literature peoples the northernmost part of Tamil Nadu with Nāga tribes. The early Pallava and Sātavahana kings had Nāga associations. If there is any truth in these evidences, the early Andhra peoples were mainly Nāgas represented to-day by the Naidus and early Andhra Art is reminiscent of Nāga life.

There are to-day about forty places in Andhradesa with Buddhist remains. There are still many more mounds to be excavated especially in the hilly Agency tracts. It seems that recently extensive Buddhist sites were opened in Rentala and Madugula in Guntur District. Amaravati was, till now, the most famous Buddhist shrine in this part of our country. But Art of the same type has been found in several other places in the Krishna valley. In recent years, Nagarjunakonda has come in for a good deal of attention. Excavations there have brought to light so far 9 stupas, 4 chaityas,

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5 vihāras, 49 inscriptions, 400 marble sculptures, images, relics, coins, mantapas, etc. There is proof to associate the great sage Nāgārjuna with this spot in traditions and in the references of the two famous Chinese pilgrims Fahian and Hiuen Tsang.

The stupas of Andhra did not have the elaborate railing or carved gateways as at Sanchi. Even at Amaravati, though the railing was decorated the gateways were unimportant. A unique feature in the Andhra stupa was a set of five aryaka pillars, octagonal shafts with square capitals bearing epigraphs and emblems at each of the four cardinal points.

Early Amaravati sculptures possessed more vigour than elegance, were in low relief, flat, large and spacious. They were in the style of Sanchi and Bhilsa. The later sculptures were influenced by the Graeco-Roman style of Gandhara.

The stupa slab of later Amaravati is typical of Andhra Art in its lavish labour, elaborate detail, marvellous symmetry, flawless rhythm and rich decorative beauty. It is unparalleled in Indian art. This wonderful filigree work has been copied in Hoysala and later Muslim art. We see patience on the monument. The beautification of the whole stupa must have taken some decades. To work so rhythmically on such intractable material is very difficult.

Every pinnacle in the western hill at Sangharama near Anakapalle has been shaped into a stupa. This is carried out on a large scale at Boro-budur.

The later dome or vimana has developed out of the hollow stupa. The stupi or finial crowning our temples to-day is reminiscent of its origin in the stupa.

Chaityas were either rock-cut or structural. The rock-cut chaityas of Sangharama and Guntuppalle are some of the earliest, and later Pallava rock-cut temples are modelled on them.

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The horse-shoe arch in the circular rock-cut temple at Guntuppalle similar to that at Nasik and Bhaja is another beautiful architectural feature developed in Hindu and Muslim art. The arch shows that it was originally in wood and the stone-mason encouraged for the first time by the Buddhists copied from the carpenter. If stone architecture is based on the carpenter's work, sculpture is modelled on the work of the goldsmith.

The chaitya at Chejarla similar to that at Ter (old Tagara) is like the Bhima-ratha with its barrel-vaulted roof. This wagon-roof is seen even to-day at the top of the Hindu gopura. Ultimately, temple architecture can be traced to its origin in the ordinary hut.

The images of Andhra in high relief and in the round are very good-looking and, in course of time, acquire the contemplative calm of Gupta Art. There are images of marble, lime-stone, stone, plaster and bronze. The bronze images of Amaravati and Buddhani were in great demand in Greater India.

The conception of the image as a Yogi and Guru is Indian. And image-making was a native art. The iconography is derived from the Mahapurushalakshanas laid down in Lalitavistāra and other books. The ushnisha, curls, elongated ears and earlobes, urna, black eyes, full and soft limbs, long hands are all the marks of an Indian hero. Where the Greek influence is visible, it is in the halo, the Apollo-like face (youthful and cheerful) and the arrangement of the draperies in folds like the Roman toga; eyes without pupils or half-shut eyes are another feature of classical art. Close attention to anatomy and delineation of the muscles of the body also seem to be foreign. The fine nose and bulging cheeks are still other classical features.

There was so much of Yavana contact with Andhra in this age that it is no wonder that we find classical influence

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on Andhra art. Yavanas have made benefactions at Karle, Nasik and Junnar. Their friends the Sakas were at Nagarjunakonda as evidenced by Saka figures of warriors and bodyguards, a Saka inscription and a Saka Queen. The two Greek medallions discovered at Nagarjunakonda show unmistakable Greek influence. Yavanas came also by sea for trade as revealed by contemporary Greek writers. Hiuen Tsang says that a former king of Andhra got workmen from Tahia or Bactria. Nude figures were repugnant to Buddhism; so also drinking scenes. At Nagarjunakonda we find more of these than at Amaravati.

The art of image-making had come to be conventionalised like the other arts. Silpa and Nātyaśāstras laid down rules about dress, features and jewels and about poses and gestures in great detail. They were becoming rigid like the Alamkāra sastra.

At Ramireddipalle, we have an image of Maitreya Bodhisattva over whose head is carried Amoghasiddha with a seven hooded nāga. He is the coming Buddha. The Buddha said on his death-bed: "In due time another Buddha will arise, a Holy one, a supremely enlightened one, endowed with wisdom in conduct, knowing the universe, an incomparable leader of men. His description will be many times mine. He will be known as Maitreya, *i.e.*, whose name is kindness."

There are remains of cells or quarters of monks and nuns at all the important Buddhist centres. From the ruins we can only have a general view of the lay-out of the monastery, its halls and mantapas. There were rock-cut and structural vihāras. Hiuen-tsang saw near Vengi a large sanghārāma with high halls storeyed towers and beautifully ornamented balconies. The Chinese pilgrims also refer to a five-storeyed vihāra. Probably it was in the style of the Dharmaraja ratha, a storeyed vihāra. To give height and importance the builders piled one cubical cell over another diminishing size so as to form a pyramidal Gopura, the sculptures on which

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were arranged in groups much in the same way as on the stupa. From a sculpture at Amaravati, we have an idea of some of the civil buildings of those days.

The sinuous and intricate foliage and flower designs reminds us of the art of the jeweller. The figures at Amaravati are in high relief, bold and well proportioned. The grouping is well-done in a clear perspective. The scene of Nalagiri is realistic and the three dancing women in the division of relics are in different poses keeping time to the music. Gāna, nṛtya and nātya were well-known to the Andhras and one of the ragas was known after them as Andhri.

The Nagarjunakonda sculptures are fresher. All of them are not of the same type or pattern. Some of them are flat and large, others like those of later Amaravati. Most of them are in high relief and are of the Amaravati style though all of them are not as individualistic and beautiful as at the latter place. Some of the panels are partitioned by pillars, some by a row of lotuses and others by the human hair.

The mithuna or amatory couple is found in large numbers but no two of them are alike. They had myriad forms as life has, and each pair is in a different pose and exhibits different gestures. Nude or semi-nude figures and drinking are in greater evidence at Nagarjunakonda. Among the imports into our country were wine and women according to the Greek Geographers of the early centuries. There were Saka and women bodyguards to the Ikshvaku kings.

The artist has given free play to his imagination in depicting the mithuna. There is nothing vulgar about it. There is no representation or suggestion of kissing.

It was an age of ease, pleasure and freedom. Nature was beautiful and men and women lived a natural and unaffected life. The age of the Andhra artist was also the age of Hala and Vātsyayana and the kingdom was the kingdom of the pleasure-loving Nāgas.

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Thus eternal dualism of the mithuna, dating from Adam and Eve, so gracefully and elegantly depicted is a study by itself, a Kathakali, a science and art of signs and symbols by which human feelings are expressed. The voluptuous and even coquettish figures are beautifully done and the contours of the body are anatomically perfect. The intention of the artist is not to rouse our passions but to depict life as it is.

The animal studies, especially elephants and horses, are delightful. The dresses, turbans, coiffures, the musical instruments of those days required close and detailed study.

The Andhra artist has taken the most dramatic incidents in the Buddhist stories he depicts, *e.g.*, the tryst in the Ghata Jātaka (the story of Krishna's birth) and the cobra scene in the Sattu-bhasta Jātaka. The last scene in Mandhata Jātaka is done with feeling and Hanuman in an aryaka cornice is realistic.

The Sattu-bhasta, Samugga and Mahā-nārada Kasyapa Jātakas may be identified in the panels of Nagarjunakonda. One of the panels identified as Siddhārtha in the pleasure garden is a part of Ummagga Jātaka and two panels identified as Alavaka's conversion and Buddha under the hoods of Muchalinda are a continuation of the story of the conversion of a Nāga king from his old cult. The seven hooded Nāga which is crushed stands for error, the old cult of serpent worship and the life of unrestrained pleasures.

Thus Andhra art is not mimetic. As Telugu poets have taken Sanskrit themes and made them their own, so the Andhra artists have displayed their genius in depicting the stories of Buddhism. Though they have assimilated the northern style and some classical motifs, their marvellous sense of decorative beauty is unmistakable, as also their higher academic skill within whose limits set by conventions, they have drawn easily, freely, skilfully and realistically.

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THE DATE OF HARṢA-PULAKEŚIN WAR

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हर्षदं शीतलं ज्योतिरुडायां बिभ्रतं शिवम् ।
पुलकेशं च गोविन्दं नत्वाहं वादमारभे ॥
स्थाखीश्वरपतिः श्रीमान् हर्षवर्धनसंज्ञकः ।
पराजितः कदा युद्धे भूभृता पुलकेशिना ॥
चतुस्त्रिंशाधिकात्पूर्वं शाकानां शतपञ्चकात् ।
एतद्वृत्तमभूदेव फ्लीट इत्यमभाषत ॥
आळ्तेकरादिभिः कैश्चिन्नवीनैरप्यनाश्रितम् ।
प्रमाणं तन्मतं ज्ञेयं विबुधैस्तर्कपण्डितैः ॥

We know from Yuan Chwang (*Si-yu-ki*, translated by Beal, Vol. II, pp. 256-7; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, p. 239; also *The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang* by the Shaman Hwui Li, translated by Beal, p. 147) and the Aihole Stone Inscription of 634 A.D. of Ravikīrti (*EI*, VI, p. 6, verse 23) that the victorious career of Emperor Harṣavardhana of Thaneshwar and Kanauj received one important check, *viz.*, at the hands of the Western Cālukya King, Satyāśraya Pṛthivīvallabha Pulakeśin II. The date of the encounter of the two great emperors of North India and South India of the seventh century A.D. is not known for certain. J. F. Fleet believed that Pulakeśin II had already defeated Harṣa by the time of his Haidarabad grant of 534 Śaka Era = 612 A.D., in which he used the title *parameśvara* (समरशतसंघट्टसंलब्धपरनृपतिपराजयोपलब्धपरमेश्वरापरनामधेयः—lines 9-10, *IA*, VI, p. 73), which, his successors tell us, he

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obtained after defeating Harṣa, the undisputed lord of North India (समरसंसक्तसकलोत्तरापथेश्वरश्रीहर्षवर्द्धनपराजयोपलब्धपरमेश्वरापरनामधेयस्य; *IA*, VI, pp. 76, 86, 89, 92, VIII, p. 46; *JBBRAS*, XVI, pp. 235 and 238, etc., etc.).[1] This inference of Fleet is corroborated by the statement of Yuan Chwang (Watters, Vol. I, p. 343) that Harṣa waged incessant warfare for six years (606-612 A.D.) on his accession (606 A.D.), after which he had peace for thirty years (612-642 A.D.) "without raising a weapon." But A. S. Altekar (*ABORI*, XIII, pp. 300-6), R. S. Tripathi (*History of Kanauj*, pp. 124-129) and G. S. Chatterji (*Harṣavardhan*, in Hindi, pp. 76-80) have lately rejected this view and have suggested dates later than 612 A.D.[2] I propose to discuss their arguments here.

Dr. Altekar's arguments may be summarised thus :—

(1) The Haidarabad Plates ought to have grown eloquent on the victory over Harṣa if it had been achieved by its time.

(2) The statement of Yuan Chwang about peace after 612 A.D. cannot be accepted in view of the information we get from his *Life* (p. 172) that Harṣa had recently returned from an expedition in Koṅgoda when he met Yuan Chwang (beginning of 643 A.D.)

(3) Yuan Chwang's words suggest that the six years of war were spent by Harṣa in the east.

(4) Pulakeśin II could not have been powerful enough to defeat Harṣa within the first three years of his reign.

(5) The cause of the conflict between Harṣa and Pulakeśin II must have been the clash of their imperial plans in Gujerat and Malwa. The conquest of the king of Valabhī must necessarily come before the Deccan expedition. The known dates of the Gurjara king Dadda II who protected

[1] *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 351 and n. 4. R. K. Mookerji, *Harsha*, p. 36, n. 1, accepts this date.

[2] Altekar (whom Chatterji follows) gives the date as between 630 and 634 A.D. and Tripathi as between 625 and 634 A.D. (in round terms about 630 A.D.)

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that Valabhī king range between 629 and 640 A.D. This help was probably given about 628 or 629 A.D. Consequently Harṣa's clash with Pulakeśin II must have taken place after this event.

(6) The non-mention of the defeat of Harṣa in the Lohṇera inscription of Pulakeśin II of 630 A.D. proves that we must date it between 630 and 634 A.D. (the date of the Aihole inscription where it is mentioned.)

Mr. Chatterji has mainly followed Dr. Altekar and Dr. Tripathi's reasons are also similar. Dr. Tripathi has called into question the accuracy of Yuan Chwang's words by pointing out (7) the discrepancy of the statement that Harṣa subjugated the Five Indias in six years from accession, *i.e.*, by 612 A.D., with the fact known to us from the Ganjām Plates of Mādhavarāja, a feudatory of Śaśāṅka, of 618-9 A.D., that Gauḍa and Ganjām, certainly included in "the Five Indias," were still outside Harṣa's empire (p. 125).

He has also drawn attention to the difference between the translations of Watters and Beal about the thirty years "of peace" ("of fight" according to Beal's translation) and though not rejecting the former, he has suggested (p. 127) along with Dr. Altekar (p. 301) that we should understand by "peace" only "orderly government."

Let us now examine these arguments. At the start I must point out that as regards the translations "reigned in peace for thirty years" (Watters) and "after thirty years his arms reposed" (Beal), Watters (I. 346) has shown with reference to the actual text and the context the untenability of the translation of Julien whom Beal has followed. We may also compare the words in the *Life*, translated by Beal himself (p. 83). "The empire having gained rest, then the people were at peace. On this he put an end to warlike expeditions, and began to store up in the magazines the lances and swords." These two passages taken together definitely show that after the initial war of six years, warlike ex-

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peditions remained in suspenison *altogether* for thirty years. The suggestion that "peace" should be understood as only "orderly government" or "peace in internal administration' is unacceptable in view of Watters' translation "and reigned in peace for thirty years *without raising a weapon*" (I.543, italics mine) and the statement in the *Life* "On this he put an end to warlike expeditions" (p. 83). Dr. Altekar seems to have overlooked the words "*without raising a weapon*" in Watters when he said (p. 301), "But as Watters has pointed out, the word *ch'ui* here employed simply means 'to don the imperial robe,' *i.e.*, to reign justly and happily." Yuan Chwang not only makes Harṣa 'don the imperial robe' for thirty years but also describes him as stopping the use of arms during this period.

(1) The non-mention of Harṣa's name in the Haidarabad Plates means absolutely nothing, because the inscription equally omits to mention by name the other adversaries of Pulakeśin II against whom he obtained victories in the hundred battles the inscription refers to. This inscription simply says about Pulakeśin II that he is **नयविनयादि-गुणविभूत्याश्रयः** and **समरगतसंघट्टसंसक्तपरनृपतिपराजयोपलब्धपरमेश्वरापरनामधेयः**। No particulars are given about his conquests in this inscription. Nor does he do this in any other inscription. The Chiplun (*EI*, III, pp. 51-2) and the Nerur (*IA*, VIII, pp. 43-4) Plates have preserved no epithets and they do not seem to have contained any of interest from the present point of view. The Kopparam Plates (of 631 A. D. *EI*, XVIII, p. 261) use only the general epithets **प्रणतानेकमहीपतिमुकुटतटविलग्नमणिमकरिकाघृष्टपादारविन्दद्वयस्य, प्रतिगतारातिचक्रविध्वंसनविधिविशारदस्य, देवद्विजगुरुवृद्धापचायिनः** and **अप्रतिहताज्ञः** (lines 5-7, *EI*, XVIII, p. 259). The Lohṇera Plates have heaped many adjectives on him, but for all its wealth of adjectives, we have no specification there of any king whom Pulakeśin II defeated. The private Yekkeri Rock Inscription gives the epithets **स्वबंशललामभूतः, दक्षिणापथ-**

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पृथिव्याः स्वामी, चतुरुदधिसलिलोपार्जितराज्यश्रीः, प्रतापातिशयोपनत-समग्रसामन्तमण्डलः and पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथः (*EI*, V, pp. 7-8), but no specification of a vanquished king. It is unfortunate that the Satara copper-plate grant of Pulakeśin's younger brother *yuvarāja* Viṣṇuvardhana (*IA*, XIX, p. 303) incised in the eighth year of the reigning king (l. 35), *i.e.*, of Pulakeśin II, does not name or describe the latter. Of all the contemporary inscriptions, it is only that of Pulakeśin's officer, Ravikīrti, at Aihole, which names the countries in which or peoples or kings over whom his master was victorious. Consequently the non-mention of Harṣa in his Haidarabad Plates does not stand out alone. It appears to be a part of Pulakeśin's usual style—of not naming the kings he had conquered. If Pulakeśin II had named here other kings and only omitted Harṣa, we would have been justified in drawing some conclusion from the silence about Harṣa. But the Haidarabad grant, as we have it, does not entitle us to draw any conclusions about the date of Harṣa's defeat from the non-mention of his name there.

We are to-day assigning great importance to Harṣa, having learnt so much about him from various native and foreign sources, and Pulakeśin's successors also fully realised his greatness and, therefore, the great glory that was due to his victor. But if Pulakeśin II crossed swords with the young Northern king Harṣa, not yet firmly seated on the throne after the death of his father and the murder of his elder brother, before 612 A.D., how could he *at that time* realise that he had defeated not a common adversary, but one who was destined to be a great emperor? Pulakeśin's own words in connection with his title *parameśvara* in the Haidarabad Plates shows at least this much that he was already conscious of having achieved victories of great political value or considerable military importance. The defeat of Harṣa may well have been included among them, as his successors definitely tell us that it did.

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We might brand as inaccurate the statement of the other successors of Pulakeśin II when they connect his title *parameśvara* with the defeat of Harṣa, but when we find that his own son Vikramāditya I making the same statement in his inscriptions (*JBBRAS*, XVI, pp. 235 and 238), how can we brush that aside? The son must have possessed accurate knowledge of the chronology of important events in his father's reign. He must have known that his father used the title *parameśvara* in his Haidarabad grant of 612 A.D. The words समरसंसक्तसकलोत्तरापथेश्वरश्रीहर्षवर्धनपराजयोपलब्धपरमेश्वरापरनामधेयस्य used in his inscriptions are clearly based on his father's समरशतसंघट्टसंसक्तपरनृपतिपराजयोपलब्धपरमेश्वरापरनामधेयः found in the Haidarabad grant of which a copy must have been kept in the royal archives. It is evident that Vikramāditya I understood his father's use of the title *parameśvara* in that grant as due to his victory over Harṣa. How could he do it, if he did not definitely know that the victory had been achieved by 612 A. D. ? Vikramāditya's evidence, therefore, shows that Fleet's argument has not lost its force. Pulakeśin II may not have himself attached any special political importance to his victory over Harṣa in 612 A. D. But Vikramāditya I, writing after his father's death and knowing about the full glory of Harṣa's career, clearly realised it and we find him setting the practice officially of connecting his father's use of the title *parameśvara* with this victory.

Ravikīrti's omission to use the title *parameśvara* for his master in the Aihole inscription to which Dr. Altekar draws our attention (p. 301) proves nothing. Pulakeśin II himself has not used the title in any inscription other than the Haidarabad grant. His use of the title in that inscription may have been only casual but his son gave it a particular significance, which all his successors continued.

I may note here that the Kāndalgaon Plates, claiming to be of the fifth year of Pulakeśin II (614-15 A.D.), which Fleet considered as spurious (*IA*, XIV, p. 330; *ibid*, XXX,

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p. 217, No. 27, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 358, n. 1), actually say that Harṣa had been defeated before its time—सकलोत्तरापथाधिपतिश्रीहर्षवर्धनपराजयोपलब्ध [परमेश्वरा] परनामधेयस्य (lines 12-14, *IA*, XIV, p. 331). The editor of the inscription, Mr. K. T. Telang, opined (*IA*, XIV, p. 330) that "The seal attached to the plates appears to be a genuine one," adding, however, that "in the opinion of Mr. Fleet the very irregular formation of the characters, and the great inaccuracy of the language of the inscription, show the plates themselves to be spurious." The language of the inscription is very defective. But so is to a certain extent that of the Kopparam Plates of Pulakeśin II. The characters of the Kāndalgaon Plates are certainly very badly incised. They are not so fine as in the Aihole inscription of Ravikīrti or the Haidarabad grant of Pulakeśin II. Some agreement is, however, noticeable with the formation of the letters in the Nerur grants of Pulakeśin II (*IA*, *VIII*, plate facing p. 44) and his daughter-in-law Vijayamahādevī (*ibid.*, plate facing pages 46 and 47). There is, however, nothing in the subject-matter of the Kāndalgaon Plates which casts doubt on the genuineness of the inscription. The question of its genuineness, therefore, should be re-examined. If it turns out to be a genuine inscription, its evidence will further support a date earlier than 612 A.D. for the defeat of Harṣa.[3]

(2) It passes one's understanding how Drs. Altekar and Tripathi can find the reference to the Kongoda expedition of Harṣa as contradicting Yuan Chwang's statement about "Thirty Years' Peace." Harṣa's accession took place in 606 A.D.[4] the year of the start of the Harṣa Era. The "Six years' War," therefore, came to a close in 612 A.D.

[3] It is possible that the expression . . . हर्षविच्छेदहेतुः in line 4 of the Nerur Plates of Pulakeśin II refers to the defeat of Harṣa. But unfortunately we cannot date the inscription.

[4] And not in 612 or 619 A.D. as Watters (I. 347) guessed.

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It is very legitimate and *not* 'quite needless and baseless,' as Dr. Tripathi dogmatically asserts, 'to suppose that Yuan Chwang's "six years" began in A D. 606, the year of Harṣa's accession, and ended in A.D. 612 (p. 125). Yuan Chwang actually says that "*as soon as* Śīlāditya became ruler he got together a great army and set out to avenge his brother's murder and to reduce the neighbouring countries to subjection" (Watters, I, p. 343, italics mine). Bāṇabhaṭṭa also tells us (*Harṣacarita*, Ch. VI) that on the day that news of Rājyavardhana's murder—which immediately made Harṣavardhana the king—was brought, his father's friend, the aged general Siṃhanāda, incited Harṣa to march out on his avenging expedition and the latter immediately sent out challenges to all kings and gave orders the very next day to Skandagupta, the chief of his elephant corps, to make immediate arrangements for the expedition. The actual starting of the march took only a few days (**अथ व्यतीतेषु च केषुचिद्दिवसेषु . . . भवनान्निर्जगाम,** Ch. VII, edition of Īśvara-chandra Vidyāsāgara, pp. 176-77). Consequently the war-like operations must definitely have started in 606 A.D. This exact coincidence between Yuan Chwang and Bāṇa-bhatta, two contemporary but independent witnesses, about the start of Harṣa's expedition makes us believe in the accuracy of Yuan Chwang's other informations about Harṣa. We can thus unhesitatingly accept his statement that Harṣa's military expedition lasted for six years. These operations, therefore, must have closed in 606+6=612 A.D. The subsequent "Thirty Years' Peace" must have concluded sometime in 642 A.D. Harṣa had just returned from his Kongoda expedition when he met Yuan Chwang. This meeting took place in the beginning of 643 A.D.[5] The Koṅgoda expedition, therefore, should be assigned to the second half of 642 A.D., which is clearly after the conclusion

[5] Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India* (Reprint ed. S. N. Majumdar), p. 589; Smith's note in Watters, II, p. 336.

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of the period of "Thirty Years' Peace." We have thus not only no contradiction between the statement of Yuan Chwang and the reference to the Koṅgoda expedition in the *Life*, but perfect accord among them.

(3) It is true that Yuan Chwang says, "proceeding eastwards," Harṣa "invaded these states which had refused allegiance, and waged incessant warfare until in six years he had *fought* (v.l. *brought under subjection*) the Five Indias" (Watters, I, p. 343). But I cannot see how this entitles us to gather "that these six years were spent by Harṣa in fighting with his opponents *exclusively* in Eastern India" (*ABORI*, XIII, p. 302). Harṣa could not have fought or conquered all the Five Indias confining his operations to the east. Yuan Chwang's words simply indicate that Harṣa *first* marched towards the east and then turned to other directions after finishing his campaign there. We know from the *Harṣacarita* (Ch. VI) also that this was exactly the order of his march. It is first towards the east, the territory of Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa that, Bāṇa tells us, Harṣa sent his general Bhaṇḍi, while he himself went to the Vindhya woods in search of his sister. Harṣa set out on his military expedition originally to punish this eastern king. When he decided on this expedition, he was incited by Simhanāda so to conduct himself that no king of any country might dare cross his ways ("किं गौडाधिपेनैकेन तथा कुरु यथा नान्योऽपि कश्चिदाचरत्येवं भूयः," p. 166). Harṣa agreed to this and sent out challenges to kings of all countries to submit or to prepare for war. Consequently it must have become necessary for him to turn to other directions after finishing his campaign against Śaśāṅka, whatever the measure of success he achieved there. He could not afford to give himself any rest till he had brought under subjection (if he could) all the kings who had refused to submit to him. The first "six years," therefore, could not have been all spent in the eastern direction.

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Yuan Chwang says about Harṣa that his six years' war "having enlarged his territory, he increased his army, bringing his elephant corps up to 60,000 and the cavalry to 1,00,000" (Watters, I, p. 343). Dr. Altekar's inference from this that "It must have been after his resources were thus increased and army strengthened in 612 A.D. that Harṣa could have thought of attacking his neighbours in the west or in the south" (p. 302) is clearly contradicted by Yuan Chwang. The sequel (the passage quoted ends with the sentence "and reigned in peace for thirty years without raising a weapon") and the pilgrim's actual words make it absolutely clear that this raising of the army took place *after Harṣa had finished his conquests*. In fact, Yuan Chwang has earlier given the figures of Harṣa's army before his expedition: "a body of 5,000 elephants, a body of 2,000 cavalry, and 50,000 footsoldiers" (Beal, *Si-Yu-ki*, I, p. 213). As Harṣa's initial offensive was really for defending himself from attacks like that of the king of Mālava against Grahavarman and of the king of Gauḍa against Rājyavardhana, this raising of the army was for maintaining peace by keeping overawed all its likely disturbers.

(4) The contention that Pulakeśin II could not have been powerful enough in 612 A.D., which was the third year of his reign, to cross swords with Harṣa, cannot be accepted, because the Haidarabad Plates testify to the military genius of Pulakeśin II who had, in the somewhat exaggerated language of the inscription, *already won hundred battles*. The Aihole inscription of Ravikīrti also contains ample evidence of the vigour of this king. Further, Yuan Chwang bears eloquent testimony to the martial qualities of the Mahārāṣṭras who formed the army of Pulakeśin II (Watters, II, p. 239). It is not necessary to suppose that Pulakeśin took the offensive. Harṣa, elated with success in other regions appears to have attacked him first (as the *Life*, p. 147, definitely says), but the excellent fighting qualities of

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the spirited Mahārāṣṭras, combined with the energy of their leader and the difficulties of military operations in the Deccan plateau for an army used to the plains of North India, may have forced the northern king to retire in ignominy.[6]

(5) There is absolutely no evidence to establish a connexion between Harṣa's operations against the king of Valabhī and the fight with Pulakeśin II. It is a hypothesis without any factual basis and involving a number of unwarranted assumptions which do not bear examination.

First of all, it is not known who the king of Valabhī was whom Dadda II protected from Harṣa. The common view that he was Dhruvasena II is not supported by any evidence. Yuan Chwang came in personal contact with him and knew of his being a son-in-law of Harṣa. But he apparently knew nothing about his former defeat at the hands of his father-in-law. Yuan Chwang heard about Harṣa's failure to prevail against Pulakeśin II and he duly recorded it in the *Si-yu-ki*. We would all the more expect mention of Dhruvasena II's discomfiture at the hands of Harṣa, particularly in view of their relationship. The only conclusion that we can draw from the lack of this mention is that Harṣa had never had any hostility with Dhruvasena II. How could Harṣa chase away from his kingdom his own son-in-law or, if the relationship was established later on how could he offer his daughter to a defeated enemy who had also to turn to another power (the Gurjara chief Dadda II) for protection? The offer of a daughter's hand in marriage

6 If the Goa Plates of Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja (or *yuvarāja* ?) Indravarman of the Śaka year 532=610 A.D. (*JBBRAS*, X, p. 365) which mentions Pṛthivīvallabha Mahārāja (=Pulakeśin II) as his overlord (lines 1-2) are genuine and give the date correctly, Pulakeśin II had not only ousted his uncle Maṅgaleśa but had also managed to retain or had achieved the position of an overlord in the very first year of his reign. Consequently we cannot suppose him to be too weak to fight with Harṣa within the next two years. [Will some competent scholar give us a fresh edition of this inscription with a full discussion of all the problems raised by it ?]

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which involves humility cannot be expected in a victor. How could Dhruvasena II also after receiving the treatment he is alleged to have had from Harṣa get so much enamoured of him as to move about in his entourage with the same zeal as Kumāra Bhāskaravarman, an old ally of Harṣa, in the great assembly at Prayāga which Yuan Chwang attended (*Life*, pp. 185 ff.)? The actual words of Jayabhaṭa III about the Harṣa-Valabhi-Dadda affair are परमेश्वरश्रीहर्षदेवाभिभूतवलभोपतिपरित्राणोपजातभ्रमदभ्रशुभ्राभ्रविभ्रमयशोवितानः श्रीदद्दः ("Śrī Dadda, who had a canopy of fame resembling extensive moving white clouds, born of giving protection to the king of Valabhī overpowered by Parameśvara Śrī Harṣadeva").[7] These words should be carefully conned over. They show that the king of Valabhī who had been earlier overpowered by Harṣa *managed to save himself* with the help of Dadda II. If Dadda II had not *saved* the king of Valabhī from the clutches of his pursuer, that king might have made a virtue of necessity and made a show of respect to his conqueror and Harṣa too might have taken pity on him. But the successful escape from Harṣa's avenging arms makes reconciliation between the two adversaries an utter impossibility. It is true that what is apparently impossible sometimes does happen. But there must be clear evidence that such a thing did happen. How can we in the lack of all evidence believe that Harṣa overpowered Dhruvasena II, who ran to Dadda II for protection, that this protection was vouchsafed, that for all this Harṣa and Dhruvasena II later became perfect friends as if nothing had happened? Dhruvasena II, therefore, was *not* the king of Valabhī whom Harṣa attacked and Dadda II protected.

Who then was the king of Valabhī concerned in the affair? There is no evidence to show that Śīlāditya I or Kharagraha I or Dharasena III (the immediate predecessors

[7] Nausari Plates, lines 4-5, *IA*, XIII, p. 77.

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of Dhruvasena II) was the king involved. But there is one circumstance which raises a strong likelihood in favour of Dhruvasena's son and successor, Dharasena IV. Whereas all the kings of Valabhī from Droṇasiṃha to Dhruvasena II assumed the title of *mahārāja* (or only *sāmanta* or *mahā-sāmanta*), Dharasena IV *for the first time* used the imperial title *mahārājādhirāja* (as also *parameśvara* and *cakṛavartin*) in all his inscriptions. His first inscription is dated in the year 326 of the Valabhī (=Gupta) Era, *i.e.*, in 644-5 A.D. Whereas Śīlāditya I (latest date known, 292=610-611 A.D., *EI*, XXI, p. 119) probably accepted Harṣa's friendship or suzerainty when the latter sent round his general challenge to all kings in 606 A.D., and his successors Kharagraha I and Dharasena III possibly, and Dhruvasena II certainly, maintained the same friendly relationship with him, Dhruvasena II also entering into a matrimonial alliance, Dharasena IV, on the other hand, showed greater independence and ambition and laid claim to an imperial status. Dharasena IV thus broke away from the family tradition of maintaining a friendly or subordinate relationship with Harṣa. Harṣa, now at the height of his glory, could not look at this unconcerned, not only because he had to maintain his own imperial dignity in the north, but because it was very necessary for him to have an ally or a feudatory in Gujerat and to protect his south-western frontier against a possible northern expedition of the brave king of the Mahārāṣtras. Harṣa had just (642 A.D.) subjugated Koṅgoda, a state owing allegiance to his great enemy Śaśāṅka, now dead, [8] and had recently or earlier distributed

[8] Though Harṣa started on his military expedition originally to *destroy* Śaśāṅka "यदि परिगणितैरेव वासरैः. . .निर्गौडां न करोमि मेदिनीं ततस्तनूनपात. . .पातयाम्यात्मानम्।" *Harṣacarita*, Ch. VI, p. 168), the fact that even in 300 G.E. (618-9 A.D.) that king had a feudatory in Gañjām shows that Harṣa failed to do this. Yuan Chwang's description of the manner of Śaśāṅka's death (p. 122) clearly suggests that it did not occur on the field of battle. We do not know how he escaped Harṣa's avenging arms. The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (Ch. LIII, v. 725. Trivandrum edition, Part III, p. 634,

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the latter's home provinces among his trusted friends—Magadha going to his constant companion from childhood, Mādhavagupta, a prince of the family of the Guptas of Mālava and Gauḍa to Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa, who voluntarily offered his friendship at the start of Harṣa's rule. Koṅgoda was now subjugated and very likely annexed. The east and the south-east were thus firmly secured. An independent or a hostile power in the south-west would be a source of danger. Harṣa, therefore, must have been forced to go to war against Dharasena IV. The continuance of the latter's imperial title in all his inscriptions, latest known being of the year 330, *i.e.*, 648-9 A.D., by when Harṣa had died, shows that if Harṣa went to war against Dharasena IV, he did not receive any lasting success against him. It is more likely that the king of Valabhī who gave offence to Harṣa was Dharasena IV, who assumed the title of *mahārājādhirāja*, a sure cause for offence to Harṣa, than that he was Dhruvasena II who continued to call himself only a *mahārāja*, and whose quarrel with Harṣa is not only unsupported by any evidence but is positively contradicted by the two facts recorded by the Chinese pilgrim and his biographer that he was Harṣa's son-in-law and was on very friendly terms with him. Yuan Chwang's apparent ignorance of the Harṣa-Valabhī affair up to 643 A.D. when he last met Dhruvasena II, also suggests that the person concerned was his successor Dharasena IV, whose known dates range between 644-5 and 648-9 A.D.

Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana's edition, p. 54) is our only evidence about Śaśāṅka's defeat at the hands of Harṣa, but we cannot determine the value of its statement. The actual words of the text, पराजयामास सोमाख्यं दुष्टकर्मानुचारिणम् । ततो निषिङ्ग: सोमाख्यो (ख्य:) स्वदेशे नावतिष्ठत: (त) ॥, "Harṣa defeated the wicked Śaśāṅka who, being then ousted, *did not stay in his own land* (and not ' *was confined within his own kingdom* ' as Jayaswal understood, *Imperial History of India*, p. 51)," mean that Śaśāṅka was driven away from home provinces but continued to rule elsewhere.

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The view that the date when the Gurjara Chief Dadda II helped the king of Valabhī must be 628-629 A.D. is also without any foundation. The four genuine inscriptions of Dadda II (Bhandarkar's *List* Nos. 1209, 1210, 1212 and 1213) give dates between 380 and 392, evidently in the Cedi-Kalacuri Era (*IA*, XIII, pp. 74-6). The dates thus range between 627-8 (and not 629 A.D. as Dr. Altekar assumes)[9] and 639-640 A.D. There is nothing to show that the rule of Dadda II ended in the year of his last record (639-640 A.D.) as there is none to indicate that it began not much earlier than the year of his first record (627-8 A.D.). The interval of time between his first and last records is only 12 years. His great-grandson Jayabhaṭa III is his only successor who has left any records. The dates in his inscriptions (Bhandarkar's *List* Nos. 1218 and 1219) are 456 (703-4 A.D.) and 486 (733-4 A.D.), which shows that he reigned for at least 30 years. The interval of 64 years between the dates of the last record of Dadda II (392) and the first of Jayabhaṭa III (456), with two kings (Jayabhaṭa II and Dadda III) coming between them, makes it very probable that the rule of Dadda II extended beyond the last year of his record, *viz.*, 392, *i.e.*, 639-40 A.D. He was a very vigorous ruler and may have had a long reign like the other great chief in the line, Jayabhaṭa III. We have thus no difficulty in believing that he was living in 644-5 A.D.[10] about which time Dharasena IV assumed the imperial title. There is absolutely nothing to show that Dadda II gave assistance to the king of Valabhī against Harṣa in the beginning of his rule. The lack of mention of the affair in any of his preserved inscriptions, whose dates range between 627-8 and 639-40 A.D., on the other hand, indicates that it had not

[9] Because the epoch of the era is 247-8 A.D. (Kielhorn, *IA*, XVII, p. 215) and not 249-50 A.D. as originally supposed by Fleet (*IA*, XIII, p. 77).

[10] Bhagawān Lāl Indrajī supposed that his rule came to a close about the year 405 K.E.=652-3 A.D. (*IA*, XIII, 73),

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taken place before 639-640 A.D.[11] There is thus great likelihood that it happened about 644-5 A.D.

Thus, our available evidence, points to a date several years *after* 634 A.D. (before which the defeat of Harṣa at the hands of Pulakeśin II had certainly taken place) for the Harṣa-Valabhīpati-Dadda incident which, therefore, cannot be connected with the Harṣa-Pulakeśin affair.

(6) Coming to the Lohṇera Plates, we have to admit that as in the case of the Haidarabad grant, non-mention of Harṣa here proves nothing. The epithets used for Pulakeśin II in the Lohṇera inscription are (with emendations where necessary—some of them being mine own) :— प्रध्वस्तप्रबलशत्रुमहिमा, हिमाचलानुकारी, विपुलस्थैर्योन्नतिः, नतपरम-(नतपर-?)सामन्तसमुपचरितः, चरिततपश्चरणः, भृत्यलब्धप्रसादः, सादरमिवानन्यमनसा विधात्रा विनिर्मितः, मितहितविशदसत्यवचनोपन्यासः न्यास इव जगत्यैश्वर्याणाम्, प्रथमयुगमनुजपतिमुनिचरितः, विजयी, विमल-गगनगतशरदिन्दुः, उपशमितसकलजगदमङ्गलावलिः, साहसैकरतिः, अनेक-चातुर्दन्तसंग्रामजनितप्रणामतया (?) स्वभुजबललब्धरणविक्रमाख्यः, सुहृदवनः, दीनानुकम्पनः, समुपभुज्यमानविभवः, पूर्वापराम्बुनाथः, देव-द्विजगुरुशुश्रूषणपरः, परमभागवतः and प्रसभाभिमृष्टान्यराज्यश्रीः (lines 10-17. Ganesh Hari Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Dekkan*, Vol. I, p. 5). It will be seen that not a single king defeated by Pulakeśin II is here mentioned by name. Consequently non-mention of just Harṣa's defeat does not at all entitle us to draw any conclusion about its

[11] I have not accepted Dr. Altekar's *argumentum ex silentio* about the Haidarabad Plates of Pulakeśin II, because what he has said there leaves room for the inclusion of Harṣa among the kings he says he has conquered and there was no reason in 612 A.D. for a specification of Harṣa's name. The silence in the inscription of Dadda II, on the other hand, stands on a different footing altogether. He has spoken in his inscriptions about the defeat of *śatru-sāmantas* (अनेकसमरसंकटप्रसुखागतनिहत-शत्रुसामन्तकुलवधूप्रभातसमयरुदितच्छलोद्गीयमानविमलनिस्त्रिंशप्रतापः, *IA*, XIII, pp. 83 and 89, *EI*, V, p. 39). The protecting of the king of Valabhī against Harṣa is a feat of a different type and of greater glory. And Harṣa was certainly a very important personage in 627-8 A.D. It would be, therefore, legitimate to ascribe some significance to the non-mention of protecting the king of Valabhī from such a personage, even in general terms, in the known inscriptions of Dadda II.

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date.[12] The argument of silence can have a probative value only when it can be shown that there is something strange in that silence. If the Haidarabad and the Lohṇera epigraphs had named other defeated enemies and omitted only Harṣa, we would have been entitled to infer from them that Harṣa had not been defeated when they were composed. As no defeated kings are named in these two inscriptions at all, we are not entitled to draw any conclusion from the omission of Harṣa's name.[13]

Then, the date of the inscription is by no means certain. The actually given date द्विपञ्चाशदधिके शकाब्दपञ्चके (l. 36), 57 Ś.E., is obviously a mistake. The editor proposes the emendation शताब्दपञ्चके for the second word (one should rather have शकाब्दशतपञ्चके), which gives us 630 A.D. But the fact that we have to make such an alteration casts a doubt on the reliability of the proposed date.

The genuineness of the inscription is not also above suspicion. Though the editor has pointed out several verbal agreements between this inscription and the other inscriptions of Pulakeśin II, there are important differences too: (*i*) the date is given abruptly at the end, specifying only the year (द्विपञ्चाशदधिके शकाब्दपञ्चके लिखितं ताम्रशासनम्) and that of the *writing* of the inscription, whereas in the Haidarabad and Kopparam Plates we have the date of the *gift*, given in the middle of the text, with reference to the *māsa* and the

[12] As these are *all* the epithets used by the composer of the Lohṇera inscription for Pulakeśin II, we are unable to accept Altekar's statement that he "was out to describe the valour of the donor" (p. 306). We have here only vague, general statements.

[13] The Haidarabad and Lohṇera inscriptions make no mention of the killing by Pulakeśin II of his uncle Maṅgaleśa, who wanted to secure the succession for his own son, instead of the rightful claimant, Pulakeśin II (about which we learn from the Aihole inscription of Ravikīrti, verses 14 and 15), obviously an incident that happened before the accession of Pulakeśin II. The logic of Altekar and Tripathi would lead us to infer from this silence that that incident had not taken place when the Haidarabad and Lohṇera inscriptions were written!

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tithi; in the latter case the *vāra* is also added, (*ii*) there is no reference here to the *regnal year* in the usual style of Cālukya inscriptions in general, and of such inscriptions of Pulakeśin II in particular where dates have been preserved, (*iii*) this inscription gives to Pulakeśin II (l. 15) (as also to Pulakeśin I in l. 8) the title of *raṇavikrama*, which we do not find in the other genuine inscriptions (we find it for Pulakeśin I in the spurious Hosur Plates, *IA*, VIII, p. 96), (*iv*) this inscription fails to mention the occasion on which the land grant was made and (*v*) the prolixity of this epigraph stands out in marked contrast with the brevity of the other inscriptions of Pulakeśin II. Consequently, the Lohṇera Plates are of no value to us in determining the date of Harṣa's fight with Pulakeśin II.

(7) As regards the objection of Dr. Tripathi that Harṣa could not have conquered the whole of the area called "the five Indias" within the first six years, as alleged by Yuan Chwang, this has nothing to do with our problem. No one claims that Yuan Chwang is absolutely free from inaccuracies or exaggerations. The fact remains that the major part of Northern, Western, Central and Eastern India was under Harṣa's rule or suzerainty. Then the first alternative translation given by Watters, "he had *fought* the Five Indias (reading *chü*)" makes the statement free from any contradiction with known facts. Of the "Five Indias" Southern India was never conquered by Harṣa.[14] But Harṣa did *fight*

[14] The verse भूपालाः शशिभास्करान्वयभुवः के नाम नासादिताः, भर्तारं पुनरेकमेव हि भुवस्त्वां देव मन्यामहे। येनाङ्गं परिघस्य (य) कुन्तलमथाक्रष्य व्युदस्यायतं, चोलं प्राप्य च मध्यदेशमधुना काञ्चीं करः प्रापितः॥, ascribed in the *Subhāṣitāvalī* of Vallabha (No. 2515, p. 429) to Harṣa's contemporary (and possibly court poet) Mayūra, is assigned (with slight variants) to Vidyā (the famous poetess Vijjakā) in the *Sadukṭikarṇāmṛta* of Śrīdharadāsa (III, 15.1, p. 196). Consequently there is no ground for believing that this verse refers to certain southern conquest of Harṣa. The name of the king addressed here (for *deva* Śrīdhara has *eva*) is lacking and we cannot make out who he was. It is possible that we have here the usual hyperbole of a royal panegyric and no sober history.

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with the greatest king of the South at this time, Pulakeśin II. We have thus nothing to cavil at in Yuan Chwang's testimony about the first six years of Harṣa's reign.

To sum up, the objections against Fleet's view about the date of Harṣa-Pulakeśin War do not carry any weight. Though the use of the title *parameśvara* by Pulakeśin II in his Haidarabad Plates of 612 A.D. may not prove that the title was connected by *himself* with his victory over Harṣa, this much is clear from his words that he had by now achieved certain important victories which raised his position very high entitling him to call himself a *parameśvara*. But the association of the title with Harṣa's defeat by his own son Vikramāditya I makes it certain that the incident had taken place by 612 A.D., when the title was officially used in the Haidarabad grant by Pulakeśin II. Then Yuan Chwang's statement that Harṣa waged war for six years at the beginning of his reign (606-612 A.D.), then had an uninterrupted peace of thirty years (612-642 A.D.), coupled with that of the biographer that he had an engagement in the Koṅgoda country just before his meeting with Yuan Chwang (beginning of 643 A.D.), *i.e.*, by the end of 642 A.D., which comes just after the period of Thirty Years' Peace, force us to the conclusion that his engagement with Pulakeśin II, mentioned in the Aihole Inscription of 634 A.D., must have taken place before the period of Thirty Years' Peace, *i.e.*, between 606 and 612 A.D. If the Kāndalgaon Plates alleged to be of the fifth year of Pulakeśin's reign (614-15 A.D.), which mentions Harṣa's defeat, turns out to be genuine, this view receives a further confirmation. Even if we reject its testimony, the statement of Vikramāditya I and the Chinese evidence clearly show that Harṣa's defeat had been achieved by 612 A.D. As Pulakeśin II came to the throne in October, 610 A.D. (*EI*, XVIII, p. 261), his war with Harṣa should be placed between 610 and 612 A.D.

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JAṬĀ CHŌḌA BHĪMA

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Jaṭā Chōḍa or Jaṭā Chōḍa Bhīma was a member of the Peḍakallu branch of the Telugu Chōḍa family who played an important part in the history of Vēṅgi during the latter part of the 10th century of the Christian era. He was the master of Vēṅgi at the time when Śaktivarman I of the Eastern Chāḷukya family recovered his patrimony with the help of the Chōḷa emperor Rājarāja I. It is said in the Prabhuparru plates that Śaktivarman defeated Badyama and Mahārāja, and rooted out the tree, *viz.*, Jaṭā Chōḍa with its expansive foliage and established himself in the land.[1] This is corroborated by the evidence of his other inscriptions.[2] In the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates of Rājēndra Chōḷa I, it is stated that his father, Rājarāja I, killed in battle an Āndhra king called Bhīma who has been identified with Jaṭā Chōḍa Bhīma mentioned above. Rājarāja I invaded Vēṅgi in the 14th year of his reign, that is 999 A.D.; and it must have been in this campaign that he put to death the Āndhra king Bhīma. As the coronation of Śaktivarman I who also claims to have slain, as noticed already, the same monarch was celebrated during this year, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the death of Bhīma and the re-establishment of the

[1] JTA,, ii, pa 409.

[2] ARE, 1918, Pt. ii, para. 5, p. 132; Elliot's Collection, II, p. 348 (The Madras Govt. Oriental MSS. Lib., 15-6-26).

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Chāḷukyan authority in Vēṅgi were effected by the help of the Chōḷa emperor.

The circumstances in which Jaṭā Chōḍa Bhīma rose to power, and established himself in Vēṅgi, keeping out the Eastern Chāḷukyas, the hereditary rulers of the country, have remained in obscurity until recently. The Eastern Chāḷukya records of the post-restoration period characterise the last 27 or 30 years of the 10th century A.D. as *asvāmika*, *anāyaka* and *arājaka* which clearly suggest the absence of legally constituted government in the kingdom. Several theories had been advanced to account for the prevalence of anarchy, though most of them had to be given up owing to their unsatisfactory character. They need not be taken into consideration here; but some attention must be paid to a theory advanced some years ago by the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao, as it is considered to offer the true explanation of the terms *asvāmika*, *anāyaka*, or *arājaka*, applied to the state of affairs in Vēṅgi at the close of the 10th century. According to this theory, the so-called period of anarchy was not a period of anarchy at all. "There was no real interregnum," declares Mr. Lakshmana Rao, the propounder of the theory, "in that period, but that the collateral or junior line then ruled the country sending the senior line into exile. The interregnum was only from the point of view of the senior line, whose members, driven away from the Telugu country, had to spend their time in Tamil or the Kanarese countries. The so-called interregnum (*asvāmika*) does not connote the absence of the rulers in the Telugu country, as has been represented by the Chāḷukyan kings of the post-restoration period, or has been hitherto believed by some scholars, but only suggests the complete exclusion of the senior line from the Vēṅgi and the Kaliṅga countries." The Ārambāka grant states, as a matter of fact, that king Bādapa of the junior line conquered Amma II of the senior line who ruled up to 970 A.D. and 'reigned

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immediately after him.' "We can, therefore," he continues, "safely infer that Bādapa issued this inscription after he established himself as the king of the Vēṅgi country after A.D. 970."[3] How long Bādapa continued to rule Vēṅgi after the expulsion of Amma II, Mr. Lakshmana Rao finds it difficult to determine ; but his rule is generally taken to have been conterminous with the period of interregnum. Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao only echoes the general belief when he asserts somewhat emphatically that "the period of *anāyaka* that followed the death of Dānārṇava was the period of Adhirāja Bādapa, the donor of the Ārambāka grant."[4] Therefore, in the opinion of these scholars, Vēṅgi and Kaliṅga were subjected to the rule of Bādapa during the period of *anāyaka*.

It must be pointed out, in the first place, that the term interregnum made use of by Mr. Lakshmana Rao fails to convey the exact sense of the words '*anāyaka*,' *asvāmika* and *arājaka* employed, in the inscriptions. Interregnum denotes, no doubt, the interval between two reigns, but does not imply the absence of legally constituted government. The terms *anāyaka* (leaderless), *asvāmika* (lordless), and *arājaka* (kingless) definitely indicate a state of anarchy and confusion. "Āndhradēśa was," according to a record of the time, "without a king as the night of the second fortnight without the moon."[5]

The Chāḷukyan inscriptions perhaps allude to a period of prolonged political disorder, through which the country had actually passed. Secondly, there is no justification for the assumption that Bādapa's reign is referred to in the inscriptions as a period of *anāyaka*, because he was a member of the junior line. If that were the real reason, the regnal periods of the other members of the junior line who

3 EI, xix, p. 140.
4 JAHRS, x, p. 34.
5 ARE, 1918, pt. ii, para. 5.

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are known to have ruled over Vēṅgi should have been similarly described. As the reigns of Tāḷa I and Yuddhamalla II, the grandfather and father respectively of Bādapa are mentioned in the inscriptions of post-restoration period precisely in the same manner as those of the kings of the senior line, it is not possible to believe that they branded the reign of Bādapa alone as a period of *anāyaka* owing to his descent in the junior line. Moreover, Bādapa's attack upon Vēṅgi could not have taken place subsequent to the close of Amma II's reign. The Ārambāka grant clearly states that Bādapa drove away, with the help of the Vallabha called Karṇarāja (*i.e.*, the Rāshṭrakūṭa king, Kṛishṇa III) the prosperous Ammarāja II; and having vanquished the dāyādas (*i.e.*, agnates) and a multitude of enemies, established himself in the kingdom.[6] It is obvious that Kṛishṇa III was alive at the time of Bādapa's invasion. As the death of Kṛishṇa, on whose support depended the success of the invasion, took place in 968 A.D., it cannot be assigned to a date later than the year of his death.[7] The Chāḷukyan records of the post-restoration period declare that Amma ruled for a period of 25 years, and was succeeded by his step-brother Dānārṇava. The end of Amma's reign was not, however, peaceful for Dānārṇava whom he superseded had at last turned against him, and having put him to death ascended the throne.[8] His coronation was celebrated,

[6] EI, xix, p. 140.

[7] To circumvent this difficulty, Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao puts forth the suggestion that Bādapa's attack on Vēṅgi might have taken place about 968 A.D., the year of Kṛishṇa III's death, and towards the close of the reign of Amma II. "For three or four years, a fierce struggle appears to have raged between Bādapa and his allies on the one hand, and Amma II and his brothers on the other" (JAHRS, x, p. 48). These statements stand in need of substantiation.

[8] The following passage in the Pēnneru grant of Śaktivarman alludes to this event. (The Elliot Collection—G. P. Ms. L. 15-6-26), p.

Bhūnātha-Bhīma-tanayaḥ samarē 'tha chaṇḍo
Bhānupratāpam=abhihatya tam=Amma-rājam
Dānārṇava-kshitipatiḥ sam=apād=ajasra-
Dānārchit=ārthinikaras=tri samasā dharitrīm

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according to his Kaṇḍayam plates, on Thursday, *ashṭamī* of some *paksha* and month (names lost) of the year Ś. 892 (*dvi-nava* Vasu), *i.e.*, 970 A.D. He was associated in the administration of the kingdom with the Yuvarāja, probably his son, Śaktivarman.[9] It is clear that Amma II was not driven out of his kingdom by Bādapa in 970 A.D., as he was killed in that year by his own step-brother Dānārṇava who seized his throne immediately.

Bādapa's attack upon Vēṅgi and the expulsion of Amma II must be assigned, as a matter of fact, to a much earlier period. The Māṅgallu plates allude to an attack of Kṛishṇa III on Vēṅgi in 956 A.D. It is said that after Amma II had ruled for 11 years, he went to Kaliṅga on account of the wrath of Kṛishṇa III, leaving the country in charge of his elder step-brother.[10] Amma II evidently left the country unable to oppose the advance of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king. Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, however, believes that in the Māṅgallu plates there is no suggestion " that Ammarāja's sovereignty was interrupted."[11] This is not strictly true ; for, according to that inscription, after Ammarāja's departure, Dānārṇava ruled the kingdom with the consent of his step-brother ' to the great joy of the people.'[12] The abdication of power in favour of his step-brother whose superior claims to the throne he had so far disregarded, and the flight from his kingdom, unable to arrest the progress of Kṛishṇa III's invasion do not accord well with the idea of the continuity of Amma's rule. They clearly point out, on the contrary, that

[9] JAHRS, xi, pp. 87-8.

[10] *Cf.* I of 1916-17, ARE, 1917, pt. ii, para. 24.

Sūnus-tasy-Āmmarājas surapativibhavaḥ paṭṭabaddhō dharitrīm
Rakshannekādaśābdam jitaripuragamat Kṛishṇakōpāt kaliṅgan

I am obliged to the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, for permitting me to consult the impressions of the inscription and copy the relevant passage.

[11] JAHRS, x, p. 48.

[12] ARE, 1917, p. ii, pt. 117.

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though Amma might have been still regarded nominally as the sovereign, his rule was virtually interrupted and that he was constrained to seek safety in flight. It must have been on this occasion that Bādapa seized the throne, and attempted with Kṛishṇa's help to revive the power of his family. The task was not, however, easy. He was opposed by Dānārṇava whom Amma left in charge of the government and his allies. Bādapa managed ultimately to subdue them probably with the Rāshṭrakūṭa help. The subjugation of 'the dāyādas' and the multitude of enemies' referred to in the Ārambāka grant probably represents his victory over them.[13]

How long Bādapa continued to rule Vēṅgi after this event is not known, but he seems to have lost his life on the battle-field in an encounter with Amma. In the Prabhuparru grant of Śaktivarman I, it is stated that Amma II despatched to heaven a dāyāda, who was a great hero, over the steps formed by the dead bodies of the elephants slain by him in battle.[14] As Amma is known to have come into conflict only with one Dāyāda, *viz.*, Bādapa, it is not unreasonable to suppose that Bādapa was the Dāyāda whom Amma had slain in battle. Amma appears to have received valuable help in his final encounter with Bādapa from Jaṭā Chōḍa Bhīma. The part played by Bhīma in this war is described in an epigraph in the Kailāsanātha temple at Conjeevaram. Though broken and fragmentary, owing to the vandalistic zeal of the Chōḷa renovator of the temple, it furnishes much valuable information about Bhīma's antecedents and activities. He seems to have been a grandson, through a daughter whose name is unfortunately lost, of Kollavigaṇḍa Vijayāditya who ruled Vēṅgi for 6 months in 918 A.D.; moreover,

13 EI, xix, p. 142.

14 JTA, ii, p. 408.

Saṁgrāmabhūmau suravāsabhūmim
ārōpya vīrōttaram=Ammarājaḥ
dāyādam=ugr=āsinipātitēbha-
saṁtāna-sōpāna-paraṁparābhiḥ

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his sister appears to have married a king of Vēṅgi probably his cousin, Amma II.[15] Owing to the ties of kinship that bound him to the family of Kollavigaṇḍa, Bhīma espoused the cause of Amma II, and helped him to overthrow the armies of Kṛishṇa and recover his kingdom.[16]

It is not known when Amma actually regained the kingdom or what happened in the country subsequent to that event. Trouble appears to have broken out in the hilly tracts of Kaliṅga during the last years of his reign in which Dānārṇava and Nṛpakāma, the chief of Kolanu, were somehow involved. They probably headed the rebellion, and plunged the country into confusion. Amma appears to have met with his death, while attempting to put down this rebellion.

On the death of Amma II, Dānārṇava seized the throne, proclaimed himself king, and celebrated, as stated already, his coronation in 970 A.D. There appears to have been

[15] The Conjeevaram epigraph opens with the praise of the Telugu Chōḷa family; and refers to a king, 'an ornament of the family' evidently (Chōḷa Trinētra, Karikāla or) Jaṭā Chōḍa Bhīma. This part of the *praśasti* seems to have been modelled on that of the Eastern Chālukyas. The names of Guṇagāṅka-Vijayāditya, Chāḷukya-Bhīma I, and Kollavigaṇḍa Vijayāditya and his daughter (?) are next introduced in order to show that Chōḷa Trinētra (*i.e.*, Jaṭā Chōḍa Bhīma) had descended from the illustrious royal family of Vēṅgi through his mother. Otherwise the introduction of the names of Kollavigaṇḍa and his ancestors into Jaṭāchōḍa Bhīma's *praśasti* is hardly intelligible. The reference to the Āndhra country as '*svabhaginīpadam*,' *i.e.*, his sister's rank or station suggests that Jaṭā Chōḍa Bhīma's sister was married to one of Kollavigaṇḍa's successors; and the mention of Kṛishṇa's attack on Vēṅgi indicates that this king might have been Amma II.

[16] EI, xxi, p. 33. "*Śaiśave Kṛishṇa-nṛipasya vācha- -(*a) bhihatya mad ōddhatān.*" The exact sense of this passage is not quite clear, owing to the break in the slab on which the inscription is engraved. It may be understood in two ways (1) that by the command of king Kṛishṇa, Jaṭā Chōḍa Bhīma while he was still a youth, defeated an enemy (name lost) who was exultant with pride; and (2) that while still in his youth, Jaṭā Chōḍa Bhīma defeated an enemy exultant with pride sent by king Kṛishṇa. Of these, the former does not seem to be in agreement with the tenor of the inscription Bhīma was bound to the descendants of Kollavigaṇḍa by ties of kinship; and it is not likely that he would have joined the Rāshṭrakūṭa king and his allies against his own kinsmen. Therefore, the latter may be tentatively taken as the meaning intended in this context.

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little or no opposition to his rule at first ; for, his son and Yuvarāja Śaktivarman found it possible, if we can trust the evidence of his inscriptions, to engage himself in hostilities with his southern neighbours. He is said to have distinguished himself in his youth in Dramiḷ-āhava or Chauḷika-raṇa.[17] The synonymous use of the words Dramiḷa and Chauḷika in the inscriptions is generally taken to denote the Tamil Chōḷas or the Chōḷas of Tañjāpurī, though widely divergent views are held as to the identity of the enemy with whom he was actually engaged.

Dr. S. K. Aiyangar believes that Dramiḷ-āhava means a war waged in behalf of the Tamil Chōḷas on the Telugu Chōḷa prince Bhīma. "Here we see," he declares, "Śaktivarman in the court of the Chōḷa ruler, acting on behalf of the Chōḷas, against the Telugu Chōḷa ruler Bhīma, and rendering distinguished service."[18] Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, on the contrary, holds that Śaktivarman was acting, not on behalf of the Tamil Chōḷas, as suggested by Dr. Aiyangar, but against them. "There is no doubt," says he, "that the Dramiḷas mentioned in these inscriptions are the Chōḷas of Tañjāpurī, the descendants of Parāntaka I."[19] There is considerable force in Mr. Krishna Rao's contention ; for, the term Dramiḷ-āhava alludes distinctly to a conflict with the Dramiḷas or Tamils ;[20] and the Telēgu Chōḷa chief Bhīma (*i.e.*, Jaṭā Chōḍa Bhīma) who was known to

[17] ARE, 1917, Pt. ii, ; *cf.* 15 of 1917; JTA, ii, p. 409.

[18] JAHRS, x, p. 183.

[19] *Ibid*, X, p. 54.

[20] The sense in which the ancient Āndhras used the term Dramiḷ-āhava is made clear by a later inscription of the time of the Eastern Gaṅga king, Rājarāja Chōḍa-gaṅgadēva (IA, xxiii, p. 169).

Sa Rājarājaḥ prathamaṁ Jaya-śriyaḥ
Patir bbabhuva Dramiḷāhavōtsavē
Virājamānām atha Rājasundarīm
Udūḍhavāṁs Chōḍa mahībhuj ātmajām

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his contemporaries as an Āndhra could not have been the adversary with whom Śaktivarman was engaged in the Tamil battle.[21] Moreover, the Dramiḷ-āhava could not have taken place, as Dr. Aiyangar seems evidently to believe, during Śaktivarman's struggle with Jaṭā Chōḍa in 998-99 A.D.; for, it is said to have been an incident of his *śaiśava* or *bālya*. Śaktivarman, it may be remembered, was old enough to assume the office of Yuvarāja and offer protection to the fiefholders in the kingdom at the time of the coronation of his father in 970 A.D.[22] His alliance with the Tamil Chōḷas which was a prelude to his struggle with Jaṭā Chōḍa was not formed until 988 A.D., eighteen years later. It is obvious that he was a man sufficiently advanced in years when he entered upon the struggle with Jaṭā Chōḍa. The Dramiḷ-āhava which was fought in his youth must be assigned to a much earlier date. Very probably it took place during the short reign of his father, when Śaktivarman must have been a stripling youth not yet completely out of his teens.[23]

[21] *Cf.* Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates, SII, iii, p. 398.

Daṇḍēna bhīmēna yudhipravīṇē
Yad Rājarājō nihatō mad ākhyaḥ
Tad Bhīmanāmānam arandhram Andhraṁ
hanmīti daṇḍēna jaghāna taṁ saḥ

[22] Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao assumes that Śaktivarman was in his fiftieth year at the time of his accession in 999-1000 A. D., and that he should have been consequently born in 949-50 A. D. This is not improbable. However, he assigns the Dramiḷ-āhava which took place in his opinion in Śaktivarman's sixteenth year to 956 A. D. Kṛishṇa III who invaded Vēṅgi during this year is said to have induced the Chōḷa king to invade the Āndhra country from the south. 'Perhaps at this juncture,' he surmises, 'the Rāshṭrakūṭa monarch induced the Chōḷa king of Tañjāpurī who was his subordinate to invade the Āndhra country from the south' (JAHRS, x, p. 54). There is little justification for the assumption that the Chōḷa king was a subordinate of Kṛishṇa III, and less for the suggestion that he invaded the Āndhra country at the bidding of the Rāshṭrakūṭa monarch. How Śaktivarman who is said to have been born in 949-50 A. D. could have reached the age of 16 in 956 A. D. and how he, a mere child who could not have yet properly learnt to speak, participated in a war on the Chōḷas and defeated them are problems that demand explanation. Mr. Krishna Rao does not, at any rate, throw any light on them.

[23] K. A. N. Śastri : Cōḷas, i, pp. 189-90.

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The circumstances in which Śaktivarman defeated the Chōḷas in Dramiḷ-āhava are not known. The numerous inscriptions which bear ample testimony to the military activities of the southern kings and princes do not allude even remotely to a conflict between the Chōḷas and their Āndhra neighbours at this time. Nevertheless, such a conflict was not altogether improbable. The political distinction that set in the Rāshṭrakūṭa kingdom subsequent to the death of Kṛishṇa III gave the Chōḷas an opportunity to recover the territory which he had conquered from them. They were not slow in taking advantage of it. Parāntaka II alias Sundara Chōḷa who was then reigning over the Chōḷa kingdom rapidly recovered the whole of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and occupied the city of Kāñchī during the closing years of his reign.[24] This involved him in a conflict with the Rāshṭrakūṭas. Kakka II who ascended the throne of Mānyakhēta in 972 A.D. appears to have made a feeble attempt to recover his hold on the Tamil districts. In the Kharda grant, it is said that he defeated, among other enemies, the Chōlas.[25] Kakka's victory is, however, believed to have been 'more imaginary than real.'[26] It was not perhaps altogether fictitious, for, an invasion of the Chōḷa country is mentioned in a Noḷamba record of the latter half of the 10th century. The Noḷamba prince Vīra Mahēndra II, son of Poḷalchōra II, is said to have led an expedition to Chōḷanāḍu and subjugated the country.[27] Polalchōra was a subordinate of Kṛishṇa III,

24 IA, xii, p. 265.

25 Altekar : The Rāshṭrakūṭas, p. 125.

26 ARE, 1913, ii, para 14 (325 of 1912).

27 ARE, 93 of 1913. Pt. ii, para. 14, p. 92. EI, iv, p. 280. An epigraph on the top of the Bavaji Hill near Vellore (SII, I, p. 76) dated in the 26th year of Kṛishṇa's reign (965 A. D.) records the gift of the village of Velluṟupadi to the temple of Pannappēśvara by a Noḷamba chief called Tribhuvanadhīra Nuḷamba with biruda Pallava Murāri (Fleet : Dynasties, pp. 421-22). This epigraph bears testimony to the Nolamba rule in the neighbourhood of Kāñchī towards the close of the reign of Krishṇa III.

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from whom he appears to have obtained the city of Kāñchī probably at the time of the distribution of the conquered territory at Mēlpāḍi.[28] The Chōḷa reconquest of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam must have resulted in the displacement of the Nolambas from the Tamil country; and it was but natural that they should have made an attempt to re-establish their authority. Therefore, they declared war on the Chōḷas, and with the sanction, and perhaps the actual support of their overlord Kakka II, invaded the Chōḷa dominions. Though Vīra-Mahēndra II and his overlord claim victory over the Chōḷas, they do not seem to have gained any material advantage; for, they failed to dislodge the Chōḷas and recover their hold on Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam.

The recovery of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam by the Chōḷas and their renewed military activity in the northern frontier probably brought them into conflict with the Chāḷukyas of Vēṅgi. Pāka-nāḍu and Chītpuli-nāḍu comprising the southern half of the present Nellore district passed into the hands of the Chōḷas about 940 A.D.[29] Kṛishṇa III who conquered the Chōḷa kingdom appears to have entrusted the administration of this region to the Vaidumba chiefs, where they continued to rule even after his death. It is not improbable that after the death of Kṛishṇa III, the Chōḷas made an attempt to reduce these districts at the time of their reconquest of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. The steps which Dānārṇava had taken for the protection of his southern frontier in 970 A.D. presuppose the presence of some danger which threatened

[28] K. A. Nilakanta Sastri : Cōḷas I, pp. 152-53.

[29] A Vaidumba chief, Vishṇudēva-Durai-arasa was ruling Southern Pāka-nāḍu in the 6th year of the Chōḷa king, Rājarāja I (N. D. I, 988). The Vaidumba country lay far in the south west; and the presence of Durai-arasa in Pāka-nāḍu seems to suggest that he or his father migrated to the east coast from their native home. As the Vaidumba chiefs were greatly favoured by Kṛishṇa III with grants of large tracts of territory, it is not unreasonable to believe that he placed Durai-arasa in charge of this region.

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the safety of his kingdom. He bestowed upon his faithful supporters, Goṇḍiya and Mallana of the Mudugoṇḍa Chāḷukya family, the frontier district of Pottapi-nāḍu as a fief and entrusted its protection to Yuvarāja Śaktivarman at the head of a strong elephant force.[30] It is obvious that Dānārṇava felt grave apprehension about the designs of his southern neighbours, and placed the defence of the frontier in charge of the Yuvarāja himself. What happened after these preliminary measures to strengthen the frontier is not known. It is not, however, unlikely that both the kingdoms should have drifted into war which ultimately terminated in the Dramiḷ-āhava. The disturbed condition of the Chōḷa kingdom during the closing years of Sundara Chola invited a foreign invasion. The country appears to have been thrown into confusion, owing to the dissensions in the royal family. The assassination of Āditya II in 969-70 A.D., the death of his father Sundara Chōḷa two years later, perhaps under suspicious circumstances,[31] and the usurpation of the throne by Uttama Chōḷa clearly point out that the Chōḷa kingdom was agitated by internal strife. A Chāḷukyan invasion of the Chōḷa country could not have been impossible under the circumstances. Encouraged by the unsettled condition of the government, Śaktivarman probably led an expedition into Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and won a victory over the Chōḷa army.

Dānārṇava was not, however, destined to reap the fruits of his victory over the Dramiḷas. The apparent calm which marked the beginning of his reign was soon broken, and a severe political storm swept the kingdom spreading ruin in

30 JAHRS, xi, p. 88.

31 The epithet *pon-māligai-tuñjina-dēva* by which Sundara Chōḷa is referred to in the inscriptions is probably intended, like Toṇḍaimārrūrtuñjina-dēva, *Ānaimērruñjina-dēva*, etc., to recall the unusual circumstances in which the king died. He seems to have died as a consequence of some fatal accident which he met with in the Ponmāḷigai or the golden palace at Kāñchī.

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its wake. In the third year of his reign Dānārṇava was confronted with the outbreak of a formidable rebellion under the leadership of the powerful Telugu Chōḷa prince Jaṭā Chōḍa Bhīma. The cause of the rebellion are unknown. Jaṭā Chōḍa probably could not reconcile himself to Dānārṇava's rule, and forgive him for his treachery to Amma II. Whatever might have been the motive which prompted him to unfurl the standard of revolt, Jaṭā Chōḍa soon gathered considerable strength, and attacked Dānārṇava and his allies with great vigour. Though no information is available at present about the incidents of the rebellion, it is definitely known that Dānārṇava perished ultimately in the struggle together with his ally Nṛipakāma. The Conjeevaram epigraph states explicitly that he destroyed them both with all their armies.[32] The disaster which overtook the Chāḷukyas was so severe that they could not recover from its effects for nearly three decades. They lost all power and had to seek safety in exile. Jaṭā Chōḍa Bhīma took possession of their dominion and declared himself king.[33]

The overthrow of Dānārṇava, and the dispossession of his sons of their sovereignty involved Jaṭā Chōḍa in a war with the king of Kaliṅga, who was related to them through marriage. Dānārṇava's mother was a daughter of

[32] E.I, xxi, p. 33. "*Dānārṇava Nṛipakam ya satsakalasainyam abhihatya....*" Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar believes that Dānārṇava lived until A.D. 1000. "Though Dānārṇava was dispossessed of his kingdom," says he, "he appears to have lived till A.D. 1000." "Perhaps Dānārṇava continued to live after his deposition, for the Chellūr plates of Kulōttuṅga Chōḍa II attributed to him a reign of 30 years." EI, xxi, pp. 30-31.

The evidence of Chellūr plates is not supported by earlier records. Had Dānārṇava been alive in 1000 A.D., his son Śaktivarman would not have been crowned in 998-99 A.D.

[33] The word 'dēśam' which occurs at the end of the fragmentary passage describing Dānārṇava's destruction (EI, xxi, p. 33) in the Conjeevaram inscription seems to suggest that Jaṭā Chōḍa seized the kingdom. This view is corroborated by Śaktivarman's inscriptions which clearly show that immediately before his accession, Vēṅgi was under the sway of Jaṭā Chōḍa (JTA, ii, p. 409).

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Vajrahasta I, who ruled up to 940 A.D.[34] Vajrahasta had probably three sons, Guṇḍama I, Kāmārṇava I, and Vinayāditya, who governed the country in succession after the demise of their father. Kāmārṇava I, who was on the throne at the time of Dāṇārṇava's death, appears to have espoused the cause of his young cousins, and attempted to reinstate them. This led to the outbreak of a war between Kāmārṇava and Jaṭā Chōḍa; the former, however, failed to achieve his object; and after a few years of fruitless struggle lost his life on the battle field. The death of Kāmārṇava appears to have left Kaliṅga without a proper ruler; and Jaṭā Chōḍa seems to have made himself master of the country and entrusted its administration to Pōtārya of the Gaṁgāśraya family. It must have been about this time that Jaṭā Chōḍa came into conflict with the king of Puṇḍra and invaded his kingdom.[35]

The victory over Kāmārṇava left Jaṭā Chōḍa undisputed master of the east coast which he continued to rule until 998-9 A.D. without a rival. The extreme south-west of the

[34] The Kaṇḍyam plates of Dānārṇava (JAHRS, xi, p. 86) *Dvaimāturas-tasya cha Dānapēśo jyēshṭhō mahad bhūri-bhujair jjitārih.*

Sūnor Bṛhad-Bhīma-mahī-bhujasya | naptaḥ(?) kalāvit Kali-Vishṇu nāmā || Sūnōh Kaliṅgēśvara-sat-sutāyāḥ | Bhīmādhipō' bhūd varam urjapaijah.

[35] ARE., 238 of 1930-31. By courtesy of the Superintendent of Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras. EI, xxi, p. 33. Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar is of opinion that Kāmārṇava was engaged in war with Dānārṇava and was killed by him in battle. Dānārṇava was dispossessed of his kingdom in 973 A.D.; whereas Kāmārṇava, the fourth of the name, ruled in the opinion of Mr. Subrahmanya Ayyar, up to A.D. 980 (EI, xxi, pp. 30-31). Though it may be admitted for the sake of argument that Dānārṇava lived until 1000 A.D., it is not possible to understand why he should have undertaken to defend, from Kāmārṇava's invasion, Vēṅgi over which he was no longer ruling and how he managed in his exile to equip an army for the purpose. The position which Mr. Subrahmanya Ayyar has sought to maintain is untenable. The enemy at whose hands Kāmārṇava had perished was, as pointed out by Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, Jaṭā Chōḍa Bhīma; and the event must have taken place about 978 A.D. Mr. Krishna Rao's contention that Jaṭā Chōḍa also killed Kāmārṇava's younger brother Vinayāditya who ruled from A.D. 978 cannot, however, be accepted as it involves the emendation of the text of the inscription which clearly reads *vinayād-anya-bhūpatiḥ* (JARS, x, pp. 35-37).

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kingdom, however, demanded immediate attention. The Vaidumba king, Bhuvana Trinētra, attacked Rēnāḍu at the time of his struggle with Dānārṇava for the mastery over Vēṅgi, and having defeated its king, Chōḷa Mahārāja or the Mahārāja, as he was more familiarly known to his contemporaries, crowned himself the king of the country in 972-73 A.D.[36] The distracted condition of Vēṅgi favoured his designs during the succeeding years, and he reduced to subjection the territory extending as far east as the Eastern Ghats including Pottapi-nāḍu before A.D. 975-6.[37] The Vaidumba conquest of Pottapi-nāḍu, which was granted as a fief to Mudugoṇḍa Chāḷukya princes Mallana and Goṇḍiya by Dānārṇava in 970 A.D.,[38] could not be treated with indifference; and Chōḷa Mahārāja who was dispossessed of his dominion had also probably sent an appeal to Jaṭā Chōḍa for help. Therefore, as soon as he overthrew Kāmārṇava and placed the affairs of Vēṅgi on a stable basis, Jaṭā Chōḍa came down to the South with his forces, defeated Bhuvana Trinētra in battle, and compelled him to submit to his authority. To commemorate his victory over the Vaidumba, Jaṭā Chōḍa appears to have assumed the title of Chōḷa Trinētra.[39]

The reconquest of Pottapi-nāḍu was soon followed by an invasion of the Chōḷa kingdom. The causes of this invasion are not known; it may, however, be surmised that the help, which Bhuvana Trinētra possibly obtained from the Chōḷa court, might have served as a convenient pretext for the inva-

36 ARE, 325 of 1905.

37 The Madras Museum Copperplate grant of Vaidumba Mahārāja, dated S. 897 (A.D. 975-76) which registers the gift of the village of Mandaram in Pottapi-nāḍu clearly shows that the district had passed under his rule sometime before this date (ARE, of 1935-36).

38 JAHRS, xi, pp. 80-81.

39 EI, xxi, p. 32, *Vaidumba-prabhṛiti-rāja-rājanya-rājita-pīṭhastham.*' '*Vaidumba-darpa-prakaṭāpahartā*'; ARE, 238 of 1931 (unpublished) by courtesy of the Superintendent of Epigraphy, Madras.

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sion. However that may be, Jaṭā Chōḍa entered Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam at the head of his army in 982 A.D., and advanced upon the city of Kāñchī which he seems to have captured without much difficulty.[40] Nevertheless he does not seem to have held the city long; for an inscription at Tirumulaivvāyil in the Saidapet taluq of the Chingleput district dated in the 14th regnal year of Uttama Chōḷa (A.D 983-84 A.D.)[41] shows distinctly that the Chōḷas soon recovered the territory in the north of the city, and perhaps threatened to cut off his communications. Jaṭā Chōḍa was probably compelled to retire hastily from the city and return to his kingdom.

Very little is known about the affairs of Vēṅgi, during the years that immediately followed the Kāñchī expedition. Jaṭā Chōḍa, no doubt, continued to rule the country without serious opposition. The unsettled condition of the Deccan after the dissolution of the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire and the weakness which cramped the activities of the Chōḷa government owing mainly to internal dissensions left Jaṭā Chōḍa in undisturbed possession of the kingdom. The death of Uttama Chōḷa and the accession to the throne of his young nephew Rājarāja in 985 A.D., however, introduced a change in the situation. Rājarāja was a proud and ambitious monarch.

[40] The date of this invasion cannot be fixed definitely; the fragmentary character of the Conjeevaram epigraph (EI, xxi, p. 32), which was evidently set up during this invasion lends itself unfortunately to different interpretations. Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao contends that the record is dated in Ś. 904; whereas Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar places it nineteen years later in Ś. 923. The date, suggested by Mr. Subrahmanya Ayyar has to be rejected, whatever may be the textual justification, on historical grounds. The inscriptions of Śaktivarman I make it abundantly clear that before his accession to the throne of Vēṅgi in Ś. 921 (999 A.D.) he put to death Jaṭā Chōḍa and his family. Therefore Jaṭā Chōḍa could not have set up this inscription at Kāñchī some two years after his death. The restoration of the fragmentary passage "parichulla ivanai Srīkōrā...koṇḍār" proposed by Mr. Subrahmanya Ayyar, evidently to support his date for the inscription, cannot be accepted as it is opposed to the evidence of the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates (SII, iii.).

[41] SI, I, III, No. 141.

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He resolved to chastise the enemies who harassed his family in the past and make himself supreme lord of the whole of South India. Veṅgi seems to have engaged his attention from the beginning. Jaṭā Chōḍa remained still unpunished for his attack on Kāñchī. Moreover, an independent and unfriendly Vēṅgi on his north-eastern frontier was sure to be an obstacle in his path; and as a first step in furtherance of his schemes of conquest it was necessary to bring it under his control. A direct invasion was probably risky, as Jaṭā Chōḍa was a famous warrior and experienced general. To undermine his power from inside, and bring Vēṅgi within the ambit of the Chōḷa empire without appearing to embark on a war of aggression, Rājarāja evinced a great interest in the fortune of the sons of Dānārṇava, and having probably invited them to his court, took them under his protection. He gave his daughter Kundabai in marriage to Dānārṇava's younger son Vimalāditya and offered to re-instate the elder, Śaktivarman, in his ancestral dominions.

The time when the Eastern Chāḷukya princes first came into contact with the Chōḷa court cannot be definitely ascertained. Vimalāditya is said to have been sojourning in the South Arcot district during the second year of Rājarāja;[42] this is not unlikely; for, Rājarāja seems to have commenced his war upon Vēṅgi shortly afterwards.

Though the conquest of Vēṅgi is mentioned in the records of Rājarāja's fourteenth regnal year (999 A.D.), the war for the subjugation of the country seems to have actually commenced much earlier. The fact that one of his vassals, the Vaidumba chief, Vishṇudēva Durai-Arasan was governing Reḍḍipālam in Pāka-nāḍu in his sixth regnal year (991 A.D.) shows clearly that he had already launched his attack on Jaṭā Chōḍa Bhīma and wrested from him the southernmost district of his kingdom.[43] This was, however, the initial campaign

[42] K. V. Subrahmaniya Ayyar : Ancient Deccan, p. 247.

[43] NDI, G. 88.

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of a war which dragged on its weary course during the next seven or eight years.

The events of this war are not fully recorded. The Chōḷa inscriptions casually allude to the conquest of the country, and leave us entirely in the dark about the incidents of the war. A brief account of the war is, however, given in the inscriptions of Śaktivarman; but they notice only his outstanding victories, ignoring the reverses which he must have sustained during the struggle. The long duration of the war nevertheless indicates that Śaktivarman and his allies met with stubborn resistance, and the progress of the conquest was, indeed, slow.

Śaktivarman, according to the information furnished by his inscriptions, won three victories over Jaṭā Chōḍa and his lieutenants. They probably represent three different stages in the progress of the war. At first, Jaṭā Chōḍa is said to have despatched against Śaktivarman and his allies a famous warrior, whose name unfortunately is not disclosed in the inscriptions. He was, however, slain by Śaktivarman, perhaps in a personal combat.[44]

Next came a couple of warriors Badyama and Mahārāja; they were not more successful than their predecesssor. Śaktivarman engaged them in a battle, and having inflicted on them a defeat put them to flight. Doubt and uncertainty obscure the identity of these chiefs.[45] Badyama was

[44] JTA, ii, p. 409. *Prēshitaṁ Chōḍa-Bhīmēna yach chitrīkṛita-sāhasā*
Pañchatvam anayat tīkṣhṇam ēka-vīraṁ sva-bāhunā.

[45] Badyama and Mahārāja are taken by some to be the different members of a single name Badyama-Mahārāja (ARE, 1918, Pt., II, p. 132) and it is believed that he was identical with Bādapa, the Chāḷukya prince, who having driven out Amma II from his kingdom occupied the throne of Vēṅgi for a short time (The Ugādisa-sañchika of the Patrika 1921). These views are not supported by evidence. The text of Śaktivarman's inscriptions, the only source of our information on the subject, shows that Badyama and Mahārāja are the names of two different individuals.

The Prabhuparru Plates (JTA, ii, p. 403)

Badyamas-cha-Mahārājo ma (va ?) danyo baṃ

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probably a chief of the Telugu Chōḷa descent who espoused the cause of Jaṭā Chōḍa, and followed his fortunes loyally to the end. Mahārāja was, no doubt, identical with Chōḷa Mahārāja of Rēnāḍu. The rulers of this country were spoken of by their contemporaries as the Mahārājas, as a consequence of which the territory under their rule acquired, in course of time, the special name of Mahārājapāḍi or Mārjavāḍi, *i.e.*, the country of the Mahārājas. [46] Jaṭā Chōḍa, it may be remembered, overthrew the Vaidumba king Bhuvana Trinētra and restored the Chōḷa Mahārāja the kingdom of Rēnāḍu which the former had conquered from him in 972-3 A.D. It must have been the memory of this act of generosity which prompted Chōḷa Mahārāja to take up arms in defence of his benefactor when the latter was assailed by Śaktivarman and his allies, though he failed to render any material help.

The victory which Śaktivarman won over the armies of Badyama and Mahārāja opened the way for his advance into the interior of the kingdom of Vēṅgi. Accompanied by his allies, he proceeded to the north, and met Jaṭā Chōḍa who came to oppose him at the head of his forces in an

II The Andhra Sahitya Parishat Plates (ARE, Cp. 15 of 1917-18)
Yēnat-yuddhata Badyam-ādhipa Mahārājādayo vidrutāh

III The Pēnneru Plates (Elliot's Collection). The Madras Government Oriental MSS. Library, 15-6-26, p. 348.

Yēna jitō Baddenṛipaḥ yēn-aivaṁ jitō Mahārājaḥ. It is obvious that Badyama and Mahārāja are not identical. The identification of Badyama with Bādapa cannot also be accepted. They are two different names though it may be possible to trace some sort of etymological connection between them. Moreover, Bādapa who was slain by Amma II long before the commencement of anarchy could not have been the same as Badyama who opposed Śaktivarman I at the end of that period.

[46] The Rāshṭrakūṭa inscriptions of Pulināḍu (*i.e.*, the present Punganoor Zamindary) mention a Mahārāja who invaded the district probably after the death of Kṛishṇa II. (ARE, 1933-34, p. 23.) He must have been friend of Jaṭā Chōḍa who, as stated in the Prabhuparru and the Āndhra Sāhitya Parishat plates joined Badyama and opposed Śaktivarman. An earlier Mahārāja figures in the Bena Inscriptions of the previous century. ARE, 163, 164 of 1933-34.

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unknown place. In the engagement that followed Śaktivarman inflicted a defeat on Jaṭā Chōḍa's army and put him to death. His efforts were at last crowned with success, and he managed, thanks to the help of the Chōḷa monarch, to recover the throne of his ancestors. Śaktivarman had, however, to pay a heavy price for the Chōḷa help. Though he was crowned, like his predecessors, the supreme sovereign of Vēṅgi, he had to allow himself to be guided by his ally in regulating the external policy of his kingdom. In other words, Vēṅgi ceased to be an independent kingdom under Śaktivarman I, and assumed the rôle of a subordinate ally of the mighty Chōḷa empire.

Addendum

Some of the conclusions reached in the foregoing paper demand reconsideration in the light of fresh evidence that has been brought to light recently. It has been stated above that the expulsion of Amma II from Vēṅgi owing to Bādapa's intervention took place in 945 A.D.; but the date here suggested has turned to be far too late for the event. In an unpublished copper-plate grant of Bādapa to which I had access by the kind courtesy of Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamacharlu, the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, it is clearly stated that Bādapa expelled the boy, Amma, and ascended his throne.

Ammaṁ Bhīmātmajaṁ paṭṭabaddhaṁ śrīyuddhamallajaḥ
Bālam balāt-tam-uccāṭya Bādapabhūpatir-babhau.

As Bādapa is said to have dislodged Amma with the help of Kṛishṇa III, and as the latter, according to the Māṅgallu plates, fled from Vēṅgi owing to Kṛishṇa's wrath in the twelfth year of his reign, one may be tempted to place Bādapa's advent on this occasion (IA, xx, p. 271). At the time of the Rāshṭrakūṭa invasion in his twelfth regnal year, he must have

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been twenty-four years old, an age when he could no longer have been referred to as a boy (*bāla*). More important than this is the explicit statement in the Māṅgallu plates (*cf.* I of 1916-17) that Dānārṇava ruled Vēṅgi after Amma's flight to Kaḷiṅga to the great joy of the people with the consent of Vallabha, *i.e.*, Kṛishṇa III.

Sūnus-tasy Āmmarājas-surapaṭi-vibhavaḥ paṭṭabaddhō dharitrīm-
Rakshannekādaś-ābdān jitaripur-agamat Kṛishṇakōpāt Kaḷiṅgān
Tasya dvaimāturaḥ kshmāṁ sakala-jana-mude Vallabhād-āptarājyā
Dānārṇaveśō-'pyavati Manu-nayād-Ankidevī tanūjaḥ [47]

Therefore, Bādapa's occupation of Vēṅgi must be assigned to an earlier date. It had probably taken place during the years that immediately succeeded Amma's accession to the throne in 945 A.D. The Kōrumelli grant of Rājarāja alludes to Amma's victory over Yuddhamalla II, the father of Bādapa. It is said that Amma II killed Yuddhamalla in battle and ruled the kingdom for twenty-five years. [48] Yuddhamalla II, it may be remembered, was the father of Bādapa; after a rule of seven years he was expelled from Vēṅgi by Chāḷukya Bhīma II, the father of Amma II. Yuddhamalla appears to have bided his time, and made an attempt to regain his hold on Vēṅgi after the death of Chāḷukya Bhīma II. Bādapa and his brother Tāḷa II probably accompanied their father on this occasion and succeeded for a short time in getting a foothold in a part of the king-

[47] My attention has been drawn to the importance of this passage by my friend Mr. M. Venkataramayya.

[48] IA, xiv, p. 52.

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dom of Vēṅgi ;[49] but Amma II defeated them and put to death Yuddhamalla and having re-established his authority in Vēṅgi bore sway over the kingdom for twenty-five years.

[49] Neither Bādapa nor Tāḷapa is mentioned in the charters of Eastern Chāḷukya kings as having ruled at Vēṅgi, though their father Yuddhamalla is said to have ruled for a period of seven years. This clearly indicates that they did not ascend the throne of Vēṅgi, though they held sway as shown by their records, over Velnāḍu for some time. Bādapa's intervention, according to the unpublished record mentioned above, took place at the time when Amma II was still a boy. The latter who was only twelve years old at the time of his accession, put to death Yuddhamalla, and then ruled the country for twenty-five years. Both the attacks of Yuddhamalla and his son obviously took place at the commencement of the reign of Amma II. It is not therefore unlikely that they refer to one and the same event.

An alternative explanation of the events described above is also possible. Yuddhamalla's attack on Vēṅgi ended abortively, and he himself lost his life in the adventure as stated in the Kōrumelli grant. Amma II ascended to the throne. He was not however allowed to reign in peace. Bādapa who succeeded his father Yuddhamalla as the head of the junior branch of the family attempted to retrieve its fortunes, and succeeded for a while with the help of Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III in ousting Amma II from the throne; but Amma mustered strength and managed ultimately to overthrow Bādapa and recover his kingdom.

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SECTION III

EARLY MEDIEVAL PERIOD SECTION

(Including the Sultanate and contemporaneous Rajput History)

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

DR. M. NAZIM, M.A., PH.D. (CANTAB.)

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I thank the Council of the Indian History Congress for the distinction they have conferred upon me by asking me to preside over the section dealing with Medieval History of India including the Sultanate. It is universally recognised that this period is of exceptional importance, as it was inaugurated by the advent of a new element in the life of the Indian people. The Muslim conquerors, who were the bearers of a distinct social, moral, political, cultural and religious code of life, did not treat this country as a province of their far-flung empire, but made it their home and influenced every phase of the life of the people of India. It is, therefore, essential for us to study this period in order to understand the results of the impact of the Muslim civilization on India in the early stages of its conquest. But unfortunately this period has not received its due share of attention from the historians of India, either because of their lack of interest in it, or more probably because of the comparative paucity of material and the limited number of original authorities dealing with this period. I personally do not believe in this, for I think that difficulties should have rather stimulated research workers to greater efforts. I do not believe in the paucity of material because if chronicles which record the exploits of kings and their courtiers are not abundant, other works like the *Dīwāns* of contemporary poets, collections of correspondence of kings, the discourses of saints and scholars, books on biography and sometimes even works on such abstruse subjects as Astronomy and Mathematics furnish valuable historical

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material. As an illustration of this, I may mention that, when I was engaged in writing a history of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznā, the only work which furnished me with the details of the route followed by the Sultān on his expedition to Somnāth was the *Dīwān* of a contemporary poet named Farrukhī; and a disagreement among the chief authorities regarding the date of an important meeting between the Sultān and a ruler of Transoxiana was settled by a casual reference made to this incident by the famous scholar Al-Bīrūnī in his little known work on astronomy named *Ghurratu'z-zījāt*. It is, however, gratifying to note that the apathy of the Indian scholar towards the history of Medieval India, if it ever existed, is now diminishing, and numerous works of great value have been published during the last few years. *The Rise and Fall of Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq* by Dr. Agha Mahdi Husain, *A History of the Qaraunah Turks* by Dr. Ishwari Prasad, *The Decline of the Seljuquid Empire* by Dr. Sanaullah, *Politics in Pre-Mughul India* by Dr. Ishwar Nath Topa, are very valuable contributions to our knowledge of the history of the Medieval period. Professor Muhammad Harun Khan Sherwani, of the Osmania University, Hyderabad-Deccan, is engaged in writing a history of the Bahmani Dynasty and a biography of Mahmūd Gāwān, the last great Wāzir of this dynasty. Some of the research scholars of the Osmania University have successfully worked on the pre-Mughul history of the Deccan and recently Dr. Aziz Ahmad has been awarded a Ph.D. degree by the Muslim University, Aligarh, on a thesis entitled *The Slave Sultans of Delhi*. It is therefore hoped that in a few years we will have a series of learned and specialized works dealing with each important section of Medieval history. Further, it is not only the narrative of wars and political intrigues, but also the cultural history of the Indian people, which has attracted the attention of scholars, and several important works like *The*

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Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India and *Education in Muslim India*, both by Mr. S. M. Jafar, *The Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan* (1200-1550) by Dr. Kunwar Muhammad Ashraf, and *The Muslim Educational Institutions in India* by the Shibli Academy, Azamgarrh, show that this aspect of Indian history has not been neglected. Besides these, several important Persian texts have been edited and published, like the *Chāch Nāmah* and Ma'ṣūm's *Ta'rīḵh-i-Hind* by Dr. U. M. Daudpota, Director of Public Instruction, Sind, and the *Futūḥu's-Salatīn*, a metrical history of India which is the work of a court poet of Sultān 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Bahmanī, by Dr. Agha Mahdi Husain. These will be of great help to the research scholars as source books. Muslim epigraphy too has furnished valuable material to the historians of the Medieval period. Mr. Ghulam Yazdani, Director of Archaeology, H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions, has edited some inscriptions in the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* which throw light on the cultural movements of the Muslim period and help to define the extent of Muhammad bin Tughlaq's conquests in the various parts of the Deccan. Mr. Q. M. Moneer, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, Poona, has taken in hand the work of editing the inscriptions on the ancient monuments at Thatta in Sind, which, when published, will surely clarify some obscure portions of the history of Sind. M. Muhammad Shafi, Principal, Oriental College, Lahore, has published several important inscriptions in the *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, one of which, discovered by him at Sihwan in Sind, settles finally the disputed point regarding the place of burial of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq.

I have given above a brief outline of the efforts which have been made by individual scholars. There is also a wide and generally-felt want for a new and scientific history of India and numerous associations have undertaken this work. In the Muslim University at Aligarh, a Historical

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Research Institute has been established with the object of bringing out a comprehensive history of India. A board of editors has been formed of which Mr. M. B. Ahmad, I.C.S., is the President. Although the details of the scheme have not yet been published, it is hoped that the history of Medieval India will receive its due share of attention. The Government of H. E. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad, at the instance of the Department of History of the Osmania University, have recently sanctioned a proposal to compile a history of India in 7 volumes, with special reference to the history of the Deccan. The second volume of this series will be devoted to the history of Medieval India. At Patna, the Indian Academy of History has decided to prepare a reconstructed history of India in 20 volumes. The board of editors will consist of 6 scholars, with Sir Jadunath Sarkar as its President. The details of this scheme have not yet been published but it is hoped that in this comprehensive history, Medieval India will receive its due share of attention. At Azamgarh, in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, the Shibli Academy, which consists of a band of selfless scholars and has for more than 25 years been serving the cause of Oriental learning, has now undertaken to compile a history of India in several volumes, beginning with the conquest of Sind by the Arabs. Volume I of this series deals with the history of Sind. It consists of 2 parts, and is ready for publication. The first part contains, among other things, chapters on the Geography of Sind, its conquest by the Arabs, and the Habbārī, Ismā'īlī and Somra Dynasties. The second part is devoted to the cultural history of Sind and gives valuable information from authentic sources regarding such important topics as agriculture, export and import trade, customs, works of public utility, establishment of schools, introduction of arts and sciences, etc., under Muslim rule. The second volume is devoted entirely to the history of the Ghaznawid Dynasty and is also ready

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for publication. The Indian History Congress, at its session held at Allahabad last year, adopted a resolution to examine the feasibility of preparing a scientific and comprehensive history of India. In giving effect to this resolution, the editor of the *Journal of Indian History*, Madras, has drawn up a syllabus for a history of India in 10 volumes, volumes III and IV of which are devoted to the period with which we are concerned.

I have mentioned the above details with a view to show that there is a general desire among Indian scholars for a comprehensive and authoritative history of India. Each of the projects enumerated above is in the hands of recognised scholars, and there is no doubt that the results of their efforts will be of an excellent nature. I hope that to make the history more scholarly, more authentic and authoritative, each volume of the schemes enumerated above would be entrusted only to those scholars, or group of scholars, who have made a special study of the period covered by each volume. So far as the Medieval period of our history is concerned, I would like further to suggest to the associations advocating the project of a comprehensive history of India that almost all the material for a history of the Muslim period is exclusively in Persian, and it would be advisable that those who are entrusted with the work of writing about this period should possess a thorough knowledge of the Persian language and its idiom. Of course, many of the original Persian texts have been translated into English, but a reliance on them for a scientific history will defeat its own purpose. Reynold's translation of the *Ta'rīkh-i-Yamīnī* by 'Utbi (a writer contemporary with Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznā) has been repeatedly shown to be not only inaccurate but extremely misleading. Major Raverty's translation of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* too is not supposed to be free from glaring mistakes. The translation of the other Persian texts as given in Elliot and Dowson's *History of India*, though universally

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quoted as an authority of the first class and even regarded by many as the last word on the subject, is responsible for the dissemination and perpetuation of innumerable inexactitudes and even false and distorted history. Without denying the immense service rendered to the cause of Indian scholarship by this work, it can be asserted with confidence that from the point of view of research, the translations of the various Persian texts given in it are on the whole unreliable and misleading. Sometimes even proper names have been mistranslated and Persian idioms have been misunderstood to give quite a contrary interpretation of the words of the original authors. Owing to the great reputation which this work has enjoyed, scholars working on the Muslim period of Indian history rarely consider it necessary to refer to the original texts for a verification of Elliot's translations. The result is that serious blunders have been unconsciously committed and perpetuated by honest reseach workers. The errors of Elliot's translations, to which attention has never been forcefully drawn, have now been collected in the form of a book entitled *Studies in Indo-Muslim History* by the indefatigable efforts of Mr. H. S. Hodivala, formerly Principal of the Bahā'u'd-Dīn College, Junagarh, and look alarming for their seriousness and magnitude. In this work, Mr. Hodivala has also rectified a large number of errors of interpretation and transliteration, and drawn upon his expert knowledge as a numismatist in correcting various toponyms and determining the exact chronology. Mr. Hodivala's work will come as a great shock to those scholars who had pinned their faith on the infallibility of Elliot's translation. Mr. Hodivala has put in a prodigious amount of patient labour and scholarship, but he does not profess to have exhausted all the mistakes or to have revised all the translations, and still there are innumerable inaccuracies which have to be rectified. I, therefore, strongly advise that the volumes devoted to the history of the Muslim period of Indian History

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in any of the contemplated histories of India should be entrusted only to those scholars who are fully conversant with the language and idiom of the original texts.

Before I conclude this brief address, I would like to point out that there was a time when the student of Indian history was satisfied with the more or less useless task of knowing the wars of kings and intrigues of their courtiers, but now he is beginning to be conscious of the necessity of studying the social, economic and moral attainments of his ancestors, the progress they made in arts and letters, and the effect of each reign on these vital things. He wants to know something about the achievements of the Muslim kings in the arts of peace, and their contribution to the cultural heritage of India. The future historians would, therefore, do well to try to develop this line of history to the fullest possible extent and to show that Indian civilization is neither a foreign graft nor the gift or possession of any one class or section, but is the result of the united efforts of all the diverse elements that make up the India of to-day.

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1

THE INFLUENCE OF SHER SHAH SUR ON THE ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE OF INDIA

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Constructed under the orders of the Afghan family of the house of Suri, chiefly by its principal member Sher Shah who ruled at Delhi towards the middle of the sixteenth century, are two different groups of buildings in entirely separate localities, each of which illustrates in a most significant manner the development of the art of building in the Islamic style. In the first instance, the tombs of the Suri family at Sasaram in Bihar mark the final phase of a type of architecture as this culminated during the ascendency of the Sayyids and Lodis at Delhi. On the other hand, in what is known as the Purana Qila at Delhi, and particularly in its mosque, the Qila-i-Kuhna, with one or two other buildings all executed by Sher Shah Sur, we not only see examples of architecture of a very distinctive character, but these structures also provide a connecting link between the declining productions of the Delhi Sultanate and the subsequent magnificent flowering of the Islamic building art under the dynasty of the Mughuls.

Several of the Muslim rulers of India have exercised a marked personal influence on the style of architecture that flourished under their authority ; so much so that in some of the examples at Delhi representing the imperial development, and also in the productions of the provincial rulers,

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the impress of an aesthetic individuality is very noticeable. Among these mention may be made of Qutb-ud-din of the Slave dynasty, and Firuz Tughluq, both of whose monuments at Delhi stand out on account of their style being of of an exceptionally personal character. Later, there is no mistaking in the productions of the Mughuls the influence of Akbar with his indigenous propensities expressed in red sandstone, or of Shah Jahan and the feeling for sumptuousness displayed in his arcades of white marble picked out in gold. Turning to the provincial monuments, the spirit of Ahmed Shah lingers over the great mosque at Ahmedabad, outside which lies the marble tomb of this ruler, while the power of Begarah of the same dynasty is observable in his vast ruined capital at Champanir.

But none of these royal patrons of the building art appeared on the scene at a more decisive juncture than the Afghan ruler Sher Shah when he mounted the throne at Delhi in 1538. As far as the sphere of architecture was concerned, the occasion was one of those rare instances of the right man appearing at the right moment, for Sher Shah assumed power at Delhi at a time when only intelligent encouragement and an aesthetic outlook could save the Islamic style of architecture in Upper India if not from oblivion at least from a dangerous period of inertia. What is surprising is that so much was achieved in such a short space of time, as Sher Shah reigned at Delhi only for six years, and the succeeding members of the dynasty failed to continue his architectural schemes.

The architectural movement here referred to resolves itself into four parts. In the first place, there is the state of the building art in Northern India as this existed under the predecessors of the Sur dynasty, in other words, its condition as maintained under the rule of the Lodis. Secondly, it is necessary to realize the architectural ideals of Sher Shah Sur, his personal aims and objects, of which there are literary

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and other contemporary records. Thirdly, there are these ideals as they materialized under his patronage, *i.e.*, the buildings of his period. Lastly, and of special significance is the effect these buildings had on the style that followed, that is to say, their influence on the subsequent architectural development of the Mughuls.

As regards the first of these divisions of the subject, the character of the building art in the first half of the sixteenth century as this existed under Islamic authority in Upper India, there are evidences that this was approaching a state of decline. It is hardly necessary to emphasize that such a condition was in a large measure due to the political circumstances that then prevailed. Owing to a variety of causes during much of the fifteenth century and in the early years of the sixteenth, the imperial power at Delhi under the dynasties of the Sayyids and Lodis had been of an unsubstantial nature. This is shown in the type of building erected during their period. In other words, under the diminishing influence of these two royal houses, all forms of constructive enterprise languished, and what architecture was produced reflects the weakening spirit of the time. Unlike the periods of the sovereignty of the earlier Sulṭanates such as the Tughluqs and, before them, the Khaljis, no great structural undertakings are recorded, no capital cities were founded, no imperial palaces, no fortresses or strongholds were created, no mosques of importance, no colleges, and no public buildings were erected. It is significant that almost the only form of monument that appealed to the ruler and their court officials at this juncture were those expressive of dissolution—they excelled in memorials to the dead. At perhaps no other period has the tomb been more manifest in the consciousness of the people than during the reign of the Sayyids and Lodis, so much so that Delhi and its environs were converted into a vast necropolis. Most of the battered-domed buildings that are strewn in such profusion among

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the ruins of ancient Delhi are tombs built during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. That some of these are monuments of style and distinction one cannot deny, such as the royal mausoleums of Mubarak Sayyid, Muhammed Sayyid, and Sikander Lodi, although as a whole they are not particularly inspiring works of architecture. But some of them illustrate rather a special type of tomb, the chief characteristic of which is the octagonal plan, a shape which, as will be shown, was to be developed by Sher Shah at Sasaram in a very splendid manner.

The foregoing presents a brief outline of the state of the building art as it was being practised in Upper India when the founders of the Mughul dynasty, the emperors Babur and Humayun, were endeavouring to consolidate their kingdom on the disintegrating foundations of the Delhi Sultanate. For both these rulers conditions were not sufficiently stable to enable them to make any notable contributions to the building productions of their time. Humayun, however, is recorded to have founded a new city of Delhi which he called *Dinpanah* or "world-refuge," but practically nothing of this now remains, and the few other structures built by this ruler bear no special character. It is true that at Delhi there is Humayun's magnificent mausoleum, one of the finest buildings of its kind, but its creation was due to the enterprise of his distinguished widow, Haji Begum, and was accordingly raised after his death. To sum up, it is no exaggeration to say that to all intents and purposes the practice of intelligent and significant building construction approached, in the first half of the sixteenth century, a state of suspended animation.

It was at this decisive stage of the evolution of the building art that the Afghan ruler Sher Shah appears on the scene, and a brief account of his personality in this connection may be useful. There are proofs of his determination to make himself an ideal administrator of the territory that

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destiny, and his own right arm, had put in his possession, and that he was one of the greatest of the Muslim rulers of India, with broad and practical views, is fairly clear. Humayun, the Mughul emperor whom he unseated, had no doubts about his capacities as he admitted to Khalifa, his minister, when he remarked, " Keep an eye on Sher Khan (as he was then called) : he is a clever man, and the marks of royalty are visible on his forehead." [1] " It was India's misfortune however that Sher Shah did not, as he himself once exclaimed when observing his grey hairs in the mirror, ascend the throne until the time of evening prayer." [2]

But although the Afghan ruler's sovereignty was late in his life and lasted only for a very limited period, he appears at all times to have been a man of marked constructional propensities and architectural ideals, which he maintained until the end. For it is recorded that with his dying breath he regretted that he would be unable to erect certain buildings which he specifies " with such architectural embellishments, that friend and foe might render their tribute of applause." It is clear that the artistic spirit was very much alive in Sher Shah's mental make-up, and was exercised at a time of great significance with the result that the continuity of the building art and the elegance of its character was consistently maintained.

We now approach the third division of our subject, that in which Sher Shah's architectural ideals were materialized. This ruler's buildings are in two distinct and separate groups, and produced two different results. It may be as well to take up first those buildings of his reign which are at or in the neighbourhood of Sasaram in Bihar, as here it was he began his initial authority in his capacity as Governor of this region. Here also he was brought to repose at the end of his strenuous career, for his remains are enshrined in one

1 *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, Elliot, Vol. IV, p. 331.
2 *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 57.

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of the most magnificent mausoleums in the whole of India. Sher Shah's tomb at Sasaram is the largest and finest of a series of five of these buildings, all of marked architectural character, and most of which were no doubt erected during his lifetime, their mean date being A.D. 1540. All are large monuments, octagonal in plan and clearly evolved from the same type of tomb which had been developed under the Sayyids and Lodis at Delhi. But these tombs at Sasaram represent the final flowering of that style and it is a florescence of notable size and splendour; so much so, that the principal example, that containing the remains of Sher Shah Sur himself, is an architectural production of which any country might be proud. Although the supreme achievement of the series, a description of this tomb applies in a lesser degree to the architectural character of the remainder, which are all of much the same general appearance.

One of the main features of the mausoleum of Sher Shah at Sasaram is that it has the almost unique position of occupying the centre of a large artificial sheet of water. Such an unusual scheme adds very considerably to its romantic and monumental effect. Standing in the midst of the lake on a square-terraced foundation connected with the the "mainland" by an elegant, although ruined, causeway, it rises up into four stories, the lowest square in plan, those above octagonal, the highest being surmounted by a low but graceful dome. Its dimensions are considerable as the terraced foundation is three hundred feet at the side and the total height is about two hundred feet, while the tank in which it stands is fourteen hundred feet in length. But it is the architectural treatment of the main structure which proves beyond doubt that the conception is the work of an experienced master-mind. In devising the building as a whole in a grand pyramidal shape of diminishing stories, its designer showed a noteworthy knowledge of the value of form and volume, of finely adjusted bulk, of mass in repose,

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all of which go towards making it a composition of great dignity and power. Then over and above this total formation much skill has been expended on the application and pattern of the architectural details which break up the mass of the building with admirable effect; the domed octagonal pavilions at each corner, the projecting oriel-balconies carried on heavy brackets, the wide eaves surmounted by crenellated parapets, all these and many other constructive embellishments are most admirably distributed over the building. The interior consists of one large vaulted hall, octagonal in shape and surrounded by an arcade of arches; this portion is rather bare and plain and it is possible may be unfinished.

As the tomb building is now situated it presents a grey and sombre appearance, but such was not the original intention. When first constructed its walls displayed designs of glowing colour executed in faience, and the dome was set brilliantly white against the blue sky. Traces of this glazed decoration still remain, fine bold borders of blues, reds, and yellows, in keeping with the grand scale of the monument itself. Few of those who see Sher Shah's tomb at Sasaram, and I fear they are but few, as the tide of humanity has drifted away from its environment and it now stands isolated and remote, can fail to be impressed by this great architectural conception, a work of vision and idealism, as well as a building achievement of remarkable intellectual power.

But in addition to its own individual qualities, this monument, and the others of its series at Sasaram, possess no little historical significance. They mark the finale of that effort at expressive tomb building which is illustrated by many examples in the ruins of old Delhi. And it is an irony of fate that the finest instances of this architectural tradition, fostered towards its end by the dynasties of the Sayyids and Lodis, the last of the Delhi Sultanate, should be produced by a relatively alien sovereign in the distant

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region of Bihar. The Sasaram tombs, therefore, are an end in themselves, they do not lead on to further developments, but stand alone, a notable termination to a long-continued imperial style.

Let us now direct our attention to the other phase of the building art of Sher Shah Sur which emerged at Delhi when this ruler found himself seated on the throne of that Muslim capital after his provincial experiences in the Lower Provinces. One of his first objects was to found a city, of which only the citadel and some of the gates have survived. The citadel, now known as the " Purana Quila " or Old Fort is one of the most picturesque relics of the ancient capital, its rugged but effective walls contrasting with its dressed sandstone gates producing a romantic and artistic effect. The gates themselves, especially the main entrance, are fine examples of military architecture treated in an artistic manner, and no doubt the whole of the interior of the citadel enclosure was filled with palace buildings of a similar character. But, alas, all these courts and pavilions have been swept away, most probably by the Mughul emperor Humayun when he again ascended the throne, the only building of any account now remaining being a mosque, the Quila-i-Kuhna, no doubt Sher Shah Sur's Chapel Royal when he resided in his palace within the citadel he had built. Humayun spared this mosque as it was sacrosanct, and it is not only a very beautiful little building but it is a key to the continuity of the style.

I have said that in the period previous to the Suri ascendency no great structures such as mosques had been produced and that the buildings generally were of no special significacne. But one or two relatively small mosques were erected at Delhi which, although nothing very great in themselves, are pointers to the subsequent development of the style. Such are the mosque attached to the Bara Gumbad dated 1495, the Moth ki Masjid, *c.* 1505, and the Jamala

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Masjid, 1536. The Quila-i-Kuhna Masjid, Sher Shah's Chapel Royal, was built about c. 1540, and represents a crystallization of the forms and experiences seen in this series of small mosque structures. In the latest of these, the Jamala Masjid, built some fifteen years previously, we see "in the rough," so to speak, all the arrangements and details which appear in such a finished and refined shape in Sher Shah's production. Each architectural feature crudely fashioned in the Jamala mosque has been improved and amplified in order to fit it for its place in the more perfected creation of the Quila-i-Kuhna.

Sher Shah's mosque is not at all a large building ; its facade is barely 170 feet in width, but it presents a front elevation of marked beauty. In addition to the arcade of five archways of excellent proportions there is an elegant scheme of colouring, for its sandstone basis is enriched with insets of white marble and there are also patterns in variegated inlay. A number of its features are of a historically traditional character, as for instance the narrow turrets on each side of the central rectangular bay, the fluted mouldings of which are derived from the stellate flanges of the famous Qutb Minar, while a similar pair on the back wall illustrates the unmistakable taper, or slope, of the buildings of the Tughluq dynasty. Contrasting with these elements of the past is also a certain feature of the future as there is a slight drop, or flatness, in the curve of the arch towards the crown, marking the last stage before this shape of archway assumed the true four-centred Tudor arch of the Mughuls.

The design and execution of the interior of this mosque is of an equally high order, the effective arrangement of its five bays reproducing the elegance of the five arches of the facade. The technical assurance of its builders is well expressed in the various systems exploited in the structure of the roof. Here three different methods of what are technically known as the " phase of transition " in the

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angle support of the ceiling domes have been employed; in the centre is the squinch, in the next bay a form of stalactite extremely rare, and in the end compartment is a cross-rib and semi-vault of unusual design, evidently experimental. But the whole of this structure is pregnant with ideas, some of the past, others original, and still more of an experimental order, so that few buildings contain so many elements of tradition or promises of development. And above all it is supreme in the quality of its artistic treatment and intensely living in its architectonics, a composition well worthy of close and scientific study. There are other productions of the time of Sher Shah Sur, including a massive fortress which this ruler caused to be built at Rohtas near the town of Jhelum in the Punjab, in which the powerfulness of a stable stronghold and the excellent architectural taste of his period are most skilfully combined. But, as I have already indicated, the Quila-i-Kuhna in the Purana Qila contains the germs of the movement expressed in the most artistic terms.

As to the link that the above building at Delhi supplied connecting the monuments of the Sultanate with those which evolved later under the Mughuls, some idea of this has been conveyed to you. That the Quila-i-Kuhna provides the key building in the development of the style has also been indicated, but it should be realized that within the walled enclosure of the Purana Quila, in addition to the mosque, there was undoubtedly a concentration of secular buildings, palaces and courts, durbar halls and pavilions, for the accommodation of Sher Shah and his royal entourage, which have been entirely swept away. That these were buildings of notable architectural merit is proved not only by the character of the mosque, but by the exceptionally fine treatment of the gateways to the citadel, as for instance the Bara Darwaza or main entrance in the middle of the western wall, and there can be little doubt that the palaces within were of the same high standard. It was from this group of

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buildings produced under the enlightened and enthusiastic regime of Sher Shah that the Mughul emperor Akbar obtained the spirit and incentive as well as many of the distinctive qualities of his own productions, such as those displayed in the fort at Agra, and, later, in his palaces at Fatehpur Sikri. Other and more distant styles of building, the experiences of some of the provincial schools, were obviously laid under contribution to provide artistic material for these vast undertakings of the Great Mughul, but the basis of Akbar's architectural creations was undoubtedly the style maintained by the master-masons of Delhi under the intelligent patronage of Sher Shah Sur.

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Earliest Muslim Inscription from Ahmedabad

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2

THE EARLIEST MUSLIM INSCRIPTION IN INDIA FROM AHMEDABAD

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If we go back to trace the original Muslim history of Gujarat we shall see that this part of India stands out in prominence, as it was here that the Muslims first came in 15 A.H. (636 A.D.), *i.e.*, just five years after the death of the Prophet, while the conquest of Sind by the Muslims took place 78 years after their advent into Gujarat.[1]

Muzaffar Shah, the founder of the Gujarat Muslim dynasty, began to rule from 793 A.H. (1390 A.D.) after breaking away from the central power of Delhi. The second king Ahmad I of this dynasty, instead of retaining as his seat of government Patan Naharwala, the ancient capital of Gujarat kings, founded his new capital Ahmedabad in 1411 A.D. Ahmedabad is situated on the B. B. & C. I. Railway, a junction for the Rajputana Railways. It has been described by many writers as the city of stone mosques just as Nagour is generally called the city of mosques. It is a wonderful phenomenon that mosques in stone exhibit a great variety in architecture and grandeur in design, a contact of Saracenic and Jaina forms.

It is most gratifying that I have been able to trace an important early inscription in the Arabic language dated 24th Rabi I, 445 A.H. (15th July 1035 A.D.) from the mosque known as Kaach Masjid in the Tajpur quarter of Ahmedabad. It was built about twenty-five years after the death of Mahmud of Ghazna. I find this is the earliest

[1] Sayyad Abdul Haye, *Yda-i-Ayyam*, Aligarh edition, 1919, p. 6.

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inscription showing the construction of a mosque so far known all over India. The vicinity of the mosque is still full of ancient graves which lead one to the conclusion that this portion of the city contains its oldest remains. The inscription exists on the right mihrab of the central hall of the mosque on its back wall while the real inscription of this mosque from its central mihrab is missing. Further proof of this inscription being authentic is that when the present mosque was going to be erected, this inscription was discovered in its foundation and later on it was saved from being lost by fixing it in its present location. This very fact is recorded on its right and left sides in Persian language vertically instead of horizontally to harmonise with the former mode of writing of the inscription which is a distinct feature of this ancient inscription of Arabic language in Naskhi style. The whole inscription bears the following text and translation :—

هذ المسجد فی الرابع و
العشرین من ربیع الاولی
و سنه خمس و اربعین دار لعمایته

On the margins :—

این تاریخ قدیم است
یافته شد از بنیاد این مسجد

" This mosque (was built) on 24th Rabi I, during the year 445 A.H."

Note on its right and left sides in vertical order :—

" This date is an old one and found from the foundation of the present mosque."

It is really a pity that the original inscription of the present mosque placed by its founder in the central mihrab is missing, otherwise it might have been possible to get some more information throwing some light on its early history. However, it is obvious that it belongs to the later part of Mahmud Begarh's reign (862-916 A.H.)

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3

NIZAMU'D-DIN AWLIYĀ AND HĪS RELATIONS WITH HIS CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS

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The real name of Nizāmu'd-Dīn Awliyā was Muḥammad Bin Aḥmad Bin 'Alī al-Bukhārī al-Badāunī. His ancestral home was at Bukhāra whence his paternal grandfather Khwāja 'Alī and his maternal grandfather Khwāja 'Arab migrated to India and after staying for sometime at Lahore they went to Badāun and settled there. The exact date of their migration to India is not known. But from circumstantial evidence it appears that this migration took place sometime during the latter part of the 12th century of the Christian era. Shaykh Nizāmu'd-Dīn was born at Badāun in 636 A.H. (1238 A.D.). A short time after his birth, he lost his father and he was brought up under the care of his dear mother. She put him to school and he received his elementary education at Badāun under his tutor Mawlānā 'Alāu'd-Din al-Uṣūlī.

From his early childhood he showed signs of a wonderful development of mental powers. While he was a child of twelve, he could fully understand the holy Qur'ān, the Hadīs, Tafsīr and literature. After finishing his early education at Badāun he proceeded to Delhi and became a pupil of Shamsu'l-Mulk and studied the science of Tradition with him. At the age of twenty he went to Ajudhan where he became a disciple of Shaykh Farīdu'd-Dīn Mas'ūd Ganj-i-Shakar. During his stay here with his

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spiritual guide, he showed signs of spiritual development to such an extent that he earned the good will and confidence of his master and in 656 A.H.(1258 A.D.) he was nominated by the Shaykh as his Khalifā or spiritual successor. Then he returned to Delhi and used to pay occasional visits to his spiritual guide as long as he lived. After the death of Shaykh Faridu'd-Dīn in 664 A.H. (1265 A.D.), he established his monastery in a village called Ghiyāspūr adjacent to Delhi and spent the remaining part of his life there. He died at this place on Wednesday, the 17th of Rabī II, 725 A.H. (1325 A.D.).[1]

As a saint as well as a great expounder of Sufistic philosophy he is regarded as one of the greatest spiritual benefactors of mankind and his hallowed memory is revered by all people irrespective of caste or creed. He exercised a great influence on the character of the people and the morale of the society.

He was a man of very strong character, never to be tempted by material gain, inspite of the hard times he had so often to face. There were occasions when he had to go without food and suffer penury and distress, yet he would not condescend to beg any favour from the kings and nobles of the Court, but relied entirely on the will of God. His whole life was dedicated to the service of humanity and all his actions were governed by a spirit of universal love for mankind in general.

Of all the contemporary histories and other chronicles of the later period dealing with the life and work of Shaykh Nizāmu'd-Dīn Awliyā, the *Fawāid-u'l-Fuwād* presents before us the greatest amount of materials for the study of the character of the saint. It is a collection of discourses of the Shaykh made in a number of evening assemblies during the period from 707-722 A.H. (1308-22 A.D.). The compiler of these

[1] *Siyaru'l-Ārifin*, Or. 215, f. 158.

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discourses was Amīr Ḥasan Dihlavī, a famous poet and a devoted disciple of the Awliyā. They deal with matters relating to religion, mysticism and other matters connected with the life of saints and devotees. Most of these discourses are illustrated by anecdotes, largely drawn from his personal experience and reminiscences. These were carefully noted down by Amīr Ḥasan and finally published under the above title with the approval of the Shaykh. At the completion of each chapter the compiler used to show it to his spiritual guide for his opinion, and we find that on each occasion he received high approbation for his faithful and systematic reproduction of all the sayings of the Shaykh. The contents of this book explain some of the controversial points relating to certain political intrigues ascribed to him.

His monastery was thronged by people of every rank and many nobles and princes of his time became his disciples. The unusual visit of these men of rank and position to his monastery had created certain suspicions in the minds of some of the contemporary kings and it was alleged that he was in sympathy with some subversive political movements in the country.

In order to test the truth or otherwise of the Shaykh's part in the political controversies of the realm, Sultān Alau'd-Dīn sent Prince Khizr Khān with some administrative proposals for his opinion. In a letter he wrote to the Shaykh thus [2]:—"The service of the Shaykh is for the (welfare) of mankind. The worldly and spiritual wants of a person are removed through you. God the Great has bestowed on us the reins of the kingdom of the world. It is, therefore, necessary that every problem that faces the kingdom should be placed before you so that you may pronounce your opinion relating to the welfare of the state and the prudence of our measure. Accordingly, some

[2] *Akhbāru'l-Akhyār*, pp. 54-55.

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problems relating to certain affairs have been submitted to you (for your opinion). Please signify your approval of those measures which you consider to be in the best interest (of the state), so that we may put them into execution." When Prince Khizr Khān presented this letter to the Shaykh, he did not even care to go through its contents. He offered a *Fātiha* (benedictory prayer) in company of the people who had assembled there and then said, "Darweshes have nothing to do with the affairs of kings. I am a Darwesh and I have retired myself from the city. My business is to pray for the welfare of the kings and the Muslims. If after this, the king speaks anything to me with regard to this matter, I shall leave this place." When this reply was reported to the Sultān he became very much pleased and proposed to visit the Shaykh at his monastery. But the Shaykh did not agree to his proposal. When the Sultān insisted on his visit the Shaykh said, "The house of this powerless man has two doors. If the Sultān enters by one door I shall quit by the other." After receiving this message the Sultān gave no more trouble to the saint and left him to live in peace and their relationship was quite cordial.[3]

Baranī, the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūzshāhī*,[4] says, "In seeing the numerous victories and conquests and the achievement of many affairs according to his heart's desire, Sultān 'Alāu'd-Dīn used to say that every victory and conquest which the standard of Islām attained during his age and every matter relating to the welfare of the subjects of his empire and every measure of good government and conciliatory policy which was to be found in his dominion, were due to the benedictions and blessings of Shaykhu'l Islām Nizāmu'd-Dīn Ghiyāṣpūrī."

3 *Akhbāru'l-Akhyār*, 55.

4 P. 325.

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The relation of the Shaykh with Sultān Quṭbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh and Sultān Ghiyāṣu'd-Dīn Tughluq was entirely of a different nature. Both these monarchs suspected him of taking part in some of the political intrigues against them. Though they could not prove any definite charge against him, he was harassed in many ways by these kings on mere suspicion. It appears that their suspicion was aggravated by some acts of subversive nature committed in the past during the reign of their predecessors by men of the same order as that of Shaykh Nizāmu'd-Dīn Awliyā. It was at Multān and Delhi where Bahāu'd-Dīn Zakariyā and Sidī Mawlā were connected with a dastardly plot against Sultān Naṣīru'd-Dīn Qabacha and Jalālu'd-Dīn Khaljī respectively. The plot against Qabacha has been mentioned by Nizāmu'd Dīn Awliyā in one of his discourses recorded in the *Fawāidul-Fuwād*.[5] He says, "While Qabacha was at Uch and Sultān Shamsu'd-Dīn at Delhi, an enmity arose between them. Shaykh Bahāu'd-Dīn Zakariyā and the Qāzī of Multān wrote letters to Sultān Shamsu'd-Dīn. These two letters fell into the hand of Qabacha. He became enraged at this and put the Qāzī to death. Then he summoned Shaykh Bahāu'd-Dīn to his palace. The Shaykh went to his palace in his usual way without suspecting any risk and took his seat in front of Qabacha according to his ordinary habit. Qabacha then showed him the letter. The Shaykh read the letter and said, 'Yes, I wrote this letter and this is my letter.' Qabacha asked, 'Why did you write this?' The Shaykh replied, 'Whatever I wrote is truth, and I wrote the truth. (Now) do whatever you like. What can you do (without the will of God)? What are you?' When Qabacha heard these words he began to hesitate and ordered to lay the table. It was a well-known fact that the Shaykh would never dine at another's table, so Qabacha's intention

[5] F. 65a.

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was that when the Shaykh would refuse to dine with him he would take vengeance on him on that pretext. In short, when the dinner was served and every one was ready to take his food, the Shaykh recited the formula 'In the name of God, the Merciful and Clement,' laid his hand on the dish and began to eat. When Qabacha saw this, his wrath became cool and he could not utter a word. The Shaykh returned home safely." Thus he managed to get himself extricated from the charge.

Sidī Mawlā, a contemporary of Sultān Jalālu'd-Dīn Khaljī, was a saint of great repute and he exercised a great spiritual influence on the people of his age. Like Nizāmu'd-Dīn Awliyā he had a large number of disciples including princes and high officers of state. According to Baranī[6] some of his distinguished disciples, *viz.*, Qāzī Jalāl Kāshānī, the sons of the Balbanī Khāns and Maliks, Kotwāl Birinjtan and Hatiyā Pāik held several meetings at night in the house of Sidī Mawlā and conspired to raise an insurrection. It was planned that when the Sultān would proceed to attend the congregational prayer on Friday, Kotwāl Birinjtan and Hatiyā Pāik would assassinate him in the manner of the *Fidāis*. Sidī would be declared Caliph and the daughter of Sultān Naṣīru'd-Dīn would be given in marriage to him. Qāzī Jalāl would become Qāzī Khān and would receive Multān as his fief. The rest of the dominions would be divided among the Balbanī Khāns and Maliks in proportion to the strength of their number. But the whole plan of the conspirators was reported to the Sultān by one of t he well-known idlers who was a supporter of that conspiracy. The Sultān arrested all the conspirators including Sidī Mawlā. After a trial, all the conspirators were punished and Sidī Mawlā was put to death.

[6] *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūzshāhī*, pp. 210-11.

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The unfavourable attitude of Qutbu'd-Dīn Khaljī towards the Shaykh arose out of the conspiracy organised by his cousin Malik Asadu'd-Dīn Yaghrish Khān who wanted to deprive the king of his throne. The plot was, however, disclosed to the Sultān by one of the conspirators. The Sultān took immediate action. He seized Asadu'd-Dīn and put him to death with all the members of his family and the confederates. The Sultān was not satisfied with the death of the conspirators but he deputed an officer named Shādī Kātah, the chief of the Silāhdār (sword-bearers), to Gowalior with orders to put to death Khizr Khān, Shādī Khān and Shihābu'd-Dīn who had already been blinded by his previous orders. Shādī Katah executed the orders very faithfully and brought the mothers and wives of the princes to Delhi as directed by the Sultān.[7] As Khizr Khān was one of the most devoted disciples of the Shaykh, the king suspected that the Shaykh was implicated in the plot against him in order to place his disciple on the throne; and from that time he began to bear grudge against him. He tried to lower the prestige of the Shaykh in the estimation of the people, ordered his officers not to visit his monastery, and, as a sign of open hostility, he invited Shaykhu'l-Islām Ruknu'd-Dīn of Multān to Delhi, and set up another saint named Shaykh Zāda-Jām as a rival of Nizāmu'd-Dīn at Delhi. He went so far as to declare a reward of one thousand *tankas* to any man who would bring him the head of the Awliyā. Baranī has given the following account of this sad episode :—[8]

" He (Sultān Quṭbu'd-Dīn) began to speak ill of Shaykh Nizāmu'd-Dīn and openly declared his hostility towards him. The Maliks of the palace were forbidden to visit the Shaykh at Ghiyāspūr. And often in his state of intoxication he used to make the impudent statement that whoever would

7 *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūzshāhī*, p. 393.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 326.

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bring the head of Nizāmu'd-Din would be rewarded with a thousand gold *tanka* (تنکهٔ زر). One day Sultān Quṭbu'd-Dīn met Shaykh Nizāmu'd-Dīn at the hovel of Shaykh Ziyāu'd-Din Rūmī . . . but he showed no consideration to the dignity of the Shaykh, did not respond to his salute and took no notice of him. With the purpose of creating a rival he brought Shaykh Zāda-Jām, an enemy of the Shaykh, and made him a favourite of the Court. (Then) he summoned Shaykhu'l-Islām Ruknu'd-Dīn from Multān to the city (of Delhi)."

According to *Siyaru'l-'Arifīn*,[9] a biography of saints, when the persecution of the Awliyā by the Sultān became intolerable, he sent his disciple Amīr Hasan Dihlavi to Shaykh Ziyāu'd-Dīn Rūmī, the spiritual director of Sultān Quṭbu'd-Dīn, with a message asking him to request the Sultān not to harass the Awliyā any further. But Hasan could not deliver the message to him as Shaykh Rūmī was confined to bed with an attack of colic. He died of this illness a few days after the arrival of Hasan, and his death put an end to any hope which Nizāmu'd-Dīn had of his intercession. The Sultān was obdurate in his determination to humiliate the Awliyā and he ordered him to attend the Court in person and make obeisance at the beginning of every month. The Shaykh refused to comply with this order and the Sultān intended to use this refusal as a pretext for wreaking vengeance upon him. The disciples of the Shaykh, being afraid of the wrath of the king, pressed him to obey the royal orders. But he did not agree to their request and said to one of them named 'Izu'd-Din 'Alī Shāh thus, " You stay in peace. Last night I dreamt that a horned bull attempted to kill me. I caught hold of both his horns and threw him down on the ground and he was killed. By the will of God the Great, the Sultān will not

[9] Or. 215, f. 142.

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be triumphant over me.'' [10] This prediction of the Shaykh came out to be true. Before the day fixed for his attendance at the Court, the Sultān was murdered by the Barwār rebels and he was thus saved from the impending humiliation.

After the murder of Quṭbu'd-Dīn when Khusraw Khān usurped the throne, he distributed gold to different saints in order to secure their moral support. Some of them accepted his gifts and some refused. It is said that a sum of five hundred thousand *tankas* were given to Shaykh Nizāmu'd-Dīn. The Shaykh accepted the money and distributed the whole amount among the poor and deserving persons.[11]

When Sultān Ghiyāsu'd-Din Tughluq had overpowered Khusraw Khān and ascended the throne, he wanted to recover all the money distributed by the usurper. All the Shaykhs who had retained the money in safe custody to return it to its lawful owner, complied with the demand of the Sultān. But Shaykh Nizāmu'd-Dīn, who had already spent the whole amount on the poor, could not do so. He replied, " It was public property which had gone to the deserving ones. I have not spent a single farthing of it on my account.''[12] The question may be raised why the saint, being a man of strong moral character and always professing to be free from worldly temptation, accepted the gift of Khusraw Khān. The principle on which he acted on such occasions may be gathered from his views on " Income and Expenditure " expressed in some of his discourses recorded in *Fawāidu'l-Fūād*.[13] The compiler of this book says that on the 29th of Zilhajj, 708 A. H., while discussing on the subject " Income and Expenditure " a question was raised about the

[10] *Maṭlūbu't-Tālibīn*, I.O.L., f. 54a.
[11] *Siyāru'l-'Ārifīn*, Or. 215. f. 154a.
[12] *Ibid.*
[13] Or. 1806, f. 23.

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acceptance of money by some of the saints. The saint remarked, "The acceptance of money and expenditure is governed by some conditions. The receiver ought to receive it in a lawful way and spend it on the deserving ones . . . A man should not beg anything from anybody; neither should he express a desire nor think in his mind that so-and-so would give him a certain thing. But if a thing is offered to him without being asked and hoped for, then it is lawful for him. A certain great man has said that he never asked for a thing nor did he ever entertain any hope of receiving anything from any person, but whoever would voluntarily offer him a thing he would accept it even if the donor was a Satan."

The incident related above had brought about a strained relationship between Sultān Ghiyāsu'd-Dīn Tughluq and Shaykh Nizāmu'd-Dīn. The Sultān, at the instigation of some of his enemies, brought a charge of heresy against him for performing *Samā'* or ecstatic dance accompanied by music, which is against the canon of orthodoxy. He was then summoned before an assembly of the doctors of divinity and was asked to explain his conduct. After some discussions, the Sultān was convinced of the legality of *Samā'* and he was allowed to go free.[14] The *Fawāid-u'l-Fūād*[15] also refers to this accusation made by the Shaykh's enemies for performing *Samā'* in the discourse recorded on the 19th of Zilhajja, 720 A.H., the year when Ghiyās-u'd-Dīn Tughluq ascended the throne.

Though the Sultān failed to take any drastic action against the Shaykh, he did not forgive him for his inability to return the money received from Khusraw Khān to the public treasury. This strained feeling grew more tense when Prince Muḥammad Jawna became a great admirer and

14 *Siyaru'l-Awliyā*, Or. 1746, ff. 132-33.
15 Or. 1806, f. 125a.

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disciple of the Shaykh. It is narrated by Ibn-Baṭuṭa how on one occasion the Shaykh in a state of ecstacy said to the Prince, " We give you the kingdom."[16] These reports of the prince's association with the Shaykh must have been carried to the Sultān and inflamed his wrath. While the Sultān was returning from his Bengal expedition, he issued an order asking the Shaykh to quit Delhi before his entry into the capital. The Shaykh is said to have replied to this message, '*Hanūz Dilhī dūr ast*," *i.e.*, Delhi is still far off.[17] It so happened that the Sultān was killed by the collapse of a new pavilion built for his reception at Afghānpūr near Tughluqābād, and he could not return to the capital.[18] The death of the Sultān is popularly ascribed to the displeasure of the saint and his reply on this occasion is still used as a proverb in India.

Some of the historians suspect that the fall of the pavilion was designed by Muḥmmad Tughluq. Badāunī and Nizāmu'd-Dīn accuse Baranī for the suppression of this fact which he did not mention for fear of Fīrūz-Shah's displeasure. Ibn Baṭuṭa[19] states on the authority of an eye witness, Shaykh Ruknu'd-Dīn, that the pavilion was constructed with materials of timber by Aḥmad Ayāz, the Inspector of Buildings, in such a way that it would collapse at any moment if elephants were allowed to trod on one of its sides. The whole reception was arranged by the Prince and as soon as the elephants were brought for display, the entire building fell on the Sultān and thus compassed his death. This account of Ibn Baṭuṭa corroborates the suspicions of Badāunī and Nizām. Besides this, we find that Ayāz was promoted from the position of an Inspector of Buildings to that of a minister as soon as Prince Muḥammad became king.

16 Vol. II, p. 39.
17 *Arabic History of Gujarat*, p. 862.
18 *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūzshāhī*, p. 452.
19 Vol. II, pp. 39-40.

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Prof. Habib in his *Hazrat Amir Khusrau of Delhi*[20] is inclined to disbelieve the story of the strained relationship between the Shaykh and the Sultān. He calls it "a latter day fabrication." But from the facts and narratives of Ibn Baṭuṭa and others it appears that there were sufficient reasons for the existence of such a relationship between them. But it does not show that the Shaykh had any hand in the conspiracy against the Sultān. W. H. Sleeman in his *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*[21] holds that the death of the Sultān was brought about by Ulugh Khān at the instance of the saint through some of his devoted disciples. But there is no historical evidence either contemporary or late to corroborate this view of the writer. Nizāmu'd-Dīn was a man of an entirely different character, far above the average, and he is above all suspicion. He cannot be held responsible for any subversive political movement of the princes and nobles who accidentally happened to become his disciples for their spiritual welfare.

[20] Pp. 41-42.
[21] II, p. 145.

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4

INDIA AS DESCRIBED BY AN UNKNOWN EARLY ARAB GEOGRAPHER OF THE TENTH CENTURY

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Sir H. M. Elliot and Prof. Dowson in their *History of India*, Vol. I, take notice of the early Arab Geographers of India as known to them. They begin with *Salsilatut Tawarikh* of the merchant Sulaiman (851 A.D.) with additions by Abu Zaidul Hasan of Sīraf (916 A.D.). The next notice is that of *Kitabul Masalik wal Mamalik* of Ibn Khurdadha (912 A.D.). Then follows the account *Murujul Zahab* of Al Mas'udi (945 A.D.). The fourth is the *Kitab-ul Akalim* of Al Istakhari (951 A.D.). After this comes *Kitabul Masalik wal Mamalik* of Ibn Haukal (976 A.D.). We have then a long gap till we come to the famous encyclopædic account of India by Al Bīrunī (1030 A.D.).

Our Geographer fills up that gap. He compiled his book named *Hudud ul Alam* in 982-83 A.D. This is not mentioned by the historians Elliot and Dowson. While the other accounts mentioned above were written in Arabic, this one was written in Persian. Tomansky discovered a manuscript of the book dated 656 A.H. The Russian Orientalist Barthold made a photographic copy of it and published it at Leningrad in 1930 with an Introduction. The Geographer does not mention his name. The book is dedicated to Muhammad Ibn Ahmad (Al Hars

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or Haras) who according to the said Doctor may have been one of the princes of Gozkon (Persia).

The present paper gives a translation of the portion relating to India and Sind in it. It contains a description of 66 towns of India and 23 towns of Sind, thus making up a total 99 in all. This is the largest number of the towns in India and Sind described by any Arab Geographer known so far. Besides supplying geographical information, the author tells us some interesting things about the political and social condition of India in the the 10th century, before the invasions of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznī, and hence its special importance for us. For instance, modern Lahore is mentioned by its ancient name as Lohávar by Al Bīrunī. The residents of Lahore, however, pronounce it as Luhor or Lahor (لاہور). Our Geographer, it is interesting to note, mentions it as Luhur. This is the earliest mention of Lahore in this particular way. At the time of the author, as he mentions, there were no Muhammadans there at all. From Kabul and Kandahar to Cape Comorin, India is depicted as full of rich temples with gold and brazen images which are prayed to by thousands of pilgrims and worshippers. At both the places mentioned above there were Brahmins as well as Buddhist monks. Among the birds and animals mentioned are horses, elephants, camels, cows, goats, rhinoceroses, peacocks, parrots (totak) and sariks (mod. maina); the last two are not translated in Persian but given in vernacular form. For the purposes of war, elephants are mentioned as of immense importance. He makes a particular mention of the fact that wine was forbidden throughout India. People were of fair as well as swarthy colour. Dancing girls appeared before the images in the temples with musical instruments. They have been noted in Southern India and Kalidāsa makes a mention of them in Central India, but this Geographer notices them in North-Western India also. He mentions a river which protected men

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from all sorts of troubles if they took a bath in it. This river perhaps is the Ganges. Kings are mentioned as just and people as brave and warlike. At some places they let the hair grow while at others they were clean shaven. Coins of different weights and denominations are enumerated as current in Kanauj. Cotton was grown in India. Fine muslin, velvet and embroidered cloths are mentioned. In Southern India white shell (Saped Muhra), which is called Sankh, was taken out of the sea and used for blowing by mouth as a musical instrument, and ivory was a thing used for making presents by the kings. Among the exports of India amber, musk, aloes, sticks for spear, gems, diamonds, pearls, sandalwood and shoes from Kathiawar find a special mention. People at some places were fond of fashionable dress also.

TRANSLATION

Section regarding the territory of India and its cities from "Hudud-ul-Alam"

To the east of it lies the territory of China and Tibet; to the South is the great ocean; to the West the Rud-i-Mehran;[1] to the East the boundary of Shiknan and Khan. India is well-populated and a place full of things of luxury, and abounds in cities, mountains, deserts, seas and sand and there are many things giving sweet scents which are produced there like musk, aloes, amber, camphor, and pearls of various varieties, including big varieties, diamonds, corals and plenty and innumerable kinds of medicinal herbs. Inside it there are many jungles full of various kinds of animals, like elephant, rhinoceros, peacock, karkai (?), parrots, sarik and others of the same sort. This is the biggest territory under the northern populated area.

[1] This is that port of Sind which takes a turn towards Sind.

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Inside the whole of India wine is unlawful, while fornication is lawful and all the people are idolators.

1. *Qamrun.*[2] Qamrun is a country on the eastern side of India and the king of that place is called Qamrun. It abounds in rhinoceros and there are mines of gold and Sambādā (?) and wet variety of aloes grows there.

2. *Samph.* This is a big city and it is included in the kingdom Qamrun and there Samphi (pertaining to Samph) aloes grows.

3. *Mandal.* It is a small city in the kingdom of Qamrun and from there comes the Mandali aloes (of Mandal).

4. *Fansur.* It is a big city and place of merchants and from here camphor comes and it is a port. The king of Fansur is known as *Sitoha.* It is a separate kingdom and under Fansur there are ten kings all from the hands of *Sitoha.*

5. *Qimar.* It is a big city and its king is the most just of all the kings of India and in the whole of India fornication is lawful but not in Qimar. Ivory and Qimari Aloes are used for presents which the king of this place makes.

6. *Hadanjira* is a city of the markets one of which is Farsang (two miles long). It is under the king *Sitoha.* It is a prosperous city and full of luxurious things.

7-11. *Namiyas, Harkand, Aurshin, Samandar, Indrus.* They are 5 cities situated on the ocean and are under the king *Dahum* and *Dahum* does not regard anybody greater than himself. He has an army of 300,000 men and from nowhere is got the wet variety of aloes except the kingdoms of *Qamrun* and *Dahum.* Here cotton of good variety is produced which grows on a plant which produces fruit for several years.

[2] Like Al Bīrunī, the geographer begins from east and goes to south, and west and last he takes up north. Qamrun is Kamrup or Assam.

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12. *Wamal.* This is the territory from which *Saped Nohra*[3] is got and it is blown like a musical instrument and it is called Sanbek. This territory abounds in elephants.

13. *Tusul.* It is a big territory connected with China and between them there is a mountain and the people are of swarthy colour and they put on cotton clothes.

14. *Musa.* It is a territory connected with China and Tusul and it has strong forts and foundations and it produces much musk.

15. *Naubin.* It is the boundary of the kingdom of Dahum. Food and corn of Sarandip (Ceylon) is supplied from here. Aurshfin, with its territory, runs like an island into the sea. Its climate is bad. This sea is called Bahr-ul-Ahnāb. The ruler of this place is a woman named Ratiya (or Watiya) and inside it there are powerful and strong elephants, the like of which are nowhere found in India, and from there Bulbul (?) and Spear is produced.

16. *Manik.*[4] It is the territory connected with China and Musa and these are at war with the Chinese who fare better.

17. *Mili.* They are four cities on the sea coast and all the four cities are called *Mili* and they are under the rule of Bilaharā and there sticks for spears and Bulbul (?) is much produced.

18-21. *Saimur, Sindan Sobara, Khambaya.* These are four cities on the sea-coast and there are settled the Musalmans and the Hindus with a Jama Masjid and a temple and the people of the place grow hair and always put on fashionable lower garments and its climate is hot and its king is from Balahra, and from this Khizran (?) and sticks of spear and Bulbul (?) and walnut in great quantities are got. From

[3] It should be *Sankh.*

[4] The Arab Geographer took India to be connected with China on the east. These countries, it seems, belong to Indo-China.

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Khambaya come the shoes which are supplied to the whole world.

22. *Famhal* or *Qamhal*. It is a city with great things of luxury and it is in the kingdom of Balahra.

23. *Babi*. It is a city with things of luxury and the king of that country is a Mussalman and Omar bin Abdul Aziz who advanced and captured Mansura was from this city.

24. *Qandhar*. [5] It is a big city and it has a great number of images of gold and silver and it is a place of Monks and Brahmins (Buddhist Sraman and Brahman) and it is a city of luxuries and has a separate territory.

25. *Hasinakra*. It is a place of luxuries and has a big territory.

26. *Bajona*. It is a town on the borders of desert.

27. *Rabnik*. It is a populous city where clothes of Shara (valuable woollen cloth) are produced.

28. *Fama*. It is a small city from where a large quantity of pearls comes.

29. *Konsar*. It is a small city with many temples in it.

30. *Nonun*. It is a city and it has more than 300,000 houses with many houses of courtezans.

31. *Baksan*. It is a populous town and here people shave their beard and inside there are many images golden and brazen. It is a place of hermits and monks of India and Brahmins, and they say we are of the line of Abraham.

32. *Balhari* is a big city and populous and a place of traders from India, Khurasan and Omaq (Oman ?) and it produces much musk and within the whole of this is the rule of Bilahra and after this comes the king of Kanauj.

33. *Khalhin* is a small populous city and is famous for clothes, velvet and Shara and also for medicinal herbs.

5 Before the 11th century Qandāhār and Afghanistān were regarded as parts of India and they are included here.

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34. *Barhara*. It is a big city full of luxurious things.

35. *Kannauj*. It is a big city and capital of the Rai of Kannauj and many of the kings of India owe their allegiance to him and he does not consider anybody to be greater than himself and they say that he has 150,000 horsemen and 800 elephants which he can bring to the battlefield.

36-39. *Balri, Qalri, Phari, Zor*. These four cities are from Sind but towards the Rud-i-Mehran and it is a place of luxuries and here there is no seat (throne) and commodities from the whole of India come here and it has strength of two lines (of forts) and it is a wet place.

40. *Basmad*. It is a small city of India and with many luxuries.

41. *Multan*. It is a big city of India and inside it there is a very big image and people go to this place on pilgrimage for paying homage and the name of the image is Multan and it is a strong place and Bafandar (?) and the Sultān of this place is Quraish from the descendants of Sama and has a seat about ½ mile and he reads the Khutba for Mughri.

42. *Jandrud* is a small city near Multan.

43. *Jabarsari* is a small populous city with luxuries and there the date-palm of India and Khayar Shambar (?) grows.

44. *Nahranj* has been a big city but now it is in ruins and of it a small place is left.

45, *Luhor* (mod. Lahore) is a city with great territory and its king is under the Amir of Multan and inside it are many markets and houses and in it the trees of almond, walnut and chilghoza abound and it has no Mussalmans at all.

46. *Ramiyan*. It is a city on a big mound and inside there are some Mussalmans and they are called Salhari while all others are idolators and there the slaves of India,

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and other mercantile commodities come for disposal, and the Sultān of that place is from the tribe of Amir of Multan and in this city there is a temple in which there is an image brazen but carved with gold and it is held in high respect and there are thirty women who every day go round the image with small drums and dancing.

47. *Jalhandar* is a city situated on a hill and with cold climate and there velvet and other sorts of cloths embroidered and unembroidered are manufactured and there is a distance of 5 days' journey from Ramiyan to Jalhandar and on the whole road there are the trees of Halela, Balela and Amla (Indian *Triphala*) which are taken to the whole world from this city and this city is within the boundary of Kannauj.

48. *Salabur* is a big city with markets and traders and commodities and it is under the rule of the king of Kannauj and it has a variety of coins (Dirhām) that the exchanges go on with them, like Barada, Nakhwar, Shabani, Kabhemra, Kemwan, and Kore (these are the names of coins) and each has got a different weight and there are a great number of temples and the wise men of it are Brahmans and it is rich in sugar and Baniz (?) and honey, walnuts, cows, goats and camels.

49. *Barmehyun.* It is a city like an inn and every year for four days the market is very brisk and Kannauj is near from it and it is the boundary of the Rai and inside it there is a river of which it is said that no trouble reaches him who washes himself with its water, and at the time any elder of that place dies, all the youngers who are under him kill themselves. The king of that place sits on a throne wherever he goes and thirty men carry it up to the place to which the king wishes and between the city and Tibbet there is a distance of 5 days' journey across the valleys very difficult to pass.

50. *Hetal* is a territory near Kannuaj and between them there is a high mountain and its territory is small but its

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people are very brave and warlike and it has a petty king and there is enmity between him and the Rai of Kannauj.

51. *Taisal.* Its territory is connected with Hetal and between them there is a mountain very difficult to pass. The people tie the burdens to their backs and then climb up. It is a place with very few luxurious things.

52. *Baital.* Its territory is connected with Taisal and it is a place of merchants of the world and famous for musk.

53. *Taki* is a territory with populous cities and with luxuries and people are swarthy as well as fair.

54. *Salukbin.* It is a territory with many commodities and its king is called Najaya and takes wives from the tribe of Balahra and from here much sandal is got.

55. *Laharz.* It is a territory known by the name of the king. It is famous for fairness and justice and it is said that the king can bring 100,000 men to the battlefield and of the kings of the above three places he is the bravest and from this place Aloes and Sandal come.

56. *Kurdez* is a city on the boundary of Ghazni and India on the peak of mound and it has a strong fort and has 3 lines and the people of that place are Khawarij.

57. *Sol* is a town situated on a mountain full of luxurious things and inside it there are all Afghans and from it up to Hasinan is the way between the mountains and between them 72 small rivers have to be crossed and it is a place full of danger.

58. *Banihar.* It is a place and the king of that place seems to be a Mussalman and he has many wives from the Mussalmans, Afghans and Hindus more than thirty, and other people are image-worshippers and inside there are three images which are very huge.

59. *Hevan* is a city situated on the peak of a mountain and from it a river flows in the valley and it is used for cultivation.

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60-61. *Jilwat* and *Bilwat* are two cities on the left and right of the road on the peaks of two mountains and there is a river between them and there are many temples in them and there sugarcane is grown. They are rich in cows and goats.

62. *Bairoza* is a city under the boundary of Multan and India and all the commodities of India come there and it has many temples.

63. *Lamghan.* It is a city on the borders of Rod and it is a place for traders and it has many temples.

64. *Dainur* is a city situated on the limits of Rod and it is a place for traders from the whole of Khurasan and inside it there are many temples and in both the cities the traders are Mussalmans who are permanent residents and both the cities are populous and full of luxuries.

65. *Waihind.* It is a big city and the king of that place is *Jaipal* and this *Jaipal* is under the Rai of Kannauj and inside there are some Mussalmans and much of the mercantitle commodity comes to this territory, like musk, pearls and valuable cloths.

66. *Qashmir.* [6] It is a big city and full of luxuries and with many traders and the king of that country is the Rai of Kannauj and inside it there are many temples and there many Hindus go for pilgrimage.

There is a separate section about Sind. In the introduction is given a general description defining boundaries, saying that it is connected with Khurasan. The climate is hot and inside there is a desert and mountains and the people are swarthy in colour with soft bodies but are laborious and there are many Mussalmans there, and there are many traders there and the articles of trade are leather, shoes, date palms, Paniz (?) and red Ibang (?). Then there follows a short

[6] This is not the country of Kashmir. This is Jaikababad or little Kashmir.

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description of twenty-three cities. For the sake of brevity only names are given here.

1. *Mansura*. 2. *Manjabri*. 3. *Sadusan*. 4. *Nauroz*. 5. *Maswahi*. 6. *Debul*. 7. *Faniki*. 8. *Armasal*. 9. *Tez*. 10. Kez. 11. *Koshak*. 12. *Deh*. 13. *Durk Askaf*. 14. *Rasak*. 15. *Mushki*. 16. *Bajbur*. 17. *Bahalbara*. 18. *Mahali*. 19. *Mandan*. 20. *Kejkanan*. 21. *Shora*. 22. *Abal*. 23. *Qandabil*.

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5

SOME HINDU ELEMENTS IN MUSLIM COINAGE OF INDIA

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Numismatics is a very important source of information for the history of a country, and incidentally it brings before us the contemporary condition of a society, its religious and economic phases. A close study of the coins of a period reveals many elements which are necessary for a proper evaluation of the stage of culture reached by a people at a particular time. But on occasions scholars are misled, as they fail to visualise the social condition in the ages long past. In Indian history, an attempt was made to draw a definite conclusion as regards the religious belief of Kanishka the Kushana, from the coins issued by him. As he issued coins with the figures and names of different gods and goddesses, Hindu, Iranian, Buddhist and Greek, it was inferred that he paid equal reverence to all these deities and, consequently, he was dubbed an eclectic. But this conclusion cannot be accepted in its entirety. Kanishka might have been very tolerant in his religious views, but this is not proved from his coins ; and a definite conclusion can be arrived at only when we can secure more relevent pieces of evidence about his religious belief. The more reasonable conclusion would be to ascribe to the Kushana Emperor a generous attitude towards his subjects, to placate and please them by taking to coin devices that would appeal to their religious sentiments, and thus make foreign

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domination more acceptable to them. The coins bore the figures of particular gods and goddesses in those localities where the people happened to be their votaries. As the Kushana Empire was very extensive and included territories outside India, it is not strange that there is a medley of foreign gods and goddesses in the coins of Kanishka. It is therefore evident that we have correct information about the religious condition of the Kushana Empire under Kanishka from his coins, though our interpretation of the facts observed may, on occasions, go wrong. A more careful study is therefore needed, and full importance must be given to the unknown factors that played a part in days gone by in the coinage of a period so remote from us.

India had been invaded by the Greeks, the Sakas, the Pahlavas and the Kushanas in the past, and they had modified the coinage of Northern India perceptibly. But the Muslim invasion brought about a revolution in the coinage of the country, and its influence was felt throughout the land, with the exception of the extreme South. The Muslim coinage was "closely bound up with the history and traditions of their religion."[1] But the earlier rulers had to retain certain Hindu elements in their coinage. It does not prove that they had any liking for the indigenous system; it was only a compromise with local sentiment, necessitated by the exigencies of administration. A violent break with the past would have landed them in economic difficulties, and inspite of their religious fervour and bigotry, they had to adopt features which were antagonistic to Islāmic teaching. Islām forbids the engraving of images, but the Bull and Horseman Type of the Rajput States had to be retained. The use of Nāgrī script and the translation of the Kalimā in Sanskrit were meant to make the new issues acceptable to the children of the soil. But gradually, as the people were acclimatised to

[1] C. J. Brown, *The Coins of India*, 1922 (The Heritage of India Series), p. 67.

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the newer system, the local features were given up; and the coins had a greater affinity to the issues of the Muslim dynasties outside India. "With some notable exceptions pictorial devices cease to appear on Indian coins. Both obverse and reverse are henceforth entirely devoted to the inscription, setting forth the King's name and titles as well as the date in the Hijri era and place of striking or mint now making their first appearance on Indian money."[2] Another new feature was the Kalimā—the Muslim Declaration of Faith—in the legends, and this practice owes its origin to the early Califs of Syria in the eighth century. It was however, under the Mughuls that the currency "attained a position of predominating importance" and came to be imitated even by independent communities.

It is evident that the Muslim rulers of India were constrained to use the Hindu weight system, types, script symbols, etc., in their coins for a long time; these reappear on occasions even in later times. The only reason for this practice is to be found in the dictates of economic necessity and not in religious toleration. Under some of the later Kings, e.g., Jahangīr, Haidar Ali and others, when the fervour of the new faith was not burning so strong, there appeared features which were clearly non-Islāmic; and even some of the practices which are violently assailed as opposed to Islāmic faith in this 20th century A.D., which is deemed to be an age of great toleration and culture, were complacently followed by the rulers of old, e.g., Śrī before their names, the use of Swastika, Triśula and other symbols which are deemed auspicious by the Hindus. We shall take up the Hindu elements one after another, and point out the gradual transformation and the adoption of the new system practically over the whole country, the extreme South excepted, as it did not come under the influence of the foreign invaders.

[2] Brown, *The Coins of India*, p. 67.

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I. THE WEIGHT SYSTEM.—The Bull and Horseman Type of coins, which are mentioned as Dilliwāls or "Delhi Coinage" by the Muslim historians, are based on the age-old weight system of the Purāṇa coins.[3] The oldest coins of India had 2 weight-systems for the 2 metals—silver and copper; the Purāṇas or Dharaṇas of silver had a weight of 32 ratis, approximately 58 grains, and the copper coins, the Kārshāpaṇas, weighed 80 ratis or 146 grains and all these coins were of punch-marked variety. For business transactions these coins and their sub-multiples were used, as we find clearly laid down in Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*.[4] The Rajput dynasties adopted the ancient weight system of 32 ratis and the Muslim conquerors at first adhered to this weight system. Surely later on they set up a new standard of weight for their coins, but it required nearly five centuries before the older system was completely[5] replaced. The paucity of silver in the medieval period compelled the Rajput dynasties to issue coins in billon, "a mixture of silver and copper in varying proportions." A homogeneous alloy of these two metals is possible only in the ratio of 71·89 silver to 28·11 of copper.[6] But this was not surely known in the period. So the composition ranged "from fairly good silver to nearly pure copper."[7] The coming of the Muslims synchronised with the "reappearance of silver in the currency," due to the opening up "of commercial relations with Central Asia." Billon continued from the time of Iltutmish downwards, for the token coins. The debasement gradually became so great at last, that the billon coins were replaced by copper ones, as a circulating medium.

[3] V. A Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Part II, p. 252.
[4] Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*, translated by R. Shamasastry, 1915, p. 98.
[5] C. J. Brown, *The Coins of India*, p. 68.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 68, Footnote 1.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 68.

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II. TYPES.

(*i*) *The Bull Type.*—Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznī was the first Muslim conqueror of the Punjab. He led a number of expeditions between the years 1001 and 1026 A.D. He annexed the Punjab to his dominions in the year 1021. The latter rulers of this dynasty were driven out of Ghaznī by the Chieftains of Ghor, and they made Lahore their capital till 1051. These princes issued small billon coins with the Rajput Bull on the obverse, and Arabic legend in Cufic script on the other side.

(*ii*) *The Lakṣhmi Type.*—Muhammad bin Sām of Ghor deposed Khusrau Malik, the last of the Ghaznawaid rulers of Lahore, in 1187, and after the battle of Tarain in 1192 founded the Muhammadan dynasty which may be actually said to begin with his successor Qutbuddīn Aibek. Muhammad bin Sām issued a series of gold coins with the goddess Lakshmī on the obverse, undoubtedly in imitation of the coins issued by the Kings of Kanouj.

(*iii*) *The Bull and Horseman Type.*—The coins which were in ordinary use during the early period of Muslim rule are known as "Dilliwāls," Delhi being fixed as the capital by Qutbuddīn. The coins were "usually of billon."[8] These had the Chauhān Horseman Type on the obverse and the humped Bull with the ruler's name in Nāgrī on the reverse, and these circulated till the reign of 'Alāuddīn Masūd (1241-1246 A.D.). The name of Chahaḍa Deva of Nārwar is associated with that of Iltutmish on some of the coins of this class. According to H. N. Wright this is an example of the tendency of the Muslim Sultāns, "after acquiring Hindu territory, to assimilate the local coinage with very slight modifications."[9]

[8] V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, p. 257.

[9] H. N. Wright, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. II, Muhammadan Series, 1907, p. 7.

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(*iv*) *The Portrait Type.*—Iltutmīsh (1211-1236) issued various kinds of silver *tankahs* of which the earliest issue had on the obverse "a portrait of the King on horseback," [10] to left with upraised mace in right hand. The figure is after "the Ghor Model and is dated A.H. 608." [11]

(*v*) *The Horseman Type*—obverse with the name of the Sultān and his titles on the reverse—was continued up to the time of Nāṣiruddīn Maḥmūd, though a single specimen is known to date from the time of Balban.[12] Evidently this type was a modification of the prevalent type, retaining only the Horseman, and substituting the name and the titles of the Sultān for the Bull. Balban was the first to give up the "Hindu device of the Chauhan horseman on his billon coins," but for the convenience of his subjects that space was occupied by his name in Nāgrī character.[13]

Gradually the Hindu features were obliterated from the coins and the representations of animals and human figures ceased completely. The coins were embellished with inscriptions only, on both the sides. As the people became more conversant with the purely Muslim coinage, there was no necessity now for imitating the pre-Muslim types and the inclusion of the names of the rulers in Nāgrī in the legends. The practice of representing animals and human beings on coins was surely against the orthodox dictates of Islām, but the Sultāns were constrained to adopt the current usage for the sake of convenience and gradually discarded these features when they found themselves strong enough to do so. Under Akbar and Jahangīr, Islāmic orthodoxy waned to a great extent, and they beautified their coins with fine representations of animals, human beings and zodiacal figures. Akbar was a great innovator undoubtedly.

[10] C. J. Brown, *The Coins of India*, p. 70.

[11] H. N. Wright, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. II, p. 6.

[12] C. J. Brown, *The Coins of India*, p. 72, Footnote 1.

[13] H. N. Wright, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. II, p. 1.

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(vi) The Hawk Type.—Akbar in order to commemorate the conquest of Asirgarh issued the beautiful Muhars with Hawk to right device and ornaments in field, in the forty-fifth year of his reign; and these were struck in the mint of Asirgarh.[14]

(vii) From the Agra mint were issued in the fiftieth year of his reign the *Ilāhi Muhar* with the figure of a Duck to right and ornaments in field.[15] Both the types are very fine in execution.

(viii) The unique coins of Akbar are the *mintless half muhars* bearing the figures of "Rāma and Sitā."[16] Lane-Poole gives a full description of a specimen in the British Museum.[17] In the obverse within the dotted circle, there are two figures : "(1) a man, wearing a crown of three cusps, and carrying a sheaf of arrows and a stretched bow, followed by (2) a woman who draws back her long veil from her face."

The coins with the portraits of Akbar and Jahangīr were all issued in the reign of the latter. It is surely very rare to come across such types in Muslim coinage. But we have a similar type in the reign of Sultān Shamsu-d-dīn Iltutmish. "Several specimens in two types of this rare issue are known."[18] Outside India also, we meet with such types, though very rarely, and this is but natural, as the practice is not countenanced by Islām.[19]

[14] S. Lane-Poole, *The Coins of the Moghul Emperors of Hindusthan in the British Museum*, 1892, Pl. V, No. 166.

[15] *Ibid.*, No. 173.

[16] C. J. Brown, *The Coins of India*, p. 95.

[17] S. Lane-Poole, *The Coins of the Moghul Emperors of Hindusthan in the British Museum*, No. 172.

[18] S. H. Hodivala, *Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics*, 1923, p. 156.

[19] "The Mintages of the 'Ayūbite Khalifa, the Saljūqides of Rūm, the Atābegs of Mosul, the Urtukides of Amīd (Diarbikr) and Marīdīn frequently display crowned figures sitting on horseback or cross-legged on thrones."—Hodivala, *Mughal Numismatics*, p. 156.

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(*ix*) *The Portrait Muhar of Akbar*.—It was issued in the first year of the reign of Jahangir; on the obverse it has the full-faced portrait of Akbar and the legend *Allahu Akbar*,[20] on the reverse, a representation of the sun covering the whole face.

(*x*) *The Portrait Type of Jahangīr and the so-called Bacchanalian Type*.—These Muhars are very beautiful specimens of Mughul coins.[21] On the obverse the portrait bust of Jahangīr radiates, and wearing a turban, and on the reverse a lion surmounted by the setting sun. The Bacchanalian Type issued from Ajmer shows the Emperor seated cross-legged on the throne with a goblet in his right hand.[22] Mr. Hodivala in his book on Mughul Numismatics has clearly shown that these were not properly coins. They were "jewels or souvenirs presented by the Emperor to his most faithful or confidential followers and were suspended from the neck or pinned to the head-dress just as medals or other decorations are worn in our own days.'[23] The practice, however, shows that the Islāmic injunction not to have any representations of animate beings had greatly slackened and this will be evident also from the Zodiacal coins issued by the same Emperor. In the 13th year of his reign "appeared the famous Zodic coins, on which the pictorial representations of the signs of the Zodiac were substituted for the names of the months on the reverse."[24] These beautiful coins are very rare and are eagerly sought after by Numismatists.

With the assertion of orthodoxy under the later Emperors such coins were discontinued, and it has been very truly remarked that the coins of Aurangzeb (1658—1707) and

[20] Hodivala, *Mughal Numismatics*, p. 153.

[21] S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum, Mughal Emperors*, Pl. IX, Nos. 12-14.

[22] *Ibid.*, Nos. 17-19, Pl. IX.

[23] Hodivala, *Mughal Numismatics*, p. 149.

[24] C. J. Brown, *The Coins of India*, p. 95; S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum, Mughal Emperors*, Pl. X.

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his successors are, with very few exceptions, monotonous in the extreme. [25] A Portrait Medal of Shāh Alam II was recently brought to notice by Mr. S. H. Hodivala. [26] It was struck in 1771 ; and thus Shāh Alam II seems to be the only other Timurid Emperor of Hindusthan who defied the " law and custom of Islam " and " dared to stamp his own image either on gold or silver." [27] It was not a coin but was meant to commemorate his entrance to Delhi as Emperor.

(*xi*) *The Elephant Type of Tipu.*—One of the Muslim rulers of the 18th century A.D. who has been compared to Muḥammad bin Tughluq for innovations in his coinage was Tipu Sultān of Mysore (1782-1799 A.D.). He was an ardent follower of Islām, but for his copper coins he adopted the elephant device of the Wodeyār Kings of Mysore (1578-1733) and the animal appears in various attitudes on the obverse, sometimes to right, sometimes to left, with trunk raised, and with trunk lowered. On the 40—cash pieces he carries a flag. [28]

(*xii*) *The Fish Type of Oudh.*—The Nawabs of Oudh issued Rupees from their mint at Lucknow (1784-1818 A.D.) with the Fish as the Type; and these are known as *Macchlīdār* Rupees. The Fish was the royal badge of the Oudh family and it was put on the reverse of their coins. These bear the regnal date 26 and the mint name Banāras. [29] Fish is an auspicious emblem among the Hindus and it appears as such in the ancient Buddhist and Jain sculptures as well. The latest issue of the *Macchlīdār* rupees and muhars are believed to have been minted by the Lucknow mutineers during the Sepoy Mutiny. These had the Hijra date 1229 and the mint name *Ṣūbah Awaḍh*. This closes the indigenous coinage of the province.

25 C. J. Brown, *The Coins of India*, p. 97.

26 *Numismatic Supplement*, No. XLIV. (*Numismatic Society of India*).

27 *Ibid.*, 39.

28 C. J. Brown, *The Coins of India*, p. 105. 29 *Ibid.*, p. 108.

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III. LEGENDS.—I shall only refer to those parts of the legends which were inserted in them mainly for the convenience of the inhabitants of the soil. For further details, I may refer to the various standard works on the subject given at the end.

(*a*) *Subject-matter.*—(*i*) *The Kalimā in Sanskrit.* Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznī is responsible for these unique coins. He struck a number of silver *tankahs* at Lahore, called in these coins Mahmūdpūr, and these had his name and the translation of the Kalimā in Sanskrit on the obverse; on the reverse the legend is in Arabic. [30] This is "for the first and last time in the annals of Muslim Numismatics to translate the whole of the Arabic legend into Sanskrit." [31] The interesting points as marked out by Rao Bahadur Dikshit are "the translation of *Allā* by *Avyakta*, and *Rasul* by *Avatāra*." The prophet is referred to as Jina in the word *Jināyana*, "passing or transit of the prophet" from Mecca to Medina, from which dates the era Hijri. The word *Jina* is generally used by the Buddhists and Jains to denote the founders or supreme teachers of their religion and is surely an "appropriate expression" as referring to the Prophet of Islām.

(*ii*) *The names of the Rulers.*—The Muslim rulers in the early period of their domination not only put their names in the local script on their coins, but also put in the names of their Hindu predecessors, perhaps for better identification. The most common name of a Hindu ruler is that of *Śrī Hamīraḥ*. The coin of this ruler is described by V. Smith in his *Catalogue*, [32] and is of the usual Horseman-Bull Type. His exact date is not given, but he was evidently a predecessor of Muhammad

[30] S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum—The Mughal Emperors*—Nos. 505—514.

[31] K. N. Dikshit, *Numis. Supp.*, No. XLVI, 1935-36, p. 29. (*Numismatic Society of India*).

[32] V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Part II,, p. 252.

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bin Sām (1193-1205 A.D.) and ruled in the Delhi region. *Śrī Hamīraḥ* in Nāgrī occurs in some of the coins of the following rulers :—(1) Muḥammad bin Sām (1193-1205 A.D.), (2) Maḥmud bin Mahammad, (3) Tājuddīn Yaldaz, (4) Shamsuddīn Iltutmish (1211-1236), (5) Ruknuddīn Fīrūz Shāh (1236), (6) Jalal-uddīn Raẓia (1236-39), (7) Mu'izzuddīn Bahrām Shāh (1239-1241), (8) 'Alāuddin Mas'ūd Shāh (1241-46) and (9) Nāṣiruddīn Maḥmūd (1246-65). These are all Sultāns of Delhi. Their contemporaries of other provinces also continued the practice, e.g., (10) Nāṣiruddīn Qubācha of Sind, (11) Jalāluddīn of Khwārizm (1220-1224), (12) Saifuddīn Al-Ḥasan Qarlagh (died before Multān in 1249 A.D.) and (13) Naṣiruddīn Muḥmmad Qarlagh (reigned in Sind from 1249 A.D.). Another Hindu King whose name is found in the legends is *Chahaḍa Deva*. He was the king of Nārwar (about 1232-60) and he issued coins of Bull and Horseman Type in billon and copper. His name was inscribed in the billon coins of Iltutmish [33] and there were close imitations of the coins of the Hindu prince Chahaḍa Deva who himself imitated the coins of Samanta Deva, one of the Hindu Kings of Chind who reigned in the 10th Century A.D. On the reverse of the Chahaḍa Deva coins occurs the Bull as usual and the legend—*Asāvari Śrī Sāmanta Deva*. In Iltamash's coins [34] of the Chahaḍa Deva variety, the whole inscription occurs on the obverse, only " Sāmanta " is replaced by *Saṃasirala*. The legend stands thus—*Asābari Śrī Samasirala Dva*. The word *Asābari* is a name of goddess *Durgā*. [35] The name of Samanta Deva occurs in the obverse of some of the copper coins of Sultān Razia ; perhaps this is the reminiscence of the Chahaḍa coins of her father. The name of another Hindu prince, the fourth one, is found on the reverse of some

[33] H. N. Wright, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. II, Nos. 77-79.
[34] *Ibid.*
[35] C. J. Brown, *The Coins of India*, pl. VI, footnote, 1.

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of the billon coins of 'Alāuddīn Maṣūd Shāh (1241-1246) who also had *Śrī Hamīraḥ* on others. This prince cannot be identified; his name as given on the coins is Śrī Shalopa. The only prince with whose name this has some phonetic semblance is Sallakshana Pāla (about 978-1003 A.D.) who belonged to the Tomāra Dynasty of Ajmer and Delhi and this might have been an abbreviation.

The Muslim rulers who put their name in the local scripts on their coins tried to give the nearest phonetic equivalents to their names, and had no uniform system of spelling them, *e.g.*, (1) स्रो महमद विनि साम (Muḥammad bin Sām), (2) स्रीसुलता लितितिसि or सुरिताण स्रो समसदिन or स्रीसमसौर (Shamsuddīn Iltutmish), (3) सुरितां स्रीरकणदीण (Rukunuddīn Fīrūz Shāh I), (4) सुलतां स्रीमुअज (Mu'izzuddīn Bahrām Shāh), (5) सुरिताण स्रोआलावदिण or आलावदी सुरिताण ('Alāuddīn Ma'sūd Shāh), (6) श्रीः सुलतां गयासुदीं (Ghiyāṣuddīn Balban), (7) स्रो सुलतां मुनुजुदीं (Mu'izuddīn Kaiqubād), (8) श्रीः सुलतां जलालुदीं (Jalāluddīn Fīrūz Shāh II), (9) श्रीः सुलतां अलावदीं ('Alāuddīn Muḥammad Shāh II), (10) स्रो सुलतां गयासुदीं (Ghiyāṣuddīn Tughluq I), (11) श्रीः मोहमद (Muḥammad Bin Tughluq). These instances will clearly prove that there was no attempt at uniformity, either in spelling or language. It is strange that even the orthodox Sultān Muḥammad Bin Tughluq had to put an inscription in Nāgrī (No 11) on some of his token coins. Perhaps this was meant to secure the success of his experiment at forced currency.[86] This practice among the Sultāns ceased for some time but was revived by Sher Shāh and his successors; and we have in their coins their names in the local script, *e.g.*, (12) स्रो सेरशाह or स्रो सेरसाहो (13) स्रो इस्लाम साह or स्रो इस्लाम साहि (Islām Shāh); (14) स्रो महमद साह, स्रो महमदसाहि, स्रो सुल्तामहमद (Muḥammad 'Adil Shāh). Some of the provincial rulers followed the same practice,

[86] Brown, *The Coins of India*, p. 75.

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e.g., (15) श्री वहादुर साहो (Ghiyāṣuddīn Bahādur Shāh II, 1554-1560), (16) श्री दाउद शाहो (Dāu'd Shāh Kararanī, 1572-76). Some of the contemporaries of the early Sultāns of Delhi adopted the usual system—Nāṣiruddīn Qabāchā, Jalāluddīn of Khwārizm, Saifuddīn Al-Husan Qarlagh. The forms of their names as given in the coins are (17) स्री कुवाचा सुरिताण (18) स्री जलालदण (19) स्रोहसण करलक and (20) स्री महमद कवलुर.

(*b*) *Language and Script.*—Evidently these legends were meant to be given in the Sanskrit language but the spelling as well as grammar are faulty; and these deviated much from the standard forms, *e.g.*, श्री on many of the coins and such others. Some of the names are in possessive, *e.g.*, श्री सेरशाहो, "of Sher Shah," and this practice was followed by a few of his successors—Islām Shah, Muḥammad Shāh, Bahādur Shāh and Dāūd Shāh. The script is the contemporary Nāgrī. But there is no doubt that the Bengal Sultāns Bahādur Shāh and Dāūd Shāh, as also Sher Shāh and his successors in their coins issued from Bengal mints, used the contemporary Bengali script, though in Nelson Wright's Catalogue of Coins these are given in Nāgrī script only.

(*c*) *The Honorific Śrī.*—The names of the Sultāns are all preceded by the honorific Śrī. It is evident that this was the usual practice among the Hindus and it has come down to us. Surely it had no religious significance, or otherwise the Muslim rulers would not have adopted it in their coin legends. They only imitated the Hindu usage in the matter, though now-a-days attempts are made to impose a significance on it which it evidently never had.

(*d*) *The System of Dating.*—The Muslims usually date their coins in the Hijri Era which begins on Friday, July 15th-16th, A.D. 622. This Era was naturally adopted by the Muslim rulers. Akbar for the first time deviated

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from the usual practice.[37] His Ilāhi coins were dated in the new Regnal Era—the New Solar Era founded by him. Jahangīr also used a solar era of his own starting from the date of his accession.[38] Solar months are inscribed in the coins of Shāh Jahān from the 2nd to the 5th year of his reign, though the years of his coins are lunar. But later on the old system of reckoning was continued.

IV. THE SYMBOLS.—The symbols which were used as monograms on the coins were of various shapes, some linear, some circular and so on. Mr. N. Wright has brought together a list of 29 symbols which are found on the coins of the Sultāns of Delhi,[39] and another list of 26 which embellished the coins of Mālwā.[40] Lane-Poole has a list of figures[41] which were used in the Mughul coins. It seems strange, though perfectly true, that many of the symbols found on Muslim coins figure in the oldest coinage of India—the punch-marked variety. I shall take up a few of them in support of my statement. The figures 5, 6, 9, 11 and 12 in N. Wright's Catalogue[42] are practically the same as the symbols in the punch-marked coins classified by Mr. Durga Prosād[43]—figures 82, 84, 83 (pl. 23); 110 (pl. 27) and 13 (pl. 22) and such others. That many of these ornaments on the Muslim coins are of indigenous origin may be safely postulated; and this had been in use for centuries in this country. Whether these had any other special significance except a desire to take in what they actually found in use in the country and thus attracted their attention is difficult to determine. But we

37 Hodivala, *Mughal Numismatics*, p. 11.

38 C. J. Brown, *The Coins of India*, p. 96, Footnote 3.

39 H. N. Wright, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. II, p. 128.

40 *Ibid.*, p. 291.

41 S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum.—Mughal Emperors*, p. 364.

42 H. N. Wright, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. II, p. 128.

43 *Numismatic Supplement (Numismatic Society of India)*, 1934—XLV.

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find that some of them were used by the Hindus who attached a special significance to them ; and the adoption of these symbols might be due to an attempt to placate and please the inhabitants of the country. Swastika, as we all know, is a particularly auspicious symbol among the Hindus. No. 12 in N. Wright's Catalogue is the four-armed ordinary type,[44] while the whirling Swastika figures as No. 6. Triśūla either singly[45] or a number combined together[46] figures in many other coins. The lotus flower and its variants are also met with. The Mughuls had the Sun, the Tree, the Umbrella, etc., on their coins.[47] Evidently many of the symbols were of Hindu origin and of special significance to them ; the attempt of the Muslim rulers, even the most orthodox, to stick to the older practice and their long residence in the country made them to appreciate even the symbols to which the Hindus had particular attachment, e.g., Swastika in some of the coins of Sher Shāh, Islām Shāh and Muḥammad 'Adil Shāh, or the Umbrella in some of the coins of Shāh Ālam, the Mughal Emperor (1759-1806). So even in this minor matter, the Muslim rulers did not definitely deviate from the older practice, and used many of the symbols which had come down to their time from remote antiquity.

[44] H. N. Wright, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum.*, Vol. II. p. 128.

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 261, No. 5.

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 128, No. 10.

[47] S. Lane-Poole—*Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum.—Mughal Emperors*, p. 304.

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6

THE REIGN OF SULTĀN HUMĀYŪN SHĀH BAHMANĪ AND HIS CHARACTER

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Before his death Aḥmad II had appointed his eldest son Humāyūṇ heir to the throne in preference to his other sons, Ḥasan Khāṇ and Yaḥyā Khāṇ. It is said that as Humāyūṇ was harsh in temper there was consternation among the nobles so that some, like the *Wakīl-i Salṭanat* Rāja Rustam Nizāmu'l-Mulk and his son who had become *Malīku't-tujjār* after the death of Qāsim Bēg Ṣafshikan, fled from the country and took refuge in Gujrat,[1] while others like Shāh Habību'l-lāh proclaimed the King's younger brother Ḥasan Khān as King and seated him on the turquoise throne. On seeing the trend of events the rabble in the streets took advantage of this and collected in front of Humāyūṇ's residence in order to plunder it and even to put him to death. Humāyūṇ was supported by his brother-in-law Shāh Muḥibbu'l-lāh who had not taken to worldly life and had instead preferred a religious life by becoming the *sajjādā-nashīn* or spiritual successor of his father Shāh Khalīlu'l-lāh, although he was younger than his brother Shāh Habību'l-lāh, the supporter of Ḥasan Khāṇ. Apart from having been appointed heir to the throne by his father, the fact that a holy man like Muḥibbu'l-lāh was siding with Humāyūṇ must have given the latter a moral preponderence which Ḥasan lacked,

[1] *Ferishtah*, 338.

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and it is related how with but eighty men by his elbow he fought through the crowd, marched to the throne room of the Palace, slapped Ḥasan on the face, unseated him and himself ascended the throne, putting Ḥasan, Ḥabibu'l-lāh and their partners in prison.[2] This happened on 22. 6. 862/7. 5. 1458.

Thanks to *Burhānu'l-ma'āthir*, we possess the actual words of the speech delivered by Humāyūn immediately after his accession, a speech which goes to show the high ideals he entertained for a Bahmanī minister. He said: "Nobles of my kingdom! I am confident that it is impossible to carry on the government of a kingdom efficiently without the appointment of a minister who should be well-known the world over and who should excel in wisdom among the Arabs as well as the 'Ajamis. We are on the threshold of a new epoch in the history of this country and I cannot do better than follow the advice of one who should be clothed with the outward attributes of truth and good faith and who should inwardly be free from vices and vanity. I have therefore made up my mind to appoint Khwājā Naimu'd-dīn Maḥmūd Gīlanī,[3] one of the best known in the State for his sense of justice and equity as well for his deep thought, to be my Chief Minister." The King thereupon presented the Khwājā with robes fitting the occasion including a golden cap and a golden belt, and made him *Maliku't-tujjār*, *Tarafdār* of Bijapur and *Wakil-i Salṭanat*.

As a matter of fact Humāyūn was acting only according to the last wishes of the late King. At the same time he created Malik Śhāh, reputed to be a prince of the House of Changīz, *Khwājā-i Jahān* and appointed him *Tarafdār* of Tilangānā, and his own cousin and erstwhile playmate, Sikandar Khān, who must have been again in favour in

[2] *Burhāuu'l ma'āthir*, 88.

[3] *Bur.*, 89. Maḥmūd's name is mentioned here as Najmu'd-dīn, but this name is not found elsewhere. Other authorities call him 'Imādu'd-dīn.

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court circles after his rebellion and pardon by the late King, *Sipah Sālār* of the same province.[4] Evidently Sikandar was not satisfied by this appointment and went to his father who still held jāgīrs at Nalgundā, and persuaded him to come and try his luck once again. The King heard of the rebellion when the rebels were actually advancing towards Golconda,[5] and sent Khān-i Jahāṇ to quell it. As Khān-i Jahāṇ was not successful in the attempt the King himself moved to Nalgundā. It is characteristic of Humāyūṇ's demeanour in the early part of his reign that, instead of fighting with the rebels and defeating them he expressed his desire to make peace with them, but Sikandar, instead of accepting the offer, attacked the royal camp in the middle of the night, and the next day engaged it with forces which were composed of "Afghans, Rajputs and the *dakhnis*."[6] Even now the King was forbearing and actually sent word to his deadly enemies that it was a pity that the flower of the Deccan should be so ruined, and that he forgave everything Sikandar had done, offering him any *parganā* he liked in the province of Daulatābād. On this the haughty Sikandar replied that the only difference between Humāyūṇ and himself was that Humāyūṇ was the paternal and he the maternal grandson of Aḥmad Shāh Walī, and it would be well if he partitioned the kingdom and at least gave him the province of Tilangānā in its entirety. It was only after this that the King seriously offered battle. The fighting ranged the whole day without a break and when evening came it was still undecided and it seemed quite possible that the day might end in Humāyūṇ's defeat and Sikandar's accession to the throne.[7] Suddenly *Malik-ut-Tujjār* (Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ) and Khwājā-i Jahān Turk[8]

4 *Fer.*, 338.

5 *Bur.*, 90.

6 *Fer.*, 339. The inclusion of the Rajputs in Sikandar's forces is remarkable.

7 *Fer.*, 339.

8 The epithet 'Turk' is applied to the title of Malik Shāh in contradistinction to Mahmūd Gāwāṇ who was also created Khwājā-i Jahāṇ on Malik Shāh's death.

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appeared on the horizon with the armies of Bījāpūr and Tilangānā and immediately began their attack from the right and left flanks respectively. This was a great relief to the tired royal army, and Humāyūn was able to send five hundred picked archers and as many picked lancers with a mad elephant right into the hard-pressed lines of the enemy. The day ended in Sikandar's death on the battlefield and the utter rout of the rump of his army.

Jalāl Khaṇ now took refuge in the fort of Nalgundā which Maliku't-tujjār and Khwājā-i Jahāṇ now beseiged. Instead of fighting, however, Jalāl begged the beseigers to intercede with the King on his behalf to spare his life and accept the treasures accumulated during forty-five years of his residence in the kingdom. The King accepted the conditions, pardoned the old man and was content with putting him in prison inspite of his repeatedly treasonable conduct.[9]

During this campaign the Rāyas of Tilangānā had helped Sikandar against the King. [10] So now Humāyūn resolved to reduce their great stronghold Dēwarkundā [11] and sent Khwājā-i Jahāṇ Turk and Nizāmu'l-Mulk with 20,000 cavalry and forty elephants to beseige the fortress. The Telegus, realising their weakness, sent word to the Rāya of Orissa and other Oria Rāyas for help.[12] Nizam-ul-Mulk now advised

[9] This was the second time that Maḥmūd Gāwān had shown his mettle in the field of war, and after vanquishing the enemy successfully interceded with the King in favour of the vanquished.

[10] *Fer.*, 340.

[11] Dēwarkundā, now a taluqa (tehsil) in the Nalgundā district of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions. The fort, which is surrounded by seven hills, was once regarded as impregnable, but is now in ruins. *Imp. Gaz., Hyderabad State.*

[12] The Rāya of Orissa was then Kapileshwara Deva, one of the greatest rulers of his country; he ruled from 1435 to 1466. The 'Rāyas of Ōriya,' so often mentioned in our Persian authorities, were the rulers of "the smaller principalities between Warangal and Rājamehandrī" who are said to have caused no small trouble to the Bahmanī Sultāns. See K. Isvara Datta's article on 'the wars of Vijyanagar against Kalinga desa,' *Kalinga Charitra*, Andhra Research Association publication, p. 360. I am indebted to Professor Subbā Rao, the great Telugu poet and Head of the Department of Telugu, Osmania University, for having guided me through a lot of historical literature connected with the period in the Telugu language.

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Khawājā-i Jahāṇ that it would be better to draw out the defenders from the fortress on to the open ground and engage them in a hand to hand fight before help arrived from the Rāyas, but Khwājā-i Jahāṇ did not agree to this and said that such a step would be regarded as a sign of weakness so it would be better to keep on the seige. The result was that when help arrived from the Ōriyās the Bahmanī army was hemmed in and was defeated with the loss of many thousand horsemen.[13] The King was marching on Dēwarkundā himself and was nearly seventy-five miles [14] from it when he heard of the defeat. On enquiry Khwājā-i Jahāṇ dissimulated to him that it was really Nizāmu'l-Mulk who was responsible for the defeat, and the King was so angry at the latter's conduct that he had to fly for his life along with members of his family over the border to Malwa.[15]

It was about this time that Humāyūṇ heard the news that Yūsūf Turk had released Prince Ḥasan Khāṇ, Ḥabību'l-lāh and thousands of others who had been implicated in the plot against his throne and person in the beginning of his reign and who had been incarcerated in the State prison at Bīdar. The King thereupon left Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ in charge of the affairs in Tilangānā and himself immediately left for the capital where he arrived on Jamādi I, 864—March,

[13] The rout at Dēwarkundā must have negatively enhanced Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ's estimation in the eyes of the King. While he had been successful in quelling two major rebellions of those who wanted to dethrone Aḥmad II and Humāyūṇ, the solitary expedition against a confederacy of the Telugu Rāyas undertaken by Khwājā-i Jahāṇ had proved a failure. We might compare this state of affairs with that of France of 1799 when, in the absence of Bonaparte in the East, the French armies were beaten by the Austrians at Stockach and by the Russians at Novi, and were driven out of Italian soil. This enhanced Bonaparte's reputation tenfold and paved the way for his installation as the First Consul a few months later.

[14] Twenty *farsakh*. Farsakh = 18,000 ft.—*Steingass*,

[15] Thus in *Fer.*, 340. *Bur.*, 92, has the story of Nizāmu'l-Mulk's execution. I am, however, inclined to prefer the fact of his flight specially as no one else is mentioned as having led the members of the family over the border. Moreover the King had not shown any tendency to destroy families for the sins of their chiefs.

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1460.[16] It is related that Yūsūf first of all got together seven disciples of Ḥabību'l-lāh and sought admission to the prison by showing a forged *farmān* of the King that such and such prisoners should be blinded. He passed the first barrier but the warder in charge of the second demanded an order of the Kotwāl as well, so Yūsuf made short work by striking him dead. There was a hue and cry but before anything could be done he had released Ḥasan Khāṇ, Yaḥyā Khāṇ, the 80 years old Jalāl Khān and nearly seven thousand others including "many Syeds, learned men and men of piety."[17]

In the fray between the Kotwāl's men and these released prisoners and their supporters, Jalāl Khāṇ and Yaḥyā Khāṇ were killed, while Ḥasan and Ḥabību'l-lāh first took refuge in the house of a barber who had once been in the latter's employment, and then, disguised as mendicants, treaded their way to Bīr where Ḥabību'l-lāh's jāgīrs lay. On arriving at Bīr Ḥasan proclaimed himself King and appointed Yūsūf Turk *Amīru'l-Umarā* and Ḥabibul-lāh *Wazīr*.[18] But Ḥasan's kingship could not last very long as he was at length defeated by the royal army and the pretender as well as his minister took flight to Vijyanagar. On the way they were outwardly welcomed by the Vice-Governor of Bījāpūr, Siraj Khāṇ Junaidī, who took measures to imprison them while they were fully in his grasp. In the scuffle Ḥabibu-l-lāh lost his life while Ḥasan was sent to Bīdar in chains.

Ḥasan and his party arrived at the capital in Sha'bān 8641—June 1460, and it is related that Humāyūṇ gave vent to all his cruel propensities in meeting out dire punishment to those who had tried to betray him and end his life. He had

[16] *Fer.*, 341.

[17] *Bur.*, 93. The names of the releaser and of the leaders of the released as well as this interesting item—all show that the *coup d' état* was engineered solely by the party of the Newcomers or *āfāqīs*.

[18] *Fer.*, 341.

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Ḥasan thrown before tigers, ordered some of his adherents to be cast into cauldrons full of boiling water and oil and released mad elephants and other wild beasts to prey upon the unfortunate victims. He is also said to have put to death all those who had even the most distant claim to the throne as well as many nobles who were supposed to have had the slightest cause of opposition to him.[19] The sad episode came to an end with the promotion of a number of *dakhni* converts, one of whom was Malik Ḥasan Bāhri, the future founder of the Nizāmshāhi dynasty of Aḥmadnagar, who was now given the title of Sārang Khāṇ.[20]

Humāyūṇ died, or was killed by a maidservant while he was asleep, on 28.11.865—4.9.1461.[21]

Humāyūṇ's Character.—Humāyūṇ's character is one of the great enigmas of history. Ferishtah paints him in the blackest of colours possible, ascribing to him the most heinous of crimes. Ferishtah gives him the *sobriquet* of 'the Cruel' without any reserve and gives evidence to prove his thesis. To quote his translator and epitomiser, "Humāyūṇ threw off all restraint and seized at will the children of his subjects, tearing them from their parents.....He would frequently stop nuptial processions in the streets, and seizing the bride, after enjoying her, send her to the bridegroom's house. He was in the habit of putting the females of his own house to death for the most trivial offences, and when any of the nobility was obliged to attend him, so great was their dread, that they took leave of their families, as if preparing for death."[22] *Burhān* is slightly more moderate in

19 All this is from *Fer.*, 342; *Bur.* does not go so far.

20 It is remarkable that this is the first mention in Deccan history of any converts of note.

21 Both these stories are mentioned as alternatives in *Fer.*, but *Bur.* does not refer to the possibility of murder. I am inclined to believe that Humāyūṇ died a natural death because the motive of murder—harsh treatment—seems slender.

22 Briggs, II, 464.

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tone but still it gives a few instances of his cruelty and agrees with Ferishtah that people were so tired of his tyranny that the poet Nazīrī only voiced their feeling when he composed the following chronogram :—

همایون شاه مردرز ست عالم * تعالی الله زهی مرگ همایون
جهان پر ذوق شد تاریخ فوتش * هم از ذوق جهان آرید پسرون [23]

It is absolutely necessary for one who tries to estimate the real character of a historical personage to try to put himself in the surroundings in which that personage lived so as to find his bearings as objectively as possible. Humāyūn reigned for less than $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, and the first thing to remember is that there is not a single campaign of aggression against his neighbours during the period, which goes to prove that, like his predecessor Muḥammad I, his object was to find time to consolidate his far-flung kingdom rather than extend it to unmanageable boundaries. This object is further evidenced by the high ideals of government which he enunciated in the address delivered at the time of his accession. But his reign was marred by almost continuous rebellions and attempts at his throne and his life, and this at the hands of those nearest to him. Practically the whole course of these episodes shows that he was most forgiving and complaisant right up to the closing months of 864-1460, and whatever cruelties are ascribed to him could only have occurred between Sha'bān 864—June, 1460 and 28.11.865—3.9.1461. His father had appointed him heir to the throne; still the party in power, that of the Newcomers, put his younger brother, one who proved liable to be easily led by others, on the throne, and perhaps sent a mob actually to murder him

[23] *Bur.*, 95; *Fer.*, 343.
"Humāyūn Shāh is dead, and the world is cleansed thereby;
God be praised; what an auspicious death!
The world was full of joy on the date of his death,
So extract the date from the Joy of the World."

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and rob his residence. Instead of laying his hand of vengeance on his deadly enemies he contented himself by imprisoning the leaders and the rabble which had supported him. We meet him next against his kinsman Sikandar Khāṇ and his father Jalāl Khāṇ at Nalgundā where, while carrying on the struggle which might have meant his own end, he enters into *pourparlers* with them and frankly says that he would prefer peace to war. Even when fighting had gone on for a whole day he makes a definite offer of jāgīrs to Sikandar. And after Sikandar's death and Jalāl's defeat the miracle happens and at *Maliku't-tujjar's* intercession Jalāl is spared his life!

All this does not depict Humāyūṇ in the colours of a wanton cut-throat, and as has been said, there is nothing during the first two years of his reign to warrant his condemnation. It is really after the second proclamation of Ḥasan Khāṇ as King, this time at Bīr, and his consequent capture sometime about the middle of 854-1460, that Humāyūṇ is said to have given vent to his cruel propensities. We must remember that the two struggles with Ḥasan were a matter of life and death for the King. It is absolutely clear that the party of Newcomers, which had got the upper hand in the reigns of Aḥmad I and Aḥmad II, was so puffed up that it chose to put on the throne a puppet in Ḥasan Khāṇ in preference to a strong-willed ruler like Humāyūṇ. It is noticeable that the six or seven thousand who were imprisoned after the failure of the first attempt are described by Ferishtah in almost the identical vocabulary as used for those who had been massacred at Chākan in 850-1457. Jalāl, the father of Sikandar, both arch rebels in Humāyūṇ's reign, was a Newcomer (' *afāqī* ') and it seems probable that up to 864-1460 Humāyūṇ had thought that he would be able to make some kind of compromise with this party and perhaps forestall the moderate policy later adopted by Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ. The eye-opener came in the form of the recrude-

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scence of disorder by the forced release of Ḥasan Khāṇ and his followers and the renewal of the life and death struggle. Humāyūṇ could not let matters go on like this, and during the last thirteen months of his short reign he wrecked exemplary punishment on his enemies, at the same time going so far as to promote even the neo-Muslims, and it goes to Maḥmud Gāwāṇ's credit that while he interfered so long as he had any hope of a compromise, when all hopes were evidently shattered by the release of Ḥasan Khāṇ and his supporters and by his second proclamation as King in 864-1460, he receded in the background and we really cease to hear about him after his successful campaign of Nalgundā.

This policy of the support of Oldcomers (the '*dakhnīs*') and the native element is further evidenced in an unexpected quarter. The poet Nazīrī, whose caustic chronogram of Humāyūṇ's death has already been quoted, and who was one of the prisoners released by Yūsuf Turk along with Prince Ḥasan, composed the following lines while still in prison :

گردون خذف از بیضهٔ گوهر نشناخت
طاؤس و همائی از کبوتر نشناخت
شکر شکنی چوبنده در طوق کشید
از فاخته طوطی سخنور نشناخت [24]

These lines clearly show that Humāyūṇ was trying to hold the balance between the Oldcomers and the Newcomers and was thus furthering a policy which was quite different to that pursued by his father and grand-father. It is no wonder, therefore, that a poet who should have a standing complaint against the King should be delighted at his death and write a chronogram expressing his delight, and that

[24] *Bur.*, 95.

"Heaven did not make a difference between the Pearl and the Potsherd,
Nor between the Peacock and the Pigeon!
A collar has been put round the neck of one like myself,
And no difference is made between the sweet-voiced bird and a mere dove!"

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sympathisers of the party of Newcomers like Ferishtah and the author of *Buhānu'l-ma'āthir* should give exaggerated accounts of the methods pursued by Humāyūṇ to maintain law and order in the country. The epithet of ' the Cruel ', which has regularly been affixed to Humāyūṇ's name since Ferishtah, and the propaganda which has been going on against him, ever since his death, have worked so much on the public imagination that no one knows him now except with the title of *Zālim* attached to his name. The influence of this propaganda is manifested by the fact that the destruction of the dome of his tomb at Bīdar has been attributed by the credulous public to his demonical acts, while as a matter of fact the dome was destroyed by lightning quite recently in 1300-1882, *i.e.*, more than 450 years after his death![25]

If we refer to the collection of Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ's letters, the *Riādu'l-Insha*, we would find that his opinion of Humāyūṇ's character is directly opposed to that of Ferishtah. Writing about Humāyūṇ he says ' to a relation ' that " the nightingale of my tongue is ever singing the praises of the flower of that royal garden "[26] and appends a *qasīdah* of 38 lines to the same letter in honour of Humāyūṇ, some of the lines of which might be quoted here with advantage.

عین عمرم کز غبار غربت و غم بود تار
شد کنون روشن ز کحل خاکپای شهریار
شه همایون شاه بهمن اصل دارا را که هست
عقل کل را خاطرش در کنهه اشیا مشتار[2]

[25] This destruction by lightning is described by an eye-witness, Maulana Bashiru'd-dīn, who was then posted at Bīdar as a high Hyderab d official, in his Urdu work, *Waqi'at i Mumlikat-i Bijapur*, III, 127, Agra, 1915.

[26] *Riāḍ*, cxliii, 217B.

1 " The vista of my life which had become pitch dark.
Acquired new brightness by the antimony of the dust of His Majesty's feet.

2 " His Majesty Humāyūṇ Shah Bahman, a born King,
Is such that the realities of his thought are hidden even from the Angel Gabriel.

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گر نسیم خلق تو بر سطح دریا بگذرد
[18] ماهیان در قعر بحر آیند یکسر مشکبار
بنده را حالیتکان از حضرتت نتوان نهفت
[30] از سر لطف و کرم یک لحظه حالم گوش دار
علت غائی ز بندم نیست الا خاک پات
[32] ورنه بی‌آب بقا در ظلمت آبادم چه کار
این زمانم یک مراد است از نوائی کان کرم
[33] گر نشد آن حاصل از تو جان کند از تن فرار
گوشهٔ خواهم که کردم منزوی از کل کون
[34] وانگهی آرم بخاک کوئی وحدت اختیار
[27] قصر قدرت باد در رفعت بحد کاندرو
[38] پردهٔ باشد سما کیوان هند و پرده دار

Nothing could breathe the sincere loyalty and homage to the King better than these lines and nothing could demonstrate

[27] *Ibid.*

[18] "If the zephyr of thy amiability and civility were to pass on the surface of the waters,
The fishes of the depth of the Seas would at once give out the fragance of musk itself.

[30] "The state of my most humble affairs is such that it cannot remain hidden from Your Majesty,
So I would beg you to lend me your ears through all the goodness and kindness that you possess.

[32] "The sole *raison d'etre* of my being in this land of Ind is the desire to touch the dust of thy feet,
Otherwise without life-giving drops my life would become entirely purposeless.

[33] "At this hour of need I have but one request to make of the mine of thy kindness,
And if this is not granted then my soul is sure to fly away from my terrestial being.

[34] "I beseech thee to grant me a small corner where I should be able to cut off all connection with the created world,
And where I should be proud of having the honour of touching the sill of thy sublime abode.

[38] I pray the Almighty that the Palace of thy Honour be so lofty that its curtains should be the very skies and the guardian of these should be the awe-inspiring Saturn himself."

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the great regard which a contemporary of Gāwān's calibre had for Humāyūṇ. We must further remember that these lines are from the pen of one whose frankness and sometimes even bitterness are manifest in some of the letters he wrote to the royal ministers from the battlefields later on and who has given ample proofs of his great love of right and justice. A further evidence of Maḥmūd's imperviousness to racial factions is found in a letter he wrote to the Sultān of Gīlān in which he says, " The pigeon of the life of this slave has on its neck the marks of the kindness and instruction at the hands of the late Sultan Humāyūṇ Shāh, and the stability of the present along with hope for the future was the direct out-come of the goodness and regard of His Majesty."[28]

It is therefore clear that the picture of Humāyūṇ's character as painted by our Persian authorities, and in particular by Ferishtah, has exaggerated the black tint to such an extent that it is difficult to recognise the real man owing to the multitude of blots which deface it. Both from the recorded occurrences of his short reign as well as from other reliable sources we must come to the conclusion that Humāyūṇ was a ruler of the ordinary Bahmanī type, but at the same time a strict disciplinarian intent on striking a balance between the Oldcomers, the Newcomers and the natives of the land while trying to keep the kingdom in peace as far as possible. It is remarkable that there is not a single campaign undertaken outside the frontiers of the kingdom right throughout his reign, which shows that he wanted to consolidate the State rather than be aggressive to others. But internal turmoil cost him all his praiseworthy projects and, thanks to the intense propaganda against him, even his reputation.

[28] *Riāḍ.*, xxi, 54 B.

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7

MALIK SAIFUDDIN GORI, THE CONSTITUTION-FRAMER OF THE BAHMANI KINGDOM

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Malik Saifuddin Gori was a great statesman of the early Bahmani period. Though his full career from his early life is obscure, yet the great work in politics and administration which he did as the first *Vakilus-Sultanat* وکیل السلطنت or Vice-gerent of the Bahmani Kingdom is unequalled in the history of the Deccan, and deserves careful study. He was a prominent member of the body of the "Centurians" امیران صدہ, who settled in the Deccan during the early part of the fourteenth century and founded the Bahmani kingdom. He possessed in a rare combination the qualities of a soldier and an administrator. It is no exaggeration to say that the Bahmani kingdom, which rendered valuable services to the Deccan in the domain of art and culture, owes its existence mainly to Saifuddin Gori, who led his forces in the war of independence against Sultan Muhammad Tughluq and severed the Deccan from the Northern suzerainty. When the Centurians declared their independence, his was the only personality to guide the newly born kingdom in the foreign and domestic affairs with perfect skill and sagacity. He served the Bahmani kingdom in the capacity of Prime Minister for five successive reigns.[1] He placed

[1] According to Ferishta Saifuddin lived a long life of hundred and seven years and, acted as Prime Minister in the five successive reigns of Alauddin Bahman Shah Muhammad Shah I, Mujahid Shah, Daud Shah and Muhammad Shah II.

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the kingdom on a firm basis and adopted a policy which remained unaltered for a century and a half. It was he who framed a sound constitution for the kingdom with full regard to the political and social environment of the country—a constitution which continued till the downfall of the kingdom and served as a model for the kingdoms which came into existence after it. This constitution, which was framed under his guidance, and which embodied the central and the provincial structures of the Government, with all possible provisions to suit the peculiar conditions of the country, was based on the principles which he laid down in his famous treatise entitled *Nasai-ul-Muluk* نصائح الملوک—a memorable work which is widely known in the Deccan.[2]

It is not possible to trace the genealogy of Malik Saifuddin Gori, or to ascertain his original home, or to fix the date of his migration into India and the Deccan. Ferishta and other historians make no mention whatever of his ancestry. It is still more curious that Ali bin Azizullah and Moulana Osami, the chief authorities on the Bahmani period, are entirely silent on this great personality, but it is almost certain that Saifuddin was a Pathan of Gori descent as his name itself indicates, and he was, most probably, a member of the same clan of Turks to which Shahabuddin belonged. His ancestors very likely followed the great invader, Shahabuddin Gori, into India and settled here. But a further attempt to ascertain where and how his family lived and what vicissitudes of fortune it suffered throughout the last century, fails completely. A study of Saifuddin's political career, however, proves that he was brought up in a home radiant with the light of art and culture. It appears that his ancestors had fully shared the

[2] *Mahbobul Watan* محبوب الوطن by Abdul Jabbar Khan who has copied down a major part of the treatise in his book. He says that he had a copy of the treatise which was destroyed in the Hyderabad flood.

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culture of the time and qualified themselves for a distinguished political life. They were all learned and possessed much political and diplomatic experience and knowledge. It was because of their political experience that they were created "Centurians" or Feudal Lords of hundred troops and posted in the Deccan. The creation of this new order of Feudal Lords by Khalji and Tughluq rulers for the control of the southern annexations, namely Gujrat, Malwa and the Deccan, was a fact of great historical importance. It ushered in a new era in the history of the South. Malik Saifuddin Gori was one of the Centurians, and was posted in various parts of the Deccan plateau, though it is not possible to show whether he was born here or followed his father to the Deccan and was brought up here.

There is no doubt that this large body of Centurians which comprised hundreds of families, and made history in the medieval Deccan, was led by three towering personalities, namely Ismail Mukh, who was chosen as the first King of the Deccan with the title of Nasiruddin Shah; Zafar Khan, who was known later as Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah; and Saifuddin Gori. But, as time passed, it became apparent that Saifuddin was the most prominent member of this body. He surpassed all his contemporaries, including Ismail Mukh and Zafar Khan, in political wisdom and administrative capacity, of which he gave ample proof in every action whether military, political or administrative. He was highly qualified and well equipped with political and diplomatic knowledge to face the new situation brought about by the fusion of the Northern and Southern forces. Ferishta becomes eloquent in describing him as "noble-minded, prudent, a keen judge of men and things and a valuer of merits," which probably conveys the right impression of the man. These were the noble qualities which Saifuddin was endowed with and which made him a great man of History.

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He came to prominence first in a military capacity in the disagreement which suddenly came to a head, between Sultan Muhammad Tughluq and the Centurians who governed the Deccan. While the King was engaged in overthrowing the rebels of Gujrat and Malwa, he called upon the Deccani Centurians to help him in Northern warfare. They first responded to this call of duty and had hardly reached the northern boundary of the Deccan in compliance with the royal order, when they at once turned back in suspicion and despair, lest they should meet with the same treatment to which the people of Gujrat and Malwa were subjected. This led to serious tension which ultimately developed into an open rebellion. The King hastened to Daulatabad at once to crush the rebels who had in the meantime defended themselves in the fort of Daulatabad. It was then that Saifuddin led the body of his fellow Centurians to meet the invader on the same battlefield where Shankar Dev of old Devgiri and Alauddin Khalji had fought. But the King was forced to hurry back from Daulatabad very soon on an urgent call from Gujrat, though the battle was still undecided and continued under Imadul-Mulk who supplied his place. A section of the royal forces marched to Gulbarga and was opposed by Zafar Khan and Saifuddin.[3] The battle ended in the defeat and the death of Imadul-Mulk, and the result was that these two generals were in a position to help the Daulatabad garrison and crush the northern armies. Daulatabad was equally triumphant and at last declared its independence with Zafar Khan at its head.

Saifuddin's chief claim to fame rests on his wise and just administration and the perfect constitution which he framed for the Bahmani kingdom of which he was one of the founders. Apart from his military ability of which he had given proof while the kingdom was in the making, he was an

[3] History of Ferishta.

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administrative genius and was the only man to shoulder the administrative responsibilities of the new kingdom. The Deccan owes him a sound administrative system which was ably introduced in the middle of the fourteenth century and followed by many generations in the Bahmani and the succeeding kingdoms. It appears that he had already impressed his fellow Centurians by his political talent in the early years of his career. Since Bahman Shah was for years in close contact with Saifuddin, he could not but choose the latter for the most onerous task of the political guidance of the country. When Alauddin Bahman Shah was proclaimed King of the Deccan, according to Maulana Osami, a central government was instantly framed with several civil and military officers appointed to govern and administer the new kingdom. In the long list of the grand and the petty officers, Sadrush-Shareef, Ismail Mukh, Bahram Khan Mazaidarani, Safdar Khan Seestani, Syed Ahmad Ghaznavi, and Saifuddin Gori, who were appointed as judge, *Ameerul Omara*, governor of Daulatabad, governor of Warangal, *Mufti* and Prime Minister respectively, were very prominent. The latter held the highest post of the State which he deserved with regard to the personal talents and the past services which he had rendered to the Deccan. He was very highly respected and occupied a distinguished place in the Durbar. He was not only allowed to sit in the Durbar, the greatest honour which the Bahmani Kings could ever confer on the grandees of the State, but also allotted a higher place than Ismail, who sometimes back had enjoyed the privilege of being the King himself. Ferishta tells us that once, in a special Durbar which was convened to celebrate the Nowroze Festival, and where the great scholars, religious heads, judges and other high officials were present, the King directed Sadrush-Shareef and Syed Ahmad Ghaznavi to seat Saifuddin ahead of Ismail Mukh. They accordingly held up the hand of Saifuddin and brought

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him to a place which was higher than that of the latter.[4] And to add to this, he was also given the honour of matrimonial alliance with the royal family. The hand of his daughter, Shah Begam, was sought in marriage for the King's son, Muhammad Khan, and the marriage was celebrated with great pomp in 752 A.H.

The kingdom, which was placed in the charge of Saifuddin, was entirely devoid of any administrative machinery. It was no better than a mere geographical expression with military camps posted here and there to meet every probable emergency. The country was practically in the same condition as when it was governed by Qallagh Khan, the governor of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq. It was for Saifuddin Gori to bring the country under strict control by providing proper civil and military organisation and civilize it by introducing the rule of law and order. It was no easy task. It required a complete study of the country, paying special regard to its geographical and national peculiarities, and specially the transitional changes it underwent owing to the advent of the Muhammadans in the Deccan, so that the future administration would satisfy the national demand. He seems to have studied the governmental systems which prevailed in the pre-Muslim Deccan on the one side, and those of the Turkish Kings of Delhi on the other, and utilised the valuable data in framing a suitable constitution for the country. Thus the Bahmani Constitution was based on the local as well as the northern principles and traditions. It was as permanent as it was representative in character, and never ceased to guide the Bahmani State and the succeeding kingdoms which came into existence after its downfall. Even the

[4] Osami points out that Khwaja Jahan was permitted to sit on a chair placed before the throne in a Durbar held at Gulbarga—*Futuhus Salatin* فتوح السلاطين edited by Dr. Mahdi Husain.

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Maratha kingdoms which were founded in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had to follow the same system of government. To put it in brief, there was provision in the constitution for the central and provincial structures of government with fair demarcation of powers and duties. The central government which consisted of the King and his eight ministers may be styled as King in ministry in the sense that the King had to consult his ministers in discharging his royal duties.[5] The eight ministers, who were entrusted with important powers of the State, were responsible to the King. As to the provincial government, the kingdom was divided into four provinces which were called "Tarafs." Though the idea of this division was borrowed from Qallagh Khan, who governed the Deccan under Sultan Muhammad Tughluq, yet it was fully developed by providing provincial governments and linking them with the centre.

The principles on which the Bahmani Constitution was based were explained by the author of the constitution in his famous treatise entitled *Nasai-hul-Muluk* نصائح الملوک "Advice to the Kings." Though the work is no longer extant, it is still widely known in the Deccan and lives in the memory of history-loving people. It is fortunate that the greater part of the treatise had been copied by some of the late historians and that is how we are in a position to gather what the author meant and how he applied his theories to practice. As a practical statesman, he knew what principles were workable so that they could be put into practice. The treatise provides the background for the constitution which was put into practice and it was designed to adjust the governmental machinery to the constitutional spirit. Though it is not possible to give the exact date when the treatise was written, yet it is probable

[5] The idea is borrowed from *The Rashtrakutas* by Dr. Altekar.

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that it was written in the formative period when the constitution was in the making. It does not expound the principles in plain and direct language, but in the form of instructions to be followed by the King.

In the first place, the author wants his King to be an ideal monarch, not the philosopher-king of Plato, but a practical statesman possessing strong character and noble qualities. Apart from natural gifts as bright fortune and nobility of character which a King is expected to be endowed with, he wants his King to possess the following qualities. Saifuddin says that a King should possess right appreciation of merits, so that he might be able to favour the learned and talented men; he should possess wisdom, so that he might be careful of his enemies and guard against them; he should possess sound judgment, so that he may be able to transact the State affairs himself, and not have to depend on the advice of his flattering and interested courtiers; he should be so generous as to defray all the expenses of the State ungrudgingly, and be never moody or morose, but should always be merry and cheerful; he should be far-sighted so as to decide and plan about the future beforehand, and he should profit by the study of History which describes the reigns of the past Kings; he should be so munificent as to be always ready to bestow royal favours on his subjects and extend his liberality to scholars, literary and religious men, poets and historians; he should be religious-minded, so that he may give his first consideration to matters spiritual and not to those which are secular, and may not sacrifice religion under any pretext to the interest of the secular people, because religion is a very important factor in the government of a kingdom as well as in the administration of justice; he should possess dignity which requires him to be tolerant to the poor and helpless people and to forgive their improper behaviour and petty transgressions if they commit any; he should be liberal and kind

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to his subjects in his treatment and bestow on them royal favours, so that they may be loyal to the State; he should be tactful in dealings with his enemy, act with caution, care, prudence and vigilance, and take steps to encourage his own army and dishearten that of his enemy; and the last and not the least, the author wants his King to appear in the public Durbars frequently, attended by all sections of the people, to respond to the greetings of all State officials, to attend to the petitions of high and low and take action with regard to them and, moreover, to maintain royal dignity and prestige, not committing any solecism in the open Durbar. And further he advises the King to consult his ministers frequently as a safeguard against committing any blunder. And this proves that the author believed in a form of government which may fairly be styled as King-in-ministry. He wants his King to be a sort of constitutional monarch, though not responsible to his people in the modern sense of the word, yet law-abiding and dutiful as the constitution and the convention claimed.

These are the personal qualities, which in the opinion of the author, are indispensible for an ideal King. They are followed by a series of instructions which, though addressed to the King, are administrative in character. They deal with the important duties and functions of the State. As far as this part of the constitution is concerned, the King is directed first to be careful in the selection of efficient officers. He is advised to avoid the following types of people who would prove not only inefficient but also harmful to the State. They are the self-seekers, the time-servers and the greedy. As for the military service, the King should appoint such people as are well-versed in archery, swordsmanship, riding and other military arts. But the King is specially advised to have full regard for and give due preference, in appointments to responsible posts, to people of noble birth such as the descendants of the Holy Prophet and of

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former kings and nobles, because they inherit good qualities and time-honoured traditions from their ancestors, and as such they may be relied upon to serve the kingdom with efficiency and loyalty.

The author urges further that the State entirely rests on the support of two types of people, whose services can never be dispensed with. Under the first category come those who may be styled as اهل السيف والعلم "Men capable of wielding the sword and keeping the flag up," and under the second come those who may be styled اهل العلم والقلم "Men who possess learning and can wield pen." As to the first type of people, it is they who guard and protect the property and honour of the country. They are to be classified according to their training and merits. The author divides these war-like people into nine classes to be posted on different duties as garrison work, watching frontiers and so on, according to their various degrees of merit. Then the author deals with the people who come under the second category, *i.e.*, the men of learning, who are responsible for the administration and prosperity of the kingdom. He again divides this section into 19 sub-sections according to their personal merits, qualities, character, and qualifications. He advises the King to appoint to each of the various administrative posts of the State a man who is best fitted for it. He points out that there are 19 different functions of the State, each being entrusted to a special officer as the Prime Minister وكيل, the private secretary دبير, the military commander بخشی, the steward داروغه, Lord Chamberlain داروغه موتات, the head of the palace attendants داروغه شاگربشه, reporters وقايع ده. the equerry داروغه داغ, tax-collector چوکی نويس, reporter of the palace ايلچی, captain of the palace guard داروغه هرکاره, accountant صراف, revenue collector تحصيلدار, officer-in-charge of all religious endowments صدر, the judge قاضی, the *Mufti* مفتی, the courtier مصاحب,

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and the censor محتسب . And then he advises the King to entrust each of these duties to a man who is best fitted for it. The account given above amply proves how thoroughly the author had studied the various functions and duties of the State and bears witness to his deep knowledge of human character and of the individual differences found in respect of character among men.

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8

THE HINDUS IN MEDIEVAL INDIA

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It is believed that the lot of the Hindus under Muslim rule was that of " hewers of wood and drawers of water to their Muslim masters " inasmuch as Muslim rulers were in general under the influence of Muslim jurists, who regarded the humiliation of the Hindus as a religious obligation.

But it is generally forgotten that the principle that found so much favour in Germany in the 17th century, *cujus regio ejus religio* (he who rules a country may settle its religion) was never adopted by the Muslim Kings of India. I emphasize that the principle of *cujus regio ejus religio* which inspired the religious policy of the Tudor monarchs in England and German princes found no place in the history of Medieval India. In 1392 A.D. Kans, a Hindu Zamindar, seized the throne of Bengal. Raja Kans, though a Hindu, was accepted as the ruler by the Muhammadan officers of the army. His son Jaitmal called together all the officers of State and expressed a desire to embrace Islam, adding that if they would not acknowledge him as their sovereign when he became a Muslim he was prepared to hand over the throne to his brother. His officers declared their readiness to accept him as their King without any reference to the religion he chose to adopt.

That Hindus in Medieval India enjoyed freedom to observe religious rites is attested by Bernier and Elphinstone. Whilst the former notes the practice of Sati, the sun-eclipse

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fair and bathing at the ghats, the latter sums up the matter saying that " the Hindus were not molested in the exercise of their religion." Temples and Dharamsalas were built and preserved, and some of these survive at Brindaban, Gobardhan, Gaya and Ranpur. In the town of Brindaban, which dates from the 16th century, four of the existing temples were built about that time. Gobardhan, a town in the district of Mathura, contains the temple of Hari Dev originally bulit about 1500 A.D. That some of the Muslim rulers made grants for the maintenance of Hindu temples is established by a document bearing the seal of the Emperor Ahmad Shah (1748-54 A.D.).

" Farman issued by the Emperor Ahmad Shah to the Zamindars and cultivators of Qasba Achhnera in the Suba of Akbarabad, the house of Khilafat.

" Seventeen bighas of land free from any charges and taxes are hereby given for a charitable purpose in the name of Sital Das Bairagi (the keeper of the idol-house) in order to enable him to meet the expenses of Bhogdeo and Shri Thakurji. The revenue of the given land is granted to the Bairagi in order that he may spend it in procuring the wherewithal for Shri Thakurji. Be it known to the Chaudhri of Bazaar of Achhnera that for every load of corn one quarter of a *ser* should be reserved for purposes of Thakur Jeo; the aforesaid Bairagi must not be deprived of this.

" Written on the first of Ramzan, the 6th year of the high and exalted reign, 1139 Fasli. Farman for the Nar Singh temple of Achhnera, Agra district, 1167 A.H. (1754 A.D.) Seal Ahmad Shah Badsha."

Firishta, like Sujan Rai of Batala, the author of the *Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh*, gives an interesting story with regard to the annual Hindu fair and bathing at Thaneswar. When Sikandar Lodi declared his intention to prohibit it, Mian Abdullah Ajodhi, a scholar and theologian of his court, protested, saying—" the devastation of temples and the

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prohibition of time-honoured bathing on a pond or river is entirely illegal and unwarranted by the Shariat." Inflamed with anger Sikandar Lodi ran at him with an unsheathed dagger saying, "Thou pleadest for infidelity!" The scholar courageously replied, "I tell your Majesty the ruling of the Shariat; it rests with you to accept it or reject it." The Sultan was impressed; his anger subsided, and he never since thought of interdicting the Hindu fair.

The reader should compare this ruling of the Shariat regarding non-Muslim subjects with the oft-quoted one of "Death or Islam; or the alternative Jizia which was due to the so-called humanity of the Ulamas." On paying the Jizia the Hindus were as if urged to remember "how highly they are favoured. . . . Should the collector be pleased to spit in their faces they are to receive it as an attention and put no difficulties in his ways by turning side." This is based on the opinion expressed before Ala-ud-din Khalji by a certain Qazi Mughis-ud-din who was by no means infallible and was the least fitted to be an expounder of the Holy Book. It was perhaps his personal opinion which Mughis-ud-din found easy to hold and urge in those days of political distrust; and certainly it produced no effect whatsoever on the political-minded Sultan, who instantly proclaimed his secular policy and in a statesmanlike way observed, "O doctor! thou art a learned man but thou hast had no experience. I am an unlettered man, but I have seen a great deal; be assured then that the Hindus will never become submissive and obedient till they are reduced to poverty. Although I have not studied any science or any book I am a Mussalman of a Mussalman stock. To prevent rebellion in which thousands perish I issue such orders as I consider would be for the good of the State and the benefit of the people. I do not know whether this is lawful or unlawful. Whatever I think good for the State or suitable to the emergency, the same I order." This clearly shows the real object of

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Sultan Ala-ud-din's ordinance to leave to the Hindus just sufficient maintenance and not to allow them to accumulate hoards. It could not have been issued with a view to encouraging or forcing conversion to Islam, since no faith can thus be propagated, nor was Ala-ud-din in any sense its missionary. Obviously the ordinance was a political measure devised and adopted by Ala-ud-din to meet certain emergencies just as martial law is now occasionally enforced or the Law of Maximum combined with the Revolutionary Tribunal was enacted during the French Revolution.

This has been grossly misunderstood; and on its basis a theory has been propounded of the " anti-Hindu legislation of Ala-ud-din Khalji." But Mr. Moreland has earned the gratitude of many by telling the truth about the nature of Ala-ud-din's legislation. He has shown how Barani's use of the term " Hindu " has been taken by the modern historians as evidence of Ala-ud-din's hostility to his Hindu subjects. " Barani " observes Mr. Moreland, " speaks of the Hindus, but here and in various other passages where the phrase occurs, the context makes it plain that he is thinking of the upper classes, not of the peasants. Taking his book as a whole, I would infer that he thought of the kingdom as consisting not of two elements but of three—Moslems, Hindus and herds of peasants. In this passage, the details which follow show that the question really at issue was how to break the power of the rural classes, the chiefs and the headmen of parganas and villages; in point of fact, the regulation was favourable to the smaller peasants, in so far as it insisted on the leaders bearing their fair share of the burden—the weak were not to pay for the strong." Evidently this has been misinterpreted and described as " anti-Hindu legislation " in the current books of history.

There has likewise been a misunderstanding with regard to Muslim law. It is said to be unchangeable, which as a matter of fact it is not. It can be changed to suit the

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needs of the times by a ruler well-versed in politics and theology. The Muslim ruler is at once the head of the Government and the Church, and he can exercise full discretion consistently with the Quran in matters religious and political. This is illustrated by the Infallibility Decree of 1579, engineered by Sheikh Mubarak, a theologian, to enable Akbar to assume full powers due in the truest sense to a Muslim sovereign.

Under Muslim rule the Hindus are said to have been stigmatized as Kafirs, bound to pay the Khiraj or *tributum soli* (a land tax levied on the non-Muslim subjects, the Zimmis) and the Jizia or *tributum capitis*. "Both these imposts were in existence in the Roman Empire under the very same designations, and the capitation tax was universally in force under the Sassanides in the Persian empire."[1] In the Holy Quran there is no mention of Khiraj; and the Jizia as used in it denoted tribute of any kind paid by non-Muslim subjects; it later came to be used for the capitation tax. It was not imposed on the Hindus or non-Muslims as penalty for their refusal to accept the Muslim faith but was paid by them because of their exemption from the obligation to render military service and in return for the protection secured for them by the arms of the Muslims. Such was also the case in the Ottoman Empire. In his account of Orchan (1326-59), the second Sultan of Turkey, Lord Eversley[2] tells us that "military service whether in the new infantry or in the feudal cavalry was strictly confined to the Muslims. Christians who were thus exempted from military duty were subjected to a capitation tax from which Muslims were free." In India the Hindus were recruited in the Sultans' armies from the time of Mahmud of Ghazni and his successors. And as soon as the Hindus volunteered their

1 Amir Ali, *Expansion of the Saracens.*

2 Eversley, Lord, *The Turkish Empire*, 23.

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service in the army they were exempt from the Jizia. That the armies of early Muslim rulers of India contained a large number of Hindus I have shown in my book *The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq*. In the army of Sher Shah the matchlockmen and footmen were exclusively Hindus, and under Akbar almost half the imperial army was Hindu; and the Hindus continued since to render military service until the disintegration of the Mughul empire. "One of the Muslim Sultans of Bengal," says Firishta "enlisted 5,000 Hindu footmen as his body-guard." Twice over during the administration of the Mughul emperors the Jizia was formally abolished: first under Akbar; and secondly under Muhammad Shah, and there was nothing sacrilegious in either case. "Under Akbar, the Hindus," says Dr. Law,[3] "enjoyed exactly the same political and social rights as the ruling race, . . . individually every Hindu was as free as any of Akbar's subjects. The highest offices of state, military and civil, were open to him. The Hindus and Muhammadans were then freely admitted to, and found studying, in the same schools. The co-education of the Hindus with Muhammadans since became a tradition . . ." The same is said to be the condition in Afghanistan, since the time of King Aman-Ullah. And he certainly broke no sacred law by placing his Hindu subjects on a level with the Mussalmans. Even the orthodox Shah Tahmasp of Persia is said to have advised Humayun to be kind and considerate towards the Hindus. That Humayun had great regard for the Hindus goes without saying. He "became the knight of the princess Kurnavati of Chitore and pledged himself to her service." That service he loyally performed. He addressed her always as 'dear and virtuous sister.' He also won the regard of Raja Bihari Mal of Amber whose daughter Akbar married subsequently."

[3] Law, N. N., *Promotion of Learning under Muslim Rule.*

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It was really as political malcontents and not as "dissenters" or "recusants" that the Hindus were harassed, if at all, and as such even Mussalmans were not spared. Leading Mussalmans—Syeds, Sufis and Ulamas – were murdered or exiled by Ala-ud-din Khalji, Muhammad bin Tughluq and Akbar. Submissive and law-abiding Hindus enjoyed citizenship as much as the Mussalmans. As landholders their proprietory rights were recognized, and due prices were paid when their lands were acquired as in the case of the Taj. Hindu disputes and cases when referred to Muslim courts were settled and decided according to the *Tazir* (customary law). Between a Hindu and Mussalman there was actually no difference as regards the administration of justice. This can be illustrated notably from the reign of Balban, Muhammad bin Tughluq, Sher Shah, Akbar and Jahangir. Under Jahangir, a quarrel arose in the Deccan between a Syed Mussalman and a Hindu shopkeeper originally about the trivial matter of the price of an article or remuneration for some labour. It rapidly developed into a communal fight between the Syeds and Rajputs. Some were killed on either side including a Rajput Sardar named Raja Girdhar Kachhwa. The leading Syed chief, namely, Syed Kabir of Barha, was suspected as the aggressor; he was immediately arrested and sent to jail, and after due enquiry was publicly executed in 1018 A.H. (1609 A.D.); to this a chronogram quoted by T. W. Beale in his *Miftah-ut-Tawarikh* bears testimony. "The lord of spirituality, Kabir, one of the great men of this world, left this world, and found his place with the keeper of paradise.

"When he departed from this mundane earth, the eternal paradise became his abode.

"When I thought of the date of his departure Reason said that is 1018 A.H."

Of all the Muslim rulers in India, Muhammad bin Tughluq is the most grossly misunderstood. His attitude

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towards Hinduism, and his relations with his Hindu subjects and the Hindu ascetics on the one hand, and with the Muslim jurists, the Ulama and Fuqaha, and "the Sayeds, the Sunnis, the Sufis and Mashaikh" (saints) on the other were of enormous importance in one of the most interesting and most instructive phases of Indian history.

Hard was the lot of Muhammad bin Tughluq; and he suffered amply for his free thought and rationalism. But he proved himself a revolutionary and his career helped Barani to realise how little the preceding Sultans of Delhi had been influenced by the Fuqaha (jurists). Barani, therefore, discarded all of them and regarded Firuz Shah as the first truly Islamic King of India. The historian was not without justification. History shows that the theories of Qazi Mughis-ud-din, of Maulana Shams-ud-din and even of the recognised Arab jurist Mawardi did not carry much weight in the eyes of the Muslim rulers of Delhi. Dr. Tritton's observation, "the conduct of the rulers was often better than the law demanded," made with regard to the Caliphs, is more true of the rulers of Medieval India.

Barani puts into the mouth of Iltutmish a theory which the latter as well as his successors, notably Balban, regarded as impracticable. According to this theory, a Muslim King should always uphold the religion of Islam, endeavour to extirpate idolatry, and humiliate the Hindus. He should suppress every heresy among the Mussalmans and confer all high and responsible posts, particularly those in the judicial department, upon pious men of religion. And lastly he should do his utmost to administer impartial justice. This theory, in so far as it inculcates severity to non-believers, was rejected by almost all the rulers of Medieval India. Even Aurangzeb disliked forced proselytization. The list of converts in his reign as given in the *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri* is before us, and it does not justify statements usually made that "Aurangzeb determined to enforce the conversion of the

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Hindus by the severest penalties, and even by the sword." It should be noted that the Quran forbids coercion of *all* kinds in matters religious.

No coercion whatsoever in religion (لا اكراه فى الدين) is the famous Quranic injunction. Islam even recognizes the existence of different sects. "Men were of one religion only; then they disagreed . . . But if God had so willed, verily all who are in the world would have believed together (in one religion). Wilt thou then compel men to become believers?" (Quran).

In view of these Quranic injunctions forbidding all coercion, if Aurangzeb employed force, as is generally believed, surely he was to blame. And this action or misaction was inconsistent with the teachings and principles of Islam. But the pity is that even Islam is not spared; it is held to ridicule. "The murder of infidels," says Sir Jadunath Sarkar in his *History of Aurangzib*, "is counted a merit in a Muslim. It is not necessary that he should tame his own passions or mortify his flesh; it is not necessary for him to grow a rich growth of spirituality. He has only to slay a certain class of his fellow-beings or plunder their lands and wealth, and this act in itself would raise his soul to heaven. A religion whose followers are taught to regard robbery and murder as a religious duty is incompatible with the progress of mankind or with the peace of the world."[4]

At all events, facts belie the theory mentioned above. Even a mild King like Jalal-ud-din Khalji remonstrated powerfully with the exponents of this theory and worsted them in argument, declaring the theory as impracticable and graphically describing the powers and privileges the Hindus had hitherto enjoyed under Muslim rule. "All along the course of history," he said, "the Hindus have been publicly practising idolatry and have been freely celebrating their

[4] Sarkar, Sir J. N., *History of Aurangzib*, III, 256-57.

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religious rites." "Every day," he continued, "I hear them playing their music under the walls of my own palace along the banks of the Jumna."

For these reasons Sultan Jalal-ud-din refused to change his mild attitude towards the Hindus. Barani tells us that, before his accession, Jalal-ud-din Khalji had been attacked and wounded by a Hindu (Mandahar), but refrained from taking revenge. After his accession to the throne Jalal-ud-din was graciously pleased to appoint his Hindu assailant Vakildar to Malik Khurram with a salary of 100,000 Jitals.

A careful study of Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* and the *Fatawa-i-Jahandari* as well as of the *Rihla* and the *Masalik-ul-Absar* further shows that it is historically inaccurate to say that "the lot of the Hindus under Muslim rule was that of hewers of wood and drawers of water." The *Rihla* completely refutes such a charge. Ibn Batuta relates how a Hindu noble brought an accusation in the court of Qazi against Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq, and how the latter was summoned and tried. The case was decided in favour of the Hindu plaintiff, and the Sultan satisfied him. This tends to show that the Hindus under Muslim rule were not without the means of securing redress. Ibn Batuta tells us that law-abiding Hindus lived on good terms with the Mussalmans. A Hindu named Gul Chand was a companion of Amir Hulajun, the Muslim Governor of Lahore. Another Hindu, Ratan, was appointed Governor of Sind by Muhammad bin Tughluq. And the Sultan was known to have similarly patronised several Hindus. Firishta tells us that Bhiran Rai, commandant of the Gulbarga fortress, was one of the trusted officers in the royal service. Barani tells us that Hindu nobles rubbed shoulders with the Muslim aristocracy. They possessed horses, lived in splendid houses, dressed magnificently and owned slaves. Even Mussalman servants were found in their suite. "Before the Hindu aristocracy of wealth, the poor Mussalmans used to come as

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supplicants, and were seen begging at their doors. Even in the capital city the Hindus in all honour and respect enjoyed the honorifics of 'Rai,' 'Thakur,' 'Sahu,' 'Mahant,' and 'Pandit.' They also had complete freedom to read their religious books and study Sanskrit. The use of Sanskrit on ceremonial occasions is attested by the Sanskrit inscriptions described in my work on Muhammad bin Tughluq.

Barani's statement that "before the Hindu aristocracy of wealth, the poor Mussalmans used to come as supplicants and were seen begging at their doors" may be regarded as exaggerated in part. But in view of this, there is no justification whatever for maintaining that under Ala-ud-din Khalji the Hindus were treated with special severity and that "the policy of the state was that the Hindus should not have so much as to enable them to ride on horseback, wear fine clothes, carry arms and cultivate luxurious habits. They were reduced to a state of abject misery . . ."

A careful study of all the available data would make us think otherwise, and one is inclined to say that even if the worst was assumed the Hindus benefited from the prosperity of India in the Middle Ages as much as the Mussalmans. Such is also the view of Ibn Batuta and others. Referring to the reign of Firuz Shah Tughluq, Afif, a contemporary historian, describes the happy state of the ryots and testifies to ". . . the general use of gold and silver ornaments by their women." Further he says that "every ryot had a good bedstead and a neat garden" Elphinstone accepts it, in part, and even the most orthodox writer would agree that both Hindus and Mussalmans were benefited by the administration of Firuz Shah Tughluq.

That Hindu princes were liberally treated by Muhammad bin Tughluq and that he even created the Hindu raj in some cases goes without saying.[5] Under the Mughul Emperors

[5] See Husain, A. M., *The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq.*

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the Hindus held high and responsible offices of state in large numbers, and the Rajas were frequently deputed on expeditions and appointed to posts of high trust and responsibility. In the time of Shah Jahan, Jagat Chand of Nurpur, at the head of 14,000 Rajputs raised in his own country, conducted a most difficult enterprise against the Uzbeks of Balkh and Badakhshan. Again in the reign of Aurangzeb in 1661 Raja Mandhata, grandson of Jagat Chand, was deputed to take charge of Bamian and Ghor. Twenty years later he was appointed to this honourable post a second time and created a Mansabadar of 2,000. In 1578 Raja Ghammad Chand of Kangra was appointed Governor of the Jullunder Doab, and the hill country between the Sutlej and the Ravi. "There is no doubt," says Elphinstone, "that many Hindus were employed in civil offices, specially of revenue and accounts; Himu and Medni Rai were entrusted with all the powers of their respective governments, and under Mubarak Shah Khalji the whole spirit of the court and administration was Hindu." In the Deccan one Gangu Brahman was the finance minister of Ala-ud-din Bahmani I, and after Gangu's time the Brahmans of the Deccan controlled the finances of the Mussalman Kings.[6] The Sultans of Golkonda, Ahmadnagar and Bijapur, tolerant as a rule towards their Hindu subjects, threw open to them civil as well as military departments. Shahji, the father of Sivaji, distinguished himself as an army leader for both the kingdoms of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur; advantage of this was taken by Sivaji to lay the foundation of Maratha power in the south.

In the north Sikandar Lodi is said to have specially helped the Hindus to qualify themselves like Musalmans to fill high posts in the State. Once he enquired in a public darbar,

"Is there any Hindu who knows Persian?"

[6] Havell, p. 339.

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When informed in the negative the Sultan invited the Brahmans, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas to read Persian. But all excused themselves on the ground that they could spare no time from their vocational exercises. The Kaisthas alone instantly took to reading Persian; and their strikingly rapid progress roused the envy and emulation of others. Hence the great increase of Hindu employees attested by Babar. "When I arrived in India the officers of revenue, merchants and workmen were all Hindus" (Babar). The work thus initiated by Sikandar Lodi was consummated under Akbar when Persian became the recognized official and literary language. Henceforth Hindus competed for the highest appointments in the state. When some Mussalmans burning with jealousy plaintively said to Akbar that he had raised a Hindu in Todar Mal over their heads, the Emperor replied, "All of you have Hindu officials in your Sarkars: why do you grudge a Hindu in our employ?"

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9

EARLY YEARS AND ACCESSION OF FIRUZ SHAH TUGHLUQ

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(*ABSTRACT*)

Firuz was born of a Rajput mother.—Circumstances relating to the marriage of his father Rajab with the princess Naila. Appointment to the office of *Naib-i-Amir Hajib* at the age of eighteen—later on promoted to Chief Chamberlainship—his position during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq.

The death of Muhammad in Sind threw the Delhi army into great distress. Firuz delivered the army from a precarious situation. He was chosen King in Sind; on the other hand Khawaja Jahan set up a minor of obscure origin on the throne.—Sir W. Haig's contention untenable in view of the accord of the Muslim historians on the point that the phantom Sultan Ghyasuddin Mahmud was not the real son of Muhammad; Sir Wolsely did not explore all the Persian sources and merely relied on an apocryphal story related by Badauni to disprove the statement of Ziauddin Barani.—New light thrown on this point by *Fatuh-us-Salatin* and *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*. Firuz's tact and resourcefulness won over the opposition.—Submission of Ahmad Ayaz and his execution.—Joy in Delhi at the state entry of Firuz into the capital when every visitor was entertained with food, cold drink and betel.

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10

VILLAGE ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE VIJAYANAGAR EMPIRE

(With special reference to Rayalaseema)

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(*ABSTRACT*)

(1) The object of the paper is to bring out the important part played by the village under the Vijaynagar Empire.

(2) Sources of information and importance of the subject.

(3) General administrative divisions of the Empire and the relations to these of one another.

(4) The village or *Grāma*—its internal administration.

(5) The Village Assembly—its composition and powers.

(*a*) Acquisition of property by gift and its management.

(*b*) Grant of gifts to temples and individuals.

(*c*) Levying of taxes.

(*d*) Settlement of boundary disputes.

(*e*) General supervision over village affairs.

(6) Class groups in the village. Relations between these class groups to the Village Assembly.

(7) The Executive Officers. Their relations to the Assembly.

(8) Its lessons to us in our rural reconstruction work.

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11

KRSNADEVARĀYA AND FR. LUIS' EMBASSY TO VIJAYANAGARA

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Kṛṣṇadevarāya's accession to the throne sometime between the Viśākha[1] and Kārtika[2] of the Cyclic year Śukla, Śaka 1431, opens a glorious page in the history of Vijayanagara. His succession, however, was not above question, for it was accomplished in open defiance of the claims of the sons of his brother and the late sovereign, Vîraṇṛsiṃha. Kṛṣṇarāya, therefore, apprehended trouble from his own brothers and nephews. He came into a state of political turmoil, which his predecessors, beginning with Virūpakṣa, had left behind. Rebellions within were a common feature. Particularly was it so in the Mysore territory, where the Unmaṭṭūr chiefs bore Chikka-rāya-paṭṭa[3] and evidently held Sthira-rājya at Terkanambi and the surrounding territory.[4] The empire itself was subject to a rapid disintegration. The Gajapatis of Orissa were now masters of the southern Telugu districts down to the Udayagirimaṇḍalam. The inimical Bahmanī power had split into five independent kingdoms. Bijapur took up her rôle of traditional hostility to the Hindu Empire. Into her hands fell Goa, Chaul and Dabul and the other lands of

1 Vîraṇṛsiṃha was still ruling. See 342 of 1892.

2 Kṛṣṇarāya appears as the reigning King. See 491 of 1906.

3 E. C., III, Ml, 95.

4 A. S. R., 1908-09, p. 117 and 1909-10, p. 114.

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the realm originally lost by Virūpākṣarāya[5] to Muhammad Shah Bahmanī (III). This and their control over the Kṛṣṇā-Tungabhadrā doab, with the strategical forts of Raichur and Mudgal, endangered the safety of the Empire. What was far more dangerous, Vijayanagara was very often given the go-bye by the Mussalman monopolists in horse-trade. They evinced considerable partiality in their dealings towards monarchs of their own creed.[6] Cavalry was the decisive factor in war. The horse, however, did not thrive on South Indian soil[7] and had to be imported from Sind, Persia and Arabia. Uncertain of a regular supply of the animal, Vijayanagara was in great straits in her constant wars with the Mussalmans. What stayed the hands of Bijapur was the hostility of the neighbouring Muslim rulers and the new threat she had to encounter in the Portuguese who first appeared in India in 1498 A.D.

By the capture of Constantinople in 1453 A.D., the Turks drove the Christians out of the entire trade of India with Europe. The European marts, such as Antwerp, clamoured for spices. The efforts to rehabilitate the European trade resulted in the discovery of a sea route to India *via* the Cape of Good Hope. Thus, when Vasco da Gama landed off Calicut in May, 1498 A.D., the Portuguese were regarded as the commercial rivals of the Mussalmans.

As ill luck would have it, the Zāmorin of Calicut owed the extension of his royal power over the whole of Malabar mostly to the help of the Mussalmans.[8] Yet he received da Gama kindly. But the latter misunderstood the courteous Zāmorin and antagonised him.[9] Sometime later, in a riot at

5 Nuniz, Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, p. 305.

6 Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, *Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, pp. 284 ff.

7 *Ibid.*

8 K. M. Panikkar, *Malabar and the Portuguese*, pp. 16-17.

9 Whiteaway, *Rise of the Portuguese Power in India*, pp. 81-86.

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Calicut, about two score of the Portuguese were killed. This was in a large measure due to the Portuguese ignorance of the local customs and habits.[10] Enraged, Cabral retaliated with the burning of Calicut. The Hindu rulers of Cannanore and Cochin, who feared the hegemony of Calicut, befriended the Portuguese and permitted them to build their factories on their soil. In 1506, Francisco de Almeida endeavoured to obtain from Vijayanagara the right to build a fort at Bhaṭkal, in vain. No alternative was left him but to war against the Zāmorin. The greater his hostility to the Zāmorin, the closer grew the latter's alliance with the Moors and the Sultān of Egypt. The combined fleets of the Sultān and of Malabār were, however, worsted in a naval engagement with Almeida in 1509 A.D.

The Zāmorin was conquered but not subdued. The Portuguese bent all their energies to bring him low. Alfonso de Albuquerque took office as the Viceroy of India on Sunday, the 5th Nov., 1509. His attempt to destroy Calicut ended in a disaster to the Portuguese. Several of them were killed, the Marshal was lost in the action and Albuquerque was himself wounded. Fr. Luis' embassy to Vijayanagara in January, 1510 A.D., within a few months of Kṛṣṇarāya's accession, was thus the direct offshoot of Albuquerque's inability to reduce Calicut. This embassy is of great importance and interest to us and before we proceed with it, a peep into the prior contacts of the Portuguese with Vijayanagara becomes necessary.

The anti-Moor and therefore the anti-Zāmorin Portuguese would have easily secured an alliance with Vijayanagara. But unfortunately for themselves, they had adopted an attitude of hostility towards the subordinate princes of Vijayanagara. This cast a shadow over all the attempts at

10 Whiteaway, *Rise of the Portuguese Power in India*, pp. 81-86.

11 Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 117.

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rapprochement between them, when, later, they came to see the necessity of it.

On the west coast of India, where the Portuguese were active, the power of Vijayanagara was at its weakest. It was on a decline since the days of Virūpākṣarāya. And by the time of Kṛṣṇarāya, the central authority could claim effective control only over the Māle and Tuḷu Rājyas in the west.[12] These probably correspond to Barbosa's Dansean Rayen[13] and Tôlināte respectively. The latter extended along the west coast from the northern extremity of Malabar up to the river Ligua in the north. At the mouth of that river, on a hill, was a castle named Çintacora. The Bijapur Sultāns kept this fort well garrisoned to ward off the attacks, if any, from the Hindu neighbours.[14]

The Hindu neighbours were possibly the five kings referred to by Paes as subjects and vassals of Vijayanagara.[15] Nuniz[16] perhaps meant the same when he mentioned the Kings of Bengapore, 'Gasopa,' 'Bacanore,' 'Calecu'[17] and 'Baticala.' Most of these were constituents of Tôlināte, which was, according to Barbosa, comprised of Cumbola, Bacanore, and Bracalor, Majandur, Baticala, Honor and Mergen.[18] More than one place belonged to each of the main Kingdoms of Bengapore, Gersoppa, Honāwar, Bhaṭkal and Bārakūr. Of these, Bhaṭkal was a very rich kingdom yielding a large revenue to the Centre. Its importance as a trading port was equalled only by Muslim Goa and the Zāmorin's Calicut. Thwarted at Calicut, and not intending a direct fight with the

12 Dr. S. K. Ayangar, *A little-known Chapter . . .*, p. 43.

13 This is stated to be int he back country behind Tôlināte. This is probably Bengapore of Nuniz.

14 Barbosa, I, p. 182.

15 *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 281.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 374.

17 Probably the Kalasa country.

18 Barbosa, I, p. 193, n. 1.

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Muslims, the Portuguese seem to have turned their eyes to Bhaṭkal.

During his second voyage to India, in 1502 A.D., da Gama came upon some vessels of Timōja, a Captain of the Vijayanagara fleet.[19] Chasing those vessels into the river 'Onor,' da Gama burned them down. Marching further, he secured a landing at Bhaṭkal by force. The ruler of the place offered admission to the Portuguese. This was accepted on condition that the Turks were prohibited from trading there, that no trade in pepper should be carried on at that port and that none of her vessels should visit Calicut. The King agreed to this and offered in addition a tribute of 1,000 loads of rice every year for the Portuguese crews and 500 loads of better rice for the Captains. He excused himself from offering more, for he apparently then remembered that he was only a tenant of the King of Vijayanagara to whom the country belonged.[20]

From that day onwards, the attitude of the ruler of 'Onor' was far from friendly to the Portuguese. However, the superiority of the Portuguese navy, which now began to control the sea and the submissive attitude of the rulers of 'Quiloa' and Mombasa appears to have cowed down the opposition of 'Onor.' Shortly after the building of a fort at St. Anjediva, Almeida visited 'Onor.' On the pretext that he was not well received by Merlao, 'the ruler of the city of Onor only,'[21] Almeida burnt a number of the latter's ships. Merlao fled from the city and Timōja, the governor of the city, interviewed Almeida. He excused the King for the incidents that occurred and offered in his name vassalage to Portugal, which offer was accepted.[22]

19 Danvers, *Report*, p. 4. He refers to pirates' vessels belonging to Timoja. See his *The Portuguese in India*, I, p. 81.

20 Danvers, *The Portuguese . . .*, I, p. 82.

21 Castenhada, drawn from by Heras, *Early Relations . . .*, Q.J.M., XVI, p. 65.

22 Danvers, *Portuguese . . .*, p. 120.

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The woeful spectacle of such on abject submission by the subordinate princes of Vijayanagara to the Portuguese does not seem to have escaped the notice of the capital. For, in 1506 A.D., Almeida's request to King Narasa for a fort at Bhaṭkal was ignored. Father Heras draws our attention to the version of Castenhada.[23] According to this, the King in his message of friendship threw all ports open for the Portuguese to build forts therein. Bhaṭkal alone was excepted as it had been rented. He even offered to furnish everything necessary for the erection of these forts. It is difficult to accept Castenhada, for we never see the Portuguese taking advantage of so fair an offer. On the other hand, Sewell was probably correct in thinking that no answer was returned.[24] It, however, showed the unwillingness of Vijayanagara to fall in with the Portuguese in their attempts to crush the Zāmorin and his Moorish associates. The same reluctance is observable in the attitude adopted by Kṛṣṇadevarāya towards Fr. Luis' embassy.

Albuquerque's instructions to Fr. Luis [25] were to impress the Rāya with the desirablity of an alliance with the Portuguese. Masters of the sea, they would bring the Rāya to enjoy an exclusive trade in the horses of Ormuz. Both Vijayanagara and the Portuguese had so far been individually fighting the Moors, who were their common enemy. They could now act conjointly. The Portuguese fleet and the army would now serve the Rāya. An attack on Goa by the Portuguese would divert the Moorish armies and leave the Hindus a free hand in their operations against Bijapur. As a preliminary, Vijayanagara should help the Portuguese with her armies, towns, harbours and munitions and with everything that Albuquerque might require of the Kingdom from time to time. This was to take the Zāmorin captive.

23 Q.J.M., XVI, p. 66.

24 *A forgotten Empire*, p. 117.

25 *Commentaries* of Alfonso Albuquerque, II, pp. 74-77.

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In this the Rāya would help himself as that would destroy the Moorish influence at Calicut. He asked also for a place between Mangalore and Bhaṭkal, to build a factory thereon.

This embassy did not evoke a prompt reply. In all his relations with Albuquerque, this was apparently the only occasion when the Rāya commanded a better bargaining opportunity. Thereafter he is seen in a supplicating mood. His requests for the refusal of horses always came just too late. By then, Albuquerque had gained a key position and dictated his own terms. If these appearances were true, then, this did not go to the credit of the Rāya. With this in view perhaps, some historians charge the Rāya that he did not properly size up the Portuguese. He would not war against them, nor would he accept the proferred help to destroy his Indian enemies. On the other hand, the generality of opinion credits the Rāya with a correct perspective. Yet they too feel somehow that the Rāya's attitude was unaccountable except in terms of the troubled political conditions of the times. Most of his time must have been taken up with internal adjustments. Again he had to fight the northern Muslims and the Gajapati in the initial stages of his rule. "This progress of Krishṇarāya," writes Dr. S. K. Ayangar, " and his doings during the first two or three years of his reign account for what seems unaccountable in respect of his attitude to the Portuguese." [26]

I am afraid nothing can be accounted for by what happens later on. Nor can the Rāya's reluctance to fall in with Fr. Luis' terms of reference within *a few months* of his accession be explained away by what he did during the *first two or three years* of his reign. Yet, there is much truth in the argument presented above. So far as it asserts of the Rāya that he took a proper measure of the Portuguese, it is quite in keeping with facts. But inasmuch as it suggests

[26] Yet-Remembered Ruler . . ., *Hindusthan Review*, 1917, May-June, p. 339.

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that the Rāya could not and therefore did not take the proper line of action towards them, it cannot be accepted. My present endeavour is to show that Kṛṣṇadevarāya had pursued a definite policy towards the foreigners. He neither ignored them as merely traders, nor failed to check them because of his own more pressing need of pacifying the country and rendering his position on the throne more secure.

Kṛṣṇarāya knew well the scant courtesy that the Portuguese had shown his subordinate princes on the west coast. They treated with the princes without any reference to Vijayanagara. They imposed such conditions on them that cut at the root of Vijayanagara sovereignty. It could not be that these subordinate princes were loyal to the Centre so long as they paid the annual tribute and maintained the specified quota of force. But then, that Centre could not come to their rescue. They, no doubt, resented the Portuguese exactions. Yet they were helpless and had to bow before the inevitable. But with the advent of a strong monarch in Kṛṣṇarāya these very princes applied themselves to the task of subverting the Portuguese power in India. Guiding them, the Rāya easily outplayed Albuquerque in the game of diplomacy.

In his eagerness to destroy the Zāmorin and the Moors, Albuquerque was confident of exploiting the Rāya's enmity to both of them. But Vijayanagara's interests lay the other way. Any further strengthening of the Portuguese would only make him more dependent on them for his strength in cavalry. To keep them all at war and see that none went down, would suit him best. They would all get weakened. The Portuguese would be as eager as ever for an alliance with the Rāya. This would ensure a regular supply of horse to him and weaken the Bijapur cavalry. Kṛṣṇarāya could not alienate the Portuguese; nor was he ready to concede anything on the lines indicated through the embassy. So he adopted dilatory tactics. When Fr. Luis went to the

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Court of Vijayanagara, he was ' well received by all except the King.' [27]

Albuquerque had made the Rāya's help in the capture of the Zāmorin the condition precedent to his attack on Goa. [28] The Rāya was taking time to reply. In the meanwhile, Albuquerque wanted to isolate Calicut. He set sail for the Red Sea to cut away Calicut's communications with Egypt. But on his way, Timōja met him and informed him that an Egyptian Captain was hurriedly converting Goa into a naval base at the request of Bijapur.[29] There was, however, delay in reinforcements reaching him, for Yūsuf Ādil Shāh was dead and his son Ismāil away in the interior.[30] Timōja got this information confirmed by a Fakir [31] whom he had himself seized after the capture of Çintacora. The news was at once a threat and a bait. An Egyptian Commander operating from Goa would immensely help the Zāmorin. To leave him at Goa was to nullify the very purpose that was leading him to the Red Sea. On the other hand, Goa, sparsely garrisoned and incompletely fortified, was so tempting. Albuquerque changed his plans. And on March 1, 1510, Goa fell into the hands of the Portuguese, with little fighting. [32] Thus a Portuguese attack on Goa, Albuquerque's conditional offer to Kṛṣṇarāya, was fulfilled. The Rāya, however, incurred no obligations.

The Portuguese victory surprised nobody. For it was known how Timōja had intrigued with the Hindus of Goa to deliver up the city.[33] Timōja, a subordinate of the Rāya, would not act as he did had he not had specific instructions

27 *Commentaries*, III, p. 35.
28 *Ibid.*, II, p. 76.
29 *Ibid.*, p. 82.
30 *Ibid.*, pp. 81-82. Yūsuf Ādil Shāh was still alive.
31 *Ibid.*, p. 87.
32 *Ibid.*, pp. 88-92.
33 *Ibid.*, p. 144.

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from above. Yūsuf Ādil Shāh lodged a protest against the part played by Timōja and other subjects of Vijayanagara. He hoped that they had not acted in accordance with the Rāya's wishes, and begged him for help to regain Goa. [34]

Kṛṣṇarāya understood the remonstrance. He would not, however, dissociate himself from the affair. On the contrary, he claimed responsibility for Timōja's actions. He even proclaimed his gratification to see Goa in the hands of the Portuguese. He warned Yūsuf Ādil Shāh against any attempts to regain Goa, for then he would himself be helping the Portuguese to defend it. On 24th April, Bersore, the King of Gersoppa, through his runner, informed the Portuguese Viceroy with what passed between Vijayanagara and Bijapur. Kṛṣṇarāya had then expressed himself as the brother and friend of the King of Portugal.[35] And now Bersore too sent in his personal assurances of friendship and aid in case of need.[36] These assurances were not genuine. When on 17th May, Yūsuf Ādil Shāh re-entered Goa, Albuquerque found himself alone to fight him and perforce retreated.

The *status quo* was thus restored, but with a difference. Henceforth, Goa definitely became the bone of contention between Bijapur and the Portuguese. For Albuquerque vowed to take his rest again in the palace of the Ādil Shāh before that summer would pass.[37] Yūsuf Ādil Shāh pleaded in vain with Albuquerque to leave Goa alone and accept any other place instead and a lasting friendship with the Muslims. He would gladly forego Goa itself but that his Captains would rebel against him. Albuquerque summarily rejected these offers. He would think of no treaty without the surrender of Goa.

34 *Commentaries*, II, pp. 138-39.
35 *Ibid.*, pp. 138-39.
36 *Ibid.*
37 *Ibid.*, p. 187.

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Thus Goa hung fire. Until a war finally settled it, one way or the other, Kṛṣṇarāya could openly side with neither party. Bijapur had not yet shown any signs of weakening. And a hostile Bijapur was unwelcome particularly at that time. For, Kṛṣṇarāya had immediately to attend to the rebellion of the Unmaṭṭūr chiefs, who claimed the throne of Vijayanagara as theirs of right. The revolt spread to Penukoṇḍa. The Rāya, therefore, sought friendship with Bijapur. Circumstances favoured his general policy. Yūsuf Ādil Shāh appears to have died at the time,[38] giving place to Ismāil. Inexperienced and confronted with a war with the Portuguese over Goa, Ismāil Ādil Shāh hearkened willingly to Kṛṣṇarāya's secret overtures for peace.

On the other hand, the Portuguese had not yet justified their claims to be regarded as a superior military power. Nevertheless, a Portuguese Goa was still a possibility. The possession of Belgaum alone would meet that danger. For without that fortress, one could not keep the Kingdom of Goa and all the estate there, safe and secure.[39] But it was then in the hands of Bijapur, which could not just then be antagonised. The Rāya began to explore ways and means to obtain the fort. In the meanwhile, he kept up a friendly attitude towards the Portuguese. In theory, he had already come out as an advocate of their cause. More than ever, Bersore and Timōja were ingratiating themselves into the favour of the Portuguese Viceroy. The rulers of Bhaṭkal wooed Albuquerque for an alliance.[40]

Albuquerque recaptured Goa in November, 1510 Ā.D. This enhanced the prestige of the Portuguese to a high

38 Ferishta places Yūsuf's death in 1512 A.D. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya believes that his death took place sometime between February, 1509 and February, 1510 A.D. (J.O.R., April-June, 1936, p. 160). But the evidence available points out a later date for the event—sometime between 16th August and November, 1510 A.D.

39 *Commentaries*, III, p. 37.

40 *Ibid.*, II, p. 225.

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degree. The Hindu and Muslim princes began to pay them homage, for it disheartened those who had contemplated the extermination of the foreigners. The King of Cambaiya came forth with the offer of Diu to the Portuguese. The Zāmorin himself prayed Albuquerque to accept a site at Calicut to build a factory thereon. Albuquerque had not been supported by Bersore and Timōja in the capture of Goa. He soon fortified it and began harassing Bhaṭkal. The latter soon would cease to be the principal centre of trade with Ormuz. The situation compelled Kṛṣṇarāya to send his envoys to Goa.

One of these envoys carried a letter from Fr. Luis to Albuquerque. This letter [41] is very important. It initiates us for the first time into what transpired behind the scenes at Vijayanagara. But it is, in parts, very highly confusing. An elaborate quotation may, therefore, be permitted :

'And as for the negotiations which his instructions ordered him to carry out, he had presented them many times without getting any answer to the purpose, but always had been put off; but at last he had told him (the Rāya) that he (Luis) was very much disconcerted at the orders (Ādil Shāh's) for attacking him (Albuquerque) and he might build a fortress at Baṭicala, for he (the Rāya) said that he was very desirous of his (Albuquerque's) friendship at the very time that he (Luis) knew that it had been entered into with the Hidalcão, but that did not agree with the offers that he (Albuquerque) had made to help him (the Rāya) in taking the Kingdom of the Deccan, which had been his (the Rāya's) of old. And when these interviews with the King were over, the King sent for the governor of the city and blamed him very much for desiring this alliance with the Hidalcão. And that King of Garçopa had written him a letter by virtue of which he could take him (Ādil Shāh) and destroy him if he liked,

41 *Commentaries*, III, pp. 35-38.

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but as they were now very friendly, he had not done so; but that if this (alliance) was done for money which he (Ādil Shāh) had promissed to give him (the Rāya) the Hidalcão would show towards them that true faith which his father (Yūsuf) had shown towards the King of Narsinga, when he took him in battle but released him on his promise to serve him for ever.'[42]

Herein Fr. Luis refers to his 'Interviews' with the Rāya. The letter itself in a way summarises the talks that ensued. After a good deal of delay, Fr. Luis got an opportunity to place Albuquerque's proposals before the Rāya. The Rāya gave no answer. Time passed. Slowly, little by little, Fr. Luis got scent of an understanding existing between Vijayanagara and Bijapur. This explained the Rāya's hesitation to accept his proposals. The Rāya had shown himself capable of playing a double game. His protestations of friendship for the Portuguese were all a show. All the time, he was instigating the Ādil Shāh to fight the Portuguese. He promised to keep peace with Bijapur in return for a certain sum. Bersore's 'information'[43] placed the Ādil Shāh in his power. He knew Ismāil was the son of his father, and never to be taken at his word. Yet he would not harm him. For it would go against their agreement. Albuquerque offered to help the Rāya to gain the Kingdom of the Deccan for Vijayanagara. To take advantage of it, the Rāya would have to denounce the agreement. He did not choose to do so. Fr. Luis suggested that his duplicity was known. The Rāya had been so much pleased to profess that he esteemed the friendship of the Portuguese. Fr. Luis asked him to prove it in action. Let him allow Albuquerque to build a factory at Bhaṭkal. That would give them a safe harbour, while Goa might any moment be attacked by the

[42] The pronouns in the passage are highly confusing. The apposites within brackets are mine.

[43] What this information might be is nowhere given.

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Muslems. The Rāya reprimanded the 'Governor' for having concluded a treaty with Bijapur over his head. But this was only a politic denial of his responsibility. It was neither meant nor taken to prove the innocence of its author.

Fr. Luis' letter discloses Bersore as the trusted servant of Rāya. He plotted against Bijapur. He was equally scheming against the Portuguese. In this he was ably assisted by Timōja. Fr. Luis advised Albuquerque not to trust either of them. They were 'men of such bad dispositions.' They had written to the Rāya asking for forces. If they arrived in time they 'would deliver the city (of Goa) over to him before the Portuguese could fortify their position therein.' Alive to this danger, Fr. Luis advised the Portuguese Viceroy to 'keep up friendly communications with the king.' The King was making military preparations. It was difficult to understand the drift of all this. The Rāya would take the rebel. He would also 'proceed with all this force of men to his places situated on the edge of the sea.' Goa was close by. Hence Fr. Luis' advice to Albuquerque.

Albuquerque had already realised in experience the faithlessness of Bersore and Timōja. Fr. Luis' warning only confirmed his worst suspicions. In fact, Fr. Luis had already been anticipated. On his way to Goa, Albuquerque, with his fleet, anchored off Anjediva. While there 'he was advised not to place any reliance upon the promised offers of the King of Garçopa and of Timōja, because they were in fear lest things should not turn out well for them and they did not wish to be in worse relation to the Hidalcão than they were already.'[44]

Reference is made to Bersore, how in April, 1510 A.D., he assured the Portuguese Viceroy that 'he too was ready with his own body and all the resources of his Kingdom to

[44] *Commentaries*, III, p. 3.

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serve him against the Hidalcão whenever it was necessary.'[45] In reply, Albuquerque just thanked him. For he made up his mind to send Bersore a 'messenger who would tell him all about the proceedings by word of mouth.'[46] He could not put them on paper in black and white. They were so important and confidential. What was the game? Albuquerque himself furnishes the key to the mystery. He wrote to Timōja in September, 1510 A.D.: 'Kiss for me the hands of the King of Garçopa and tell him that I beg he will assist me with all his power . . . I will help him with my person, my horses, arms and people to gain much land from them and I will make him a greater Lord than all the others who are round about him.'[47] This was his bid for Bersore's complete allegiance. Bersore pretended to be taken in. He got his armies ready. Laurenço Moreno interpreted from Albuquerque that this was 'with the intention of co-operating with him in the Goa expedition.'[48] This hastened Albuquerque to proceed to Goa. Before carrying Goa by assult, Albuquerque waited for them, three days. But they did not appear. He believed that this defection had all been brought about by the Turks. They had heavily bribed Timōja and Bersore not to assist the Portuguese. He knew Timōja was artful and was sure to keep on dissembling. The taking of Goa would cost much blood. Until the fall of the city, Timōja would not show himself.[49] Albuquerque had not yet divined the true cause.

A similar experience awaited him with regard to Bhaṭkal. The previous March, her rulers had approached him praying for a treaty. Strongly entrenched at Goa, and intent upon

45 *Commentaries*, II, p. 139.
46 *Ibid.*
47 *Ibid.*, p. 228.
48 *Ibid.*, p. 241.
49 *Ibid.*, III, p. 7.

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wrecking Bhaṭkal as a trading port, Albuquerque did not answer them. But now, Goa was again to be taken. During the operations, Bhaṭkal was indispensable for supplies. In September, 1510 A.D., Albuquerque sent Laurenço to Bhaṭkal. He had to demand of her rulers a house of stone and mortar built at their expense and an annual tribute of two thousand bags of rice. It was now their turn to reject his proposals. They refused to do anything of the kind suggested without first of all finding what the pleasure of their Lord of Vijayanagara would ordain.' [50]

Nevertheless, Albuquerque took Goa. He was disgusted with the subordinate princes of Vijayanagara. They seemed never to keep faith with him. Kṛṣṇarāya himself was quite evasive. Albuquerque now turned to Bijapur. He set on foot negotiations with the Ādil Shāh to discover how best they might both live as friendly neighbours. Portuguese Goa began to drain Bhaṭkal of her trade. It was at this time that Belgaum went over to Vijayanagara. Fr. Luis wrote: 'the principal Hindus of the city of Belgao (as soon as they heard of the capture of Goa and its fortification by the Portuguese) had broken out into rebellion against the Hidalcão and had cast the Moors out of the city and put themselves under the command of the King' [51] of Vijayanagara.

To do so, the good citizens of Belgaum waited until after the fortification of Goa by the Portuguese. Bersore and Timōja had promised to deliver up to the Rāya only an unfortified Goa. Since that was no longer possible, they seem to have attended to Belgaum. The Rāya was still playing the friend of Bijapur. So they proceeded with caution. Their relations with Bijapur were already far from

[50] *Commentaries*, II, p. 241.
[51] *Ibid.*, III, p. 36.

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friendly. They could not further strain them without exposing the Rāya. We saw how they collected their forces even by September, as though to support Albuquerque in the capture of Goa. They gave him no help. Belgaum went over to Vijayanagara.

These events seem to be somehow connected. Due to reasons specified above, Bersore and Timōja could not take Belgaum by force and in their King's name. Timōja was not a novice at intrigue. He must have been carrying on conversations with the principal Hindus of the city. Their armies, however, were got ready. For they would come handy in case the intrigue went wrong or the Muslims of the city, getting scent of it, tried to foil it, at the critical stage. The Rāya could easily risk an open rupture with the Ādil Shāh though he would not wish it. For one thing, Bersore's ' information ' gave the Rāya a great hold on the Ādil Shāh. Secondly, a fight with Bijapur would place him as the friend of Portugal come to her assistance in her prolonged strife with the Muslims.

Over a year, Alfonso Albuquerque had been kept in the dark. He did not know that the Emperor was over in combat with him. Whichever way he turned, whether it be towards the Ādil Shāh or towards the subordinates of Vijayanagara, he met with some shadowy obstruction. To his credit it may be said that he made the best of a bad bargain. A lesser man would have, in despair, left Goa alone, unconquered. Albuquerque captured it. But it was out of his calculations. In his attempts to monopolise the sea-borne trade of India, he intended an attack on Goa as a bait to rope in Kṛṣṇarāya. But then nothing worked to his plan. Fr. Luis' letter opened his eyes for the first time. The diplomacy of Vijayanagara stood revealed. The Vijayanagara envoys had, therefore, to return as they had come. Albuquerque refused to settle with them the terms of an exclusive trade in horses. He would first await

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the Rāya's reply to the questions raised by him through Fr. Luis.

The envoys returned with the information that Albuquerque was negotiating a treaty with Bijapur. One of them, the same as had carried so important a letter of Fr. Luis, carried back instructions to him to dissemble with the King as much as he could and return to Goa immediately.[52] Fr. Luis, however, was not to receive this message. By the time the envoy reached Vijayanagara, Fr. Luis was dead, murdered by a Turk.

The *Commentaries* refers to the death of Fr. Luis thus: 'It was reported that the Hidalcão had ordered his murder.'[53] There is a letter written, according to Father Heras, by Albuquerque to his sovereign, dated 1st April, 1516 A.D.[54] It appears therein is written: 'At Bisnagar, one Rume murdered Frey Luis; there is nothing extraordinary in this event.'[55] Father Heras states, 'most likely that murder was committed to prevent the pourparlers from taking place between Krishnadeva Rāya and the Franciscan Friar about the trade in horses.'[56]

These apparently conclusive assertions have to answer the following question: 'Who would be the gainer for Luis' death?' or, which is the same: 'Who stood to lose if he were alive?'

It may be remembered that scarcely had Goa fallen, than Albuquerque entreated Ismāil, for his own good, to ally with the Portuguese. With a mere assent, Ismāil could deprive Vijayanagara of her horse-supply. For that, no murder was necessary. Supposing the necessity was admitted, even then, why choose a Turk for the rôle? To

52 *Commentaries*, III, p. 38.

53 *Ibid.*

54 Albuquerque died in Dec., 1515 A.D. Either the date is incorrect or the letter's authorship.

55 *Early Relations* . . . Q.J.M., XVI, p. 69.

56 *Ibid.*

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have done so, the Ādil Shāh must have had a very poor judgment. For it could easily be turned against him. It was so done in fact. And again, until he lost Belgaum Ismāil was on friendly terms with Vijayanagara. He must have known that Kṛṣṇarāya was not a party to the attack on Goa. The Rāya had, therefore, no claims to the Portuguese support. Then why this fear of a not very probable treaty between them? Why this murder?

One may reply that Kṛṣṇarāya heard of the negotiations between Goa and Bijāpur, for the first time, only after Fr. Luis' death. Broadly, the reply may be accepted. But it only shows the untenability of the motives read into the murder. They were different and deeper. This has already been indicated in the foregoing pages. Kṛṣṇarāya had allowed Fr. Luis several interviews. The ambassador was unguarded in his talks. The Rāya easily gathered from him that the secret of his policy towards Goa and Bijapur was known to him. Just then he was considering the advisability of seizing Goa for himself. Could it be that this too was known to Fr. Luis ? Of a sudden, the Friar proved a danger to the Empire, both near the Court and away from it. The only course was to stifle his voice. The murder secured this. To engage a Turk for the purpose was to throw the blame on the Ādil Shāh.

It appears as though there was at Vijayanagara a strict censorship of Friar Luis' letters to Albuquerque. 'After that the Great Afonso Dalboquerque sent Fr. Luis to Narsinga . . . he never received any news of how things had fared with him.'[57] Not that Luis had not writen to him. In his last letter the Friar wrote to Albuquerque relating to the manner of his arrival at Narsinga and stating that, in other letters which he had written, he had described how he had been well received by all except the King.[58] This

[57] *Commentaries*, III, p. 35.

[58] *Ibid.*

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absence of information was not as regards the ' instructions ' alone. Were it so, there was no need for him to relate anew ' the manner of his arrival at Vijayanagara.' That no information ever reached Albuquerque from Luis is, therefore, a safe inference. The letter is a narration of past events and of several talks with the Rāya. It also refers to a rising of the ' Guazils ' against the Ādil Shāh. Albuquerque might be expected to have known it. The warning against Timōja and Bersore came long after Albuquerque suffered from their defection. Evidently Fr. Luis had not heard of it. He was virtually a prisoner.

It appears, however, that Fr. Luis became conscious of his anomalous position. He now made every effort to come into touch with Goa. The envoy of Kṛṣṇarāya was his find to communicate with Albuquerque. The letter that he sent through him is very important, full of the official secrets of the Vijayanagara Court. To entrust it to an envoy of the same Rāya, Fr. Luis must have won him over by payment or through promises. That an ambassador should not have had communications with his superior, independent of the Court to which he had been sent, is the last that can ever be imagined. Yet so it was. Otherwise, it is difficult to explain how Fr. Luis had to approach Vijayanagara's envoy to transmit his letter. That was the last act of Fr. Luis for the benefit of the Portuguese. He had successfully unveiled the diplomacy of Vijayanagara ; but his efforts in that direction cost him his life.

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12

KUMĀRAGIRI REDDI, 1381-1403 A.D.

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The Reḍḍis of Koṇḍavīḍu have played a prominent part in the history of the Andhra country during nearly a century that followed the fall of the illustrious Kākatīya kingdom of Warangal in 1323 A.D. The reign of Kumāragiri, the fourth member of the Reḍḍi dynasty, is important for several reasons. The recent discovery of two copper plate grants upsets the accepted chronology of this reign and brings to light fresh information regarding some obscure aspects thereof. The object of this paper is to reconstruct Kumāragiri's reign in the light of all the available materials.

Kumāragiri was the son of Anapōta, the second ruler of the Reḍḍi dynasty. Anapōta was, however, succeeded not by his son but by his younger brother Anavēma, who ruled between 1361-1381 A.D.[1] This was probably due to the fact that Kumāragiri was too young to occupy the throne at the time of his father's death. It is also likely that the contemporary political situation demanded the presence of a strong man on the Reḍḍi throne. During his efficient rule of twenty years, Anavēma not only consolidated the position of the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom but also extended its boundaries up to Simhāchalam in the north and Śrīśailam in the south.[2]

[1] See my "Chronology of the Reḍḍis of Koṇḍavīḍu" in the *Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference*, Trivandrum session.

[2] See the Manyamāpuram grant of this King in the appendix of Pandit Prabhākara Śāstri's *Śringāraśrīnāthamu* (Telugu).

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After his death,[3] serious troubles beset the Reḍḍi Kingdom on all sides. The viceroys of the Vijayanagara King on the east coast, who had till now been biding their time, took the war path. There seems to have been considerable trouble even on the northern frontier. This is indicated by a copper plate grant recently discovered.[4] It is stated therein that in 1390 A.D., the date of that record, the rulers of the eastern region up to Simhādri were hostile to Kumāragiri. Further, Kumāragiri's generalissimo, Kāṭaya Vēma, repeatedly invaded this region during the reign. This trans-Gōdavari region was, however, included in the Reḍḍi dominion till the death of Anavēma. It is obvious, therefore, that the Reḍḍi subordinates in this region threw off their yoke immediately after the death of Anavēma. Thus, the Reḍḍi Kingdom was beset by troubles on all sides at the time of Kumāragiri's accession.

Was Kumāragiri's accession peaceful? A verse in the Tottaramūḍi plates of Kāṭaya Vēma implies that it was not so.[5] It is stated therein that Kāṭaya Vēma placed his brother-in-law Kumāragiri on the throne and made him shine as Krishṇa did Dharmarāja. It is very well known that Krishṇa, the celebrated hero of the *Mahābhārata*, championed the cause of the Pāṇḍavas, guided them to victory in their fight with their cousins and ultimately crowned Dharmarāja, the eldest of the five brothers. If the analogy is pressed to the extremity, it follows that Kumāragiri too had to contend against powerful relations to obtain possession of his ancestral throne and that Kāṭaya Vēma helped him to victory in this affair. It is probable that either the children of Anavēma or Pedakōmati Vēma, a distant but powerful cousin, disputed Kumāragiri's succession. There is, however, no

[3] He seems to have died in an encounter with the Padmanāyakas, the traditional foes of the Reḍḍis. See p. 2 of *Ibid.*

[4] The Anaparti grant in J.A.H.R.S., XI, pts. 3 & 4, pp. 191-205.

[5] E.I., N, Verse 19.

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definite evidence which enables us to test this probability and this question therefore has to be solved by future researches.

Kumāragiri was a lover of ease and scholarly pursuits. He resigned the government of the Kingdom entirely into the hands of his brother-in-law and minister Kāṭaya Vēma and himself pursued a life of pleasure. The reign seems to have opened with troubles. The Velamas followed up their victory over the Reḍḍis, in which Anavēma was killed in 1381 A.D., and marched up to Simhāchalam.[6] Soon after this raid was over, the Ganga King reoccupied this region.[7] These incidents disturbed the peace of the northern border of the Reḍḍi Kingdom and emboldened the feudatories here to become aggressive. It is likely that at this time Kāṭaya Vēma was busy at the Reḍḍi capital consolidating the position of Kumāragiri. An inscription of this Reḍḍi general dated in the same year at Simhāchalam indicates that very soon after this work was finished, he rushed to the northern frontier in order to restore order in this region which was disturbed on account of the raid of the Velamas, mentioned above.[8] While Kāṭaya Vēma was away in the north, another calamity befell the southern and south-western parts of the Reḍḍi Kingdom. Taking advantage of the imbecility of Kumāragiri and the absence of his general from the capital, the Vijayanagara viceroy occupied the Śrīśailam and Tripurāntakam region in the Kurnool district.[9] As soon as this news reached him, Kāṭaya Vēma rushed to the capital. This afforded the Ganga King a good opportunity to regain the Simhāchalam region in 1383 A.D.[10] But this was not the end of Kumāragiri's troubles. The *Velugōtivaṁśāvalī*, a traditional history of the Velamas, and the *Chamatkārachandrikā* mention that the

6 M.E.R. 339 of 1899.
7 *Ibid*, 267 & 270 of 1899.
8 *Ibid*, 277 of 1899.
9 *Ibid*, 257 & 290 of 1905.
10 *Ibid*, 262 & 270 of 1899.

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Velama chief Singama II heaped gross insults upon Kumāragiri, fought with the Reḍḍi subordinates of the Gōdāvari region, defeated the Gajapati and forced him to conclude a treaty.[11] One of the inscriptions at Simhāchalam dated 1387 A.D. mentions a Singama nāyaka whom I identify with Singama II.[12] Curiously enough, there is an inscription of this Eastern Ganga King Vira Narasimha II dated in the same year found in the same place. The Anaparti plates of the time of Kumāragiri mention that by 1390 A.D. he was on friendly terms with the rulers of the west, meaning thereby the Velamas. Taking all these facts into consideration, I arrange the chronology of the early part of the reign of Kumāragiri as follows: Kāṭaya Vēma left Simhāchalam for the Reḍḍi capital towards the close of the year 1386 A.D. Early next year, alarmed at the restoration of Reḍḍi power in that region, Singa II invaded the Gōdāvari region, defeated a number of Reḍḍi feudatories there and pressed up to Simhāchalam. Naturally, the Ganga King hurried to the south in order to beat off this attack on his frontier. In the battle that followed Singa II seems to have gained a victory, obtained heavy indemnities from the Ganga and returned to his capital.

While Kumāragiri and his minister were perplexed and watched this unexpected turn of events in the north, there was another trouble in the south of the Kingdom. Prince Dēvarāya, the Vijayanagara viceroy, suddenly entered the Reḍḍi territory, pushed up as far north as Mōṭupalli and siezed that important emporium of Andhra commerce early in January, 1388.[14]

[11] See verses 108 & 121 of Dr. N. Venkataramanayya's edition.

[12] M.E.R. 339 of 1899.

[13] *Ibid*, 353 of 1899.

[14] *Local Records*, Vol. 42, pp. 422-23, contains an inscription set up by Dēvarāya at the port of Mōtupalli. The date of the record is given as S. S. 1312. Messrs. B. V. Krishnarao and R. Subbarao contend that this date is wrong and that the correct date should be S. S. 1310, corresponding to 1388 A.D. See J.A.H.R.S., XI—3 & 4.

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Thus, troubles enveloped the Reḍḍi Kingdom on all sides. The Velamas were still unfriendly ; the armies of Vijayanagara were encamped in the heart of the Reḍḍi territory and the Ganga was once again master of the northern region. But the Anaparti plates issued early in 1390 A.D. state that Kumāragiri was on friendly terms with the rulers of the north, south and west, meaning thereby that the Velamas and the rulers of Vijayanagara were friends of the Reḍḍi King. How did this change come about ? Two recent writers have tried to explain it by supposing that Kāṭaya Vēma fought with both the Velamas and the Vijayanagara viceroy, defeated them, reconquered both Mōṭupalli and the Śrīśailam region and forced these two enemies to come to terms. These writers mention, further, that as part of this treaty the King of Vijayanagara gave his daughter Hariharāmba in marriage to Kāṭaprabhu, son of Kāṭaya Vēma.[15] But this supposition is untenable for several reasons. In the first place, it does not seem to be true that the Reḍḍis reconquered the Śrīśailam region during the lifetime of Kumāragiri, for, a general of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, the successor of the former, is known to have done so years later.[16] Secondly there is no Reḍḍi inscription in this region till 1410 A.D.[17] while many Vijayanagara inscriptions are available during the intervening period. The actual fact seems to be that Kumāragiri was anxious to conclude peace with his immediate neighbours in order to obtain time for bringing the northern border under control. There were, further, certain unexpected developments which induced even the Vijayanagara King to make peace with the Reḍḍis. Annadēva Chōḍa, one of the powerful rulers on the southern bank of the Gōdāvari, who was exiled from his own country, was present at Tripurāntakam at this time, probably trying

15 J. A. H. R. S.

16 M. E. R. 433 of 1911 & *Loc. Rec.*, Vol. 22, p. 166.

17 M. E. R. 798 of 1922.

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to rally his kinsmen in that region round his banner and canvassing help for his own restoration.[18] Subsequently, he seems to have gone to the Velamas in order to induce them to invade the east coast. The Bahmanī Sultān was on friendly terms with the Velamas at this time. Thus the possibility of all these rulers leading a combined attack against the Gōdāvari region loomed large. This certainly would be against the interests of Vijayanagara. Prudence required that the Reḍḍi Kingdom should be kept up as a buffer state in order to ensure the safety of Vijayanagara possessions of the east coast. Thus, in the face of this common danger, Hari Hara and Kāṭya Vēma must have concluded a peace treaty. It is likely that a similar pact of non-aggression was also concluded by the Reḍḍis with the Velamas about this time. I assign these events to the middle of 1388 A.D.

The Anaparti plates mention the course of subsequent events of the reign. Kumāragiri is said to have desired the conquest of fresh lands in order to constitute them into a small principality and assign it to his own son Vīrānnavōta. Since by that time the rulers of the north, west and south were on friendly terms with him and the chieftains of the east up to Simhāchalam alone were hostile, he commissioned his generalissimo Kāṭaya Vēma to conquer these rulers and annex their territories. Vēma accepted this commission and launched a glorious campaign. I believe that Kumāragiri's desire to constitute the north-eastern region into a viceregal principality was not merely the result of his affection for his boy-son but was inspired by strategic considerations. The repeated attacks on the Gōdāvari region by the Velamas and the consequent disaffection of the subordinates in that region during the

18 M.E.R., 254 of 1905.

19 See verse in ff 28 on p. 17, Intro. of *Velugōṭivārivaṁśāvaḷi*.

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early years of the reign indicated clearly that this was a danger zone. Kumāragiri must have decided that unless this region was held under strict control, there could be no peace in his kingdom. The close association of Kāṭaya Vēma with the events in this region after the termination of his military campaign indicates that Kumāragiri wanted to assign both this principality and its boy-viceroy to this celebrated general. I conclude therefore that this viceroyalty was intended as a subordinate buffer state between the Ganga Kingdom in the north-east, the Velamas of the west and north-west, and the home province of Koṇḍavīḍu itself.

The literary works of Kāṭaya Vēma and the Anaparti plates, referred to already, mention many interesting details about the glorious campaign of Kāṭaya Vēma.[21] This great general left Koṇḍavīḍu and reached Rajahmundry. In the latter city he worshipped god Gōpīnātha, solicited his help, in his campaign and promised, in return, the donation of a big village to the deity. He then started the campaign in right earnest. He first conquered the fortress of Mallēru[22] and from there proceeded to the stronghold of Kimmūru[23] and conquered it; next the Reḍḍi forces besiezed Beṇḍapūḍi[24] and Vajra-kūṭam.[25] These are all fortresses situated in the modern district of East Gōdāvari. Probably their rulers became hostile, as mentioned above, after 1387 A.D. and had hence to be subjugated now. After this, Kāṭaya Vēma entered the Vizagapatam district and annexed Vīraghōṭṭam.[26] He then crossed into the Ganjam district

[20] J. A. H. R. S.

[21] E. I., XI, p. 325, app. verse 14.

[22] This place may be identified with Mollēru in the East Godavari Agency.

[23] Identical with Peddāpuram in the same district.

[24] A place situated within five miles from the Durgāḍa Ry. station on the Madras to Waltair section of the M. S. M. Ry.

[25] Situated near Piṭhāpuram in the E. Godavari district.

[26] Situated in the agency part of the Vizag district.

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conquered Rāmagiri[27] and besieged the Ganga capital itself.[28] The Ganga King is then said to have made peace with the Reḍḍi general offering rich presents. Thus victorious, Kāṭaya Vēma returned to Koṇḍavīḍu and was greatly honoured by his sovereign. Very soon after this, the minister left for Rajahmundry in company with his nephew, prince Vīrānnavōto, and made the latter grant the village of Anaparti to god Gōpinātha in fulfilment of his former promise. It is evident from this that Vīrānnavōta was actually appointed to the viceroyalty of the newly conquered territories and sent along with Kāṭaya Vēma and that his first official act was the grant of the village named above. It is possible to fix the duration of Kāṭaya Vēma's campaign, more or less accurately. The upper limit of this event as given by the Anaparti plates is April, 1390; the Ganga King Vīranarasiṁha is mentioned at Simhāchalam in a record dated 1389 A.D.[29] Kāṭaya Vēma made peace, as stated already with the Velamas and the ruler of Vijayanagara about the middle of 1388 A.D. It is probable that he left Koṇḍavīḍu immediately after the conclusion of this treaty and reached Siṁhāchalam about the same time next year. He must have invaded the Ganga capital towards the close of the year 1389 A.D. and returned home early in February or March, 1390.

The next event of importance in the reign of Kumāragiri is the division of his Kingdom. The Tottaramūḍi plates of Kāṭaya Vēma's time state that pleased with his valour, Kumāragiri gave him the eastern Kingdom with Rajahmundry as its headquarters.[30] It has been supposed that

[27] A place in the Āska taluk of the Ganjām district.

[28] *Cf.* Kāṭaya Vēma's title "Kaṭak-chūra-kāra" in J. A H. R. S., XI, 3 & 4, p. 213, verse 27.

[29] M. E. R. 33 of 1899.

[30] E. I., IV, verse 20.

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this division was made in or about 1400 A.D.[31] But a new found grant dated 1395 A.D.[32], which contains identically the same statement, indicates that this event took place even before 1395 A.D. What necessitated this division ? Several reasons may be mentioned in answer to this question. Firstly, it seems certain that Vīrannavōta, son of Kumāragiri, died very soon after 1390 A.D. when he was annointed for the viceroyalty of this province. Some one else had to be put in his place and Kāṭaya Vēma, the conqueror of this region and the greatest friend of Kumāragiri, was chosen as the substitute. Secondly, the Ganga seems to have recovered Simhāchalam as early as 1391 A.D.,[33] *i.e.*, immediately after the commencement of Kāṭaya Vēma's return march. A strong man was therefore needed in the northern districts of the Reḍḍi Kingdom in order to ward off probable aggressions of the Gangas. Thirdly, the Gōdāvari region became the object of frequent attacks by the Velamas, for their territory lay on the other side of the Eastern Ghats. Fourthly, the Bahmanī Sultān also set his eyes on the east coast. Lastly, Annadēva Chōḍa, exiled from his home province, was negotiating actively with the Velamas for his restoration. For all these reasons, the Rajahmundry region became the danger zone and it is but right that the great Kāṭaya Vēma should be put in charge of this province. Another and a different reason may also be adduced in favour of the division of the Koṇḍavīḍu kingdom. The death of Kumāragiri's only son Vīrannavōta was a significant event. The question of future succession to the Reḍḍi throne became prominent thereafter. The direct line of Prōlaya Vēma would come to an end with Kumāragiri and a member of

[31] See my paper "A note on the Sarpavaram inscription of Kumāragiri's time" in the *Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference*, Trivandrum.

[32] J. A. H. R. S., XI, 3 & 4, pp. 211-213.

[33] M. E. R. 567 of 1899.

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one of the junior collateral families had to ascend the throne. It is not known if Anavēma, the predecessor of Kumāragiri, had any sons or whether Kumāragiri himself had any younger brothers. There was, on the other hand, a powerful claimant to the throne, Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, a grandson of Mācha, the elder brother of Prōlaya Vēma, the founder of the Reḍḍi Kingdom and grandfather of Kumāragiri. Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma was at this time the feudatory ruler of a small hereditary principality in the Reḍḍi Kingdom. From some of the works of poet Śrīnātha, he seems to have become already famous and popular. The choice and predilection of Kumāragiri were, on the other hand, in favour of Kāṭaya Vēma; his own brother-in-law and protector. Still, however, his succession to the Reḍḍi throne would have been unpopular and might easily have led to a civil war between him and Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. Even if Kumāragiri did not divide the Kingdom but left it in tact, this fight would have been inevitable. Kāṭaya Vēma, the mighty general and *de facto* ruler of the Kingdom, would not have willingly submitted to the rule of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma to whom he had no affiliations of any kind. Further, even Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, who was himself a great general and a man of genius, could not have tolerated this serious rival in his Kingdom. It is probable that under these circumstances Kumāragiri thought that the best solution would be to assign to these two rivals independent territories and expected that under the stress of contemporary political conditions they would act in unison, maintain the Reḍḍi territory in tact and ward off all attacks on it. It was under these conditions that the territories formerly conquered by Kāṭaya Vēma were conferred upon him as a viceroyalty about the year 1395 A.D.

The creation of the new viceroyalty did not, however, mean its alienation from the Reḍḍi Kingdom and the authorisation of independent rule by Kāṭaya Vēma. The authority of Kumāragiri was recognised in this region as

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late as 1399 A.D.[34] It is known that about this time a subordinate of this Reḍḍi King had repelled a Ganga attack in this region. As soon as Kāṭaya Vēma reached the Reḍḍi capital in 1390 A.D. the Ganga King seems to have marched down to Simhāchalam and regained his territories. It is likely, further, that taking advantage of the temporary absence of Kāṭaya Vēma from his fief, the Ganga conducted a raid into it in retaliation for that general's famous campaign into Kaḷinga. Dēvaya, a subordinate of Kumāragiri, opposed this intrusion and repelled the enemy.[35]

There is reason to believe that Kāṭaya Vēma was at Koṇḍavīḍu till almost the end of Kumāragiri's reign. He seems to have made adequate arrangements for the government of the viceregal principality during his absence. The Kommuchikkāla plates of Anavōṭu Reḍḍi,[36] dated 1422 A.D., throw interesting light on this point. They describe the genealogy of Anavōṭu, the donor of the plates, and indicate that he was exercising authority on the southern bank of the Gōdāvari. It is very well known that soon after the death of Kumāragiri, Kāṭaya Vēma ruled independently over his viceroyalty between 1404 and 1414 A.D. He was greatly assisted in his wars by Allāḍa, to whose son Vīrabhadra he married his own daughter Anitalli. This Allāḍa and Anavōṭu, mentioned above, belong to the same family and were uncle and nephew respectively. In the Paṇṭa family of the Reḍḍi community there was a certain Kōṭa, lord of Duvvūru on the bank of the Pinākini. The Kommuchikkāla grant, referred to above, mentions two generations of Kōṭa's direct descendants. In the third generation there were three brothers, Anavrōla, Kōṭa and Allāḍa, the last mentioned chieftain being identical with Kāṭaya Vēma's lieutenant mentioned above. Anavrōla

[34] S. I. I., V, No. 1.

[35] *Ibid.*

[36] J. A. H. R. S., *III*, 2, 3 and 4, pp. 223-236.

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was a great warrior. He had two sons Kumāragiri and Anavōṭa, both of whom are said to have reigned. Thus this Reḍḍi family of Duvvūru seems to have been firmly established at Rajahmundry for nearly two generations. I believe that very soon after Kumāragiri granted the Rajahmundry principality to Kāṭaya Vēma, the latter brought Anavrōla and Allāḍa of this Duvvūr family to Rajahmundry and instituted them there as his representatives, while he himself was busy, as usual, at the Reḍḍi capital looking after the administration of the Kingdom. The loyalty of Allāḍa and his brothers to Kāṭaya Vēma was strengthened by the marriage between Kāṭaya Vēma's daughter Anitalli and Allāḍa's son Vīrabhadra. [37] Being the elder of the three brothers Anavrōla seems to have been made the principal authority while Allāḍa, the more valiant, functioned as the general protector of the principality. In this way these kinsmen of Kāṭaya Vēma held the Rajahmundry region during the latter half of Kumāragiri's reign.

Kumāragiri's reign was an eventful one. While Kāṭaya Vēma was steering the ship of state in troubled waters, the monarch busied himself in other ways. He was a great scholar and a keen lover of fine arts with a particular fascination for dancing. He maintained at his court Lakumādēvi, a celebrated dancer of the time and revised, with the aid of her practical demonstrations, the works of previous writers like Bharata and Bhōja on the art of dancing. In the end he composed an independent work on the art and named it *Vasantarājīya* after himself. [38] Kumāragiri was not merely content with his own scholarly pursuits; he wanted others to follow his example, in accordance with their own aptitudes. Thus he inspired his own brother-in-law and generalissimo Kāṭaya Vēma to write a commentary

37 See the Kaluvacheru grant of Anitalli in the *Journal of the Telugu Academy*.

38 See extract from the *Kumāragirirājīyaī* in E. I., XI, p. 320, verse 16.

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on the famous dramas of the illustrious Sanskrit poet Kāḷidāsa.[39] This noble example of literary patronage and encouragement was followed by other dignitaries of the state. Śrīnātha, the famous Telugu poet, was just coming into prominence at this time. He found patronage at the hands of the minister of Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, the powerful feudatory ruler, and composed the *Paṇḍithāradhyacharitamu* and *Śriṅgaranaishadhamu*. He then reached Koṅḍavīḍu and obtained the patronage of the merchant prince Avachi Tippayya to whom he dedicated another literary work called *Haravilāsamu*.[40] Another pastime which interested Kumāragiri was the celebration of *Vasantōtsavas*. These were indeed very grand affairs. Avachi Tippayya used to import numerous perfumes, precious stones and silks from foreign countries and conduct these festivals for Kumāragiri.[41] Kumāragiri is also credited with the construction of numerous buildings at Koṅḍaviḍu, the capital, including a grand palace known as *Gṛharāja*.[42]

Thus, on the whole, the reign of Kumāragiri was happy and prosperous. The losses of territory in the south were compensated by the firm grip obtained over the Gōdāvari region. Peace and prosperity reigned everywhere and the fame of the Reḍḍi Kingdom spread to distant countries.

39 E. I., XI, p. 320, verses 17 and 18.

40 Viresalingam, *Lives of Telugu Poets*, pp. 440-54.

41 Śrīnātha, *Haravilāsamu*—Introduction.

42 C. P., No. 2, published in J A H.R.S., XI, 3 and 4, pp. 208-211, verse 18.

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13

SREE CAITANYA'S RELATIONS WITH HIS CONTEMPORARY REFORMERS

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The semblance of political unity which existed in India in the form of the Dehi Sultānate seemed to fade away in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Decay and disintegration were the chief characteristics of the political situation in the country. But in the same period heroic attempts were being made to forge a new synthesis in the culture and religion of the different races, sects and provinces. This noble mission was carried out by the religious reformers, whose activities were not as isolated as is generally assumed to have been. Though the facilities of communication were few, yet the extensive pilgrimage of the reformers sometimes brought them in contact with one another and afforded opportunities for interchange of thoughts and ideas. The magnetic personality of Sree Caitanya appears to have been a centre of attraction for all the other reformers flourishing in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. Of these reformers the most important were Vallabhācārya, Nānak, Kabir, Sankaradeva of Assam and Ananta, Balarāma, Jagannāth, Yasovanta and Acyuta, collectively known as the *Panca sakhās* of Orissa.

Vallabhācārya was an elder contemporary of Caitanya. The former was born in 1479 and the latter in 1486 A.D. While Sree Caitanya was returning from Vrindābana in 1515, he met Vallabhācārya for the first time at Prayāg. According to *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* of Kṛṣnadās Kavirāj, written in

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1615 A.D. Vallabha was then staying in the village Ambuli, near Allahabad. He is said to have been very much charmed by the beauty and spiritual ecstacy of Caitanya. Rupa and his brother Vallabha, who had been ministers of Ala-ud-dīn Husain Shāh of Bengal, were also present at the time of the first meeting of the two reformers. The two brothers saluted Vallabhācārya most humbly from a distance and while the latter was going to embrace them Caitanya said that they had been contaminated by their contact with Mussalmans and were thus not fit to be touched by a high class orthodox Brāhmana like the Acārya. Vallabhācārya understood the significance of Caitanya's insinuation at his orthodoxy and replied that the two persons were always repeating the name of Kṛṣna and thus they were the noblest of all human beings. Caitanya was very much pleased at this reply naturally because he found that like him the Acārya too disregarded the caste system in estimating the spiritual worth of a man. Kṛṣnadās Kavirāj further tells us that Vallabhācārya invited Caitanya to Ambuli and there he served him with his whole family (C.C., Bk. II, ch. XIX). After some years the Acārya again met Caitanya at Puri. From the description of Kṛṣnadās Kavirāj, who got the information from Raghunāthdās Goswāmī, an eye-witness, it appears that by that time Vallabha had already written his commentary of the Bhāgavata, entitled *Subodhinī*, and had established his reputation as a great religious teacher. He is said to have been a worshipper of Vāla-Gopāla or infant Kṛṣna ; but his association with Caitanya led to an important change in his mode of worship. Gadādhara Pandit, an intimate associate of Caitanya, initiated him into the worship of Kishore-Gopāla or youthful Kṛṣna (C. C., Bk. III, ch. VII). Paramānanda Dās Kavikarnapūr, who met Caitanya in his early boyhood, includes Vallabhācārya among the associates of Caitanya in his *Goura-ganoddesa dīpikā*, written in 1574 A.D. Jadunāth Dās, a writer of the early 17th century, also

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describes Vallabhācārya as a disciple of Gadādhara Pandit in his Sanskrit work *Sākha ūrnayamṛta*. A critical study of Vallabhācārya's works also lends support to the theory of a change in Vallabha's religious practices in his later life. Rādhā does not find any place in his commentary of the Bhāgabata as well as in his *Soḍasha Grantha*, but he mentions Rādhā with great reverence in his *Kṛṣnapremāmṛta* and *Kṛṣnastava*. Von Glasenapp quotes the following verse as his last testament to his sons :

मयि चेदस्ति किम्बासः श्रीगोपीजनवल्लभे
तदा कृतार्था यूयं हि शोचनीयं न कर्हिचित्।
मुक्तिहित्वान्यथारूपं स्वरूपेण व्यवस्थितिः।

(Z. D. M. G., 1934, p. 311)

The epithet '*Gopījanaballava*' ('Dear unto the Gopīs,') implies the worship of Kishore Gopāl and is inconsistent with the cult of infant Kṛṣna. The followers of Vallabhācārya, however, are entirely silent on the influence of Caitanya. On the other hand an early work of the sect, entitled *Sree Nāthjīkī Prākatya Vārta*, claims that Vallabhācārya entrusted Mādhavendra Purī with the duty of worshipping Sree Nāth on the mount of Govardhana. This, however, does not seem possible, because Mādhavendra Purī was the Guru of Caitanya's Gurus, Iswara Purī and Kesava Bhāratī and had died long before Caitanya became a Sannyāsī. From the work of Kṛṣnadās Kavirāj it appears that Mādhavendra used to worship Sree Nāth when he was a young man; whereas according to the ascertained dates of the two reformers Vallabha was only seven years older than Caitanya.

Iswaradās, an Orīyā author of the 17th century, states that Nānak was present at Puri when Caitanya went there for the first time in 1510 A.D. (Iswaradās's *Caitanya Bhāgavata*, ch. 47). Nānak and his companion Uddyatta are said

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to have sung and danced in the Kīrtan party of Caitanya. Guru Nānak was born in 1469, and he began his travels in 1499. He is known to have visited Puri, and to have recited the following hymn in the temple of Jagannātha:

"O God, my mind is fascinated with Thy lotus feet as the bumble-bee with the flower: night and day I thirst for them. Give the water of Thy grace to the sarang Nanak, so that he may dwell in Thy name"—(Macauliffe, Vol. I, pp. 82-83). The sentiment expressed here is not unlike that which we find in the famous *Śikṣāstaka* of Caitanya. As both Nānak and Caitanya lived in the same period at Puri, it is not unlikely that the two came in contact with each other. The companion of Nānak in his travels was Mardana, whom the Orīyā author calls Uddyatta.

Rāmacharan Thākur, nephew of Mādhavadeva, the favourite disciple of Śankaradeva of Assam, relates in his *Sankaracarita* that when the Hindu and Mussalman followers of Kabir were quarrelling over the mode of disposing of the dead body of Kabir, Caitanya arrived and taking it on his shoulder threw it into the Ganges. The Sultān called for an explanation of his conduct from Caitanya and the latter replied that he was neither a Brāhmana, nor a Kshatriya, Vaisya or Sudra; that he had no Varna and no Āsrama; he was only the servant of the servant of Kṛṣna. A similar Sanskrit sloka has been compiled by Rupa Goswāmī in his *Padyāvalī* (No. 74); and in the manuscripts of the work preserved in the India Office, Asiatic Society and Dacca University the hymn is attributed to Caitanya. Rāmacharan Thākur states that he heard the incident mentioned above from his uncle Mādhavadeva, who was a contemporary of Kabir and Śankaradeva. The tradition among the Kabir-panthīs is that Kabir died in 1518 A.D. at Magahar; Caitanya visited Benares in 1515 but the Bengali and Sanskrit biographies of Caitanya are silent over his visit to Magahar.

Śankaradeva of Assam was born in 1463 A.D. according

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to Aniruddha, and 1449 A.D. according to Rāmacharan Thākur; and he is said to have died in 1568 A.D. Like Caitanya Śankaradeva preached the Bhakti cult through Bhāgavata and Kīrtan but unlike him he inculcated *Dāsya Bhakti* (devotion to God like that of a servant), instead of *Māthura Bhāva* or mystic love. In his second visit to Puri he met Caitanya. According to Rāmacharan Thākur the two reformers looked at each other for some time, but there was no conversation between them (*Śankaracarita*, Verses 3139-3140). Daityāri Thakur and Bhushan Dwijakavi, two other Assamese biographers of Śaṇkara, corroborate this fact. But a later work, called *Gurucarita* describes imaginary conversations in mystic language between the two. There is a strong tradition in Assam that Caitanya visited Kāmarūpa. Some think that he went there immediately after his Sannyāsa. Kṛṣna Bhāratī in his *Santa Nirnaya* says that he went there on his way back from Bṛndābana. Kṛṣṇa Bhāratī's account seems to be more reliable, because all the early biographers of Caitanya relate that after his Sannyāsa he went direct from Santipur to Puri. Kṛṣṇa Bhāratī further states that it was Caitanya who first introduced the Bhakti cult in Assam.[1]

It is a well known fact that the famous Oriya authors and religious teachers, Jagannātha, Balarāma, Ananta, Jasovanta and Acyuta, became followers of Caitanya. According to Acyuta's *Sunya Saṃhitā* all the five used to dance in the Kīrtan party of Caitanya, and Acyuta himself was initiated by Sanātana Goswami. These writers, however, did not adopt the theology of the Goswāmīs of Bṛndābana, and hence there is no mention of their association with Caitanya in the Bengali and Sanskrit works of the Bengal School of

[1] "ইতি কামরূপ দেশত যেমতে চৈতন্য গোসাই প্রবর্ত্তনি সম্প্রদায় ঈশ্বরভক্তি পিণ্ড, স্মরণ, ভজন, হরিনাম, ভাগবত, গীতা, জাত্রা, মহোৎসব প্রবর্ত্তিলা তাহাক্ স্থনা। এহি কামরূপ দেশ প্রায় জঙ্গল আছিল।.....পাছে রত্নপাউকে কহিলেক বোলে এই তো শ্রীভাগবত আমারই দেশত শ্রীচৈতন্য গোসাঞি প্রচারিল।"—সত্তনির্ণয়।

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Vaisnavism. That these first Orīyā authors were crypto-Buddhists of the Mantrayana School has been proved satisfactorily by Prāchya-vidyāmahārnava Nagendranath Vasu in his *Modern Buddhism and its followers in Orissa*. They identified both Jagannātha and Caitanya with Buddha.[2]

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বোলন্তি প্রভু ভগবান
তাঙ্ক চরণ সেবা কর
এহি স্বরূপ শ্রীচৈতন্য
চৈতন্য গুরু অঙ্গ হই
শোন অচ্যুত মো বচন

বৌদ্ধরূপমো চৈতন্য
ভক্তিক পথঙ্কু আবোর
এ পরমহংস দীক্ষা যেন
নাম প্রকাশ করিবই
চৈতন্য চারু দীক্ষা যেন।

—শূন্যসংহিতা, ৬ষ্ঠ অধ্যায়।

14

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE EASTERN GANGA RULERS AND THE SULTĀNS OF DELHI AND BENGAL DURING THE PERIOD A.D. 1205 TO 1435

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From the *Tabaqāṭ-i-Nāṣirī*,[1] we learn that the first Muslim invasion of Jājnagar or Orissa took place in the reign of Rāja-rāja III (A.D. 1198-1211) in 601 A. H. or A.D. 1205. Briefly stated, two brothers named Muhammad Sheran and Ahmad Sheran who were Khaljī Amīrs in the service of Muhammad bin Bakhtyār Khaljī, Sultān of Bengal, were sent by him against Lakhnor (Bengal) and Jājnagar (Orissa). But, on hearing of the death of the Sultān in a campaign against Kāmarūp (Assam) and Tibet, in A.H. 601 or A.D. 1205, they returned to Devkot without conquering Orissa. Probably, the strength and valour of this King of Orissa had also much to do with their retreat without realising their purpose.

Ananga Bhīma Deva III (A.D. 1211-1238)

After the death of Rāja-rāja III, his son Ananga Bhīma, born to Mankuna Devī of Chālukya Dynasty, came to the throne in A.D. 1211. He had the title of *Tri-Kaliṅganātha* or Lord of Tri-Kalinga as stated in the Chatesvara inscription[2]

[1] Translated by H. G. Raverty and published by Royal As. Soc. of Beng., pp. 573-74.

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which further records that his Brahmin minister called Vishnu fought against the Lord of Tummāna (Bilaspur Dt. of C. P.) and the Yavanas (Muslims) of Bengal A detailed account of his reign is known to us from the copper grants of Narasiṃha II and IV, and Bhānudeva II, two stone inscriptions found in the Drākshārāma Temple,[3] two inscriptions found in the Siṃhachellam Temple,[4] five inscriptions found in the Śrīkūrmam Temple,[5] three inscriptions found in the Krittivāsa Temple at Bhuvaneswara,[6] *Tabaqāṭ-i-Nāṣirī*, *Mādalāpānji* and *Gaṅgavaṃśānucharitam*. His reign is very important because from this time onwards the Ganga history became clearer and more detailed. His kingdom spread from the river Ganges in the north to the river Godāvarī in the south. His inscriptions are found both in Utkala and Andhradeśa and the former show how, when the Muslims tried to attack Orissa with a view to conquer it, he and his ministers defeated them. Dakshiṇa Kośala or Chattisgarh Division of C. P. which was ruled by the Haihayas was also conquered by them and the Haihayas entered into marriage relations with the Gangas. The construction of temples, pleasure-houses, roads and tanks, the conquest of the Muslims and the extension of the kingdom and lastly the performance of the golden *Tulā Purusha* or weighing ceremony by Ananga Bhīma, all these show that the kingdom was steadily growing powerful and prosperous.

N. N. Vasu, who edited the copper grant of Narasiṃha II, quotes the Chatesvara inscription of Ananga Bhīma III, and states: "The Vaikhānasas could not, even by their most austere penance, comprehend the Omnipresence and all-pervadingness of Vishnu to the extent to which the idea

2 J.A.S.B., Vol. LXVII, pp. 317-27.
3 Nos. 1329 and 1360 in S. I. I., Vol. IV.
4 Nos. 1180 and 1194 in S. I. I., Vol. VI.
5 Nos. 1276, 1282, 1284, 1290 and 1337 in S. I. I., Vol. V.
6 R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, pp. 261-62.

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was realised by the Tumghana king (*i.e.*, Tughril-i-Tughan Khan) when he began, apprehending Vishnu here and there, to look around through extreme fear, while fighting on the bank of the Bhimā, at the skirts of the Vindhya hills and on the sea-shores. He alone fought against the Muhammadan king, and applying arrows to his bow killed many skiful warriors. His heroism trancends description."

It is certain that Ananga Bhima and his son Narasiṃha I, also fought several battles against the Muhammadans and conquered Rāḍha and Varendra countries, although the *Tabaqāṭ-i-Nāṣirī* states to the contrary and alleges that Orissa was paying tribute to the Sultāns of Bengal. M. Chakravarti states, in his *Chronology of the Eastern Ganga Kings of Orissa*, that Vishnu, the Brahmin minister of Ananga Bhīma, fought for him with the Lord of Tummāna and with the Yavanas and contends that Tummāna could not be the same as Tumghana, that the lord of Tummāna could not be Tughril Khān but only the Chedi King and that the war took place in or about A.D. 1212. The *Tabaqāṭ-i-Nāṣirī* mentions that the Sultān of Bengal, Ghiyās-ud-dīn Iwāz Shāh, took tribute from Bengal, Assam, Tirhut and Orissa but R. D. Banerji very rightly states that this statement is open to doubt as the Chatesvara and Bhuvanesvara inscriptions record the conquests of the King against the Muhammadans. He also mentions that the war took place in A.D. 1220 but the earlier date given by Chakravarti is more probable.

The inscription No. 1283 dated Ś. 1133 or A.D. 1211, the year in which the King ascended the throne, refers to the gift of a land by a certain Kandama Rāja who was a Viceroy and who belonged to the Haihaya dynasty. The limits of his kingdom extended to the river Ganges (in the north) and his country was surrounded (on the east) by the sea. This only proves that the Haihayas who were, like the Kadambas, connected by marriage ties with the Gangas,

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extended their power by ruling over the northern provinces of the Ganga Empire.

From the Bhuvanesvara inscription,[7] we learn that the King had a daughter called Chandrādevī who married Paramardi Deva of the Haihaya dynasty. He helped the King's son Narasiṃha Deva I, in his wars against the Muhammadans and died while fighting. His wife Chandrādevī erected in A.D. 1278, in the reign of Narasiṃha's son, Bhānu Deva I, a temple at Bhuvaneśvara.

According to Dr. Fleet,[8] the early Yavana conquest referred to in *Mādalāpānji* stands for the Gupta conquest (A.D. 321-476) and the later to the Muslim invasions from the 12th century down to the final conquest by Suleiman of Bengal in A.D. 1568.

Narasiṃha I (A.D. 1238-1264)

He was the son of Anaṅga-Bhima and Kasturadevī. During his father's reign, he helped him in his wars against the Muhammadan Sultāns of Bengal and Delhi and after his death, he succeeded to the throne and strengthened his army still further and put to flight the Muslims. His reign is more glorious than that of his father inasmuch as he not only successfully defended his frontiers against all enemies but even took the offensive and invaded Bengal and molested Lakhnauti. This is proved by his own inscriptions and those of Narasiṃha II and IV, which will be examined in detail now. Muhammadan works also throw much interesting light.

The Ganga kingdom may be said to have reached its zenith during this reign. The Muhammadans were defeated in the north and the districts of Midnapur, Howrah and Hugly were added to the Ganga kingdom. In the west, the Chattisgarh and Bilaspur Districts of C. P. were

7 J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XV, p. 280 and Ep. Ind., Vol, XIII, p. 150.

8 Ep. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 323-40.

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comprised in the Ganga Empire, the Haihayas of Tummāna and the Chedis of Kosala having been subdued and made friendly by marriage ties. In the south, the Reḍḍis and the Kākātiyas of Andhra were kept in check and their invasions were warded off. It was also the period when great literary works were patronised and lands and *Agrahārams* were granted to temples and Brahmins. Temple-building reached its perfection as seen in the construction of Konarka temple. Thus this reign, which is both long and glorious, may be said to be the period of golden epoch in the history of Hindu administration of the Kalinga country.

When, on the death of Sāms-ud-dīn Iltutmish, weaklings succeeded to the throne of Delhi between A.D. 1235 and 1246, Tughān Khān became governor of North-West Bengal and ruled till 1244. In 1243, he was attacked by Narasiṃha I, the Rājā of Jājnagar (Orissa), who had already subdued Lakhnauti (Gauḍadesa) after defeating the Muslims at Katāsin. In 1244, Narasiṃha I again invaded and took Lakhnor, the capital of Rāḍha in Bengal and sacked it. Gauḍadeśa was also taken. These events are referred to [9] in the copper-plate grants of Narasiṃha II, thus :—

"The (white) river Gangā, blackened for a great distance by the collyrium washed away by tears from the eyes of the weeping Yavanas (Muslims) of Rāḍha and Varendra, and rendered waveless, as if by this astonishing achievement, was now transformed, by that monarch (*i.e.*, Narasiṃha I) into the (blackwatered) Yamunā."

The contemporary Muslim historian Minhāj-i-Sirāj, the author of *Tabaqāṭ-i-Nāṣirī*, however, says that, though Narasimha I took, in A.D. 1244, Lakhnor and Lakhnauti, he fled before an invading Muslim army from Oudh. The commander of the Jājnagar forces was called Sabantar, the

[9] J.A.S.B., Vol. LXV, Part I, pp. 231-33.

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son-in-law of the Raja who was said to have lost decisively at first but gained slightly finally.[10] Evidently, some battles were fought in the reign of Ananga Bhīma by his son Narasiṃha I, who gained decisive victories over the Muslims, as stated in the Chatesvara inscription of Ananga Bhīma and the Copper grant of Narasiṃha II and took Rāḍha and Varendra. 'Sabantar' would probably mean "Sāmanta Rāi" or vassal king and the word son-in-law is probably used wrongly for 'son,' Narasiṃha being a son of Ananga Bhīma.

"Towards the end of 1243, the Raja of Jaipur in Cuttack, called Jājnagar by Muslim historians, invaded and plundered some of the southern districts of Bengal and in March, 1244, Tughril marched to punish him and met the Hindu army on April 16, on the northern bank of the Mahānadī. The Hindus were at first driven back but rallied and defeated the Muslims, among whom a supposed victory had, as usual, relaxed the bonds of discipline. Tughril was followed throughout his long retreat to his capital by the victorious Hindus who appeared before the gates of Lakhnauti but retired on hearing that Tamar Khān was marching from Oudh to the relief of Tughril." [11]

In 1245 Malik Yuzbāk, the governor of Muslim Bengal, is said to have marched from Lakhnauti and reached the Rājā's capital Umurdan and driven out the Rājā, capturing his family, wealth and elephants. He is said to have ruled over Muslim Bengal and Lakhnauti between 1246 and 1259 and to have struck a silver coin in memory of his conquests in 1255. As Umurdan was *not the capital of Orissa* in the 13th century, it was rightly considered that Yuzbāk captured a fort of that name and not the capital. With his death in 1259, Muslim attacks on Orissa and Southern Bengal ceased.[12]

10 J.A.S.B., Vol. LXXII, Pt. I, pp. 122-23.

11 *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 65.

12 R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, pp. 266-67.

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After Balban had ruled for 16 years, Tughril Khān rose in revolt at Lakhnauti.[13] He was the Viceroy of Lakhnauti and Muslim Bengal. He attacked Jājnagar[14] and carried off valuables and elephants. Briggs, following Dowson, states that Jājnagar is on the banks of the Mahānadī and was the capital of Orissa and there is still a town called Jajpur in Cuttack District. Tughril's revolt was suppressed by Balban.

From the Bhuvanesvara inscriptions of Chandrādevī, it is learnt that that lady's husband, Paramarddi of the Haihaya family, fought against the Muslims during this reign and died. Narasiṃha I ultimately conquered Rāḍha and Varendra countries thus warding off Muslim attacks against his country.

The reigns of Raja Raja III, Ananga Bhima Deva III and Narasiṃha I correspond roughly to the rule of the Slave Dynasty (A.D. 1205-1288). Some of the Slave Kings like Qutbud-dīn, Iltutmish, Fīrūz, Nāsir-ud-dīn and Balban invaded and subdued Bengal and Bihar though they failed against Orissa. This was due to the hilly nature of the country, the strength of the Ganga power and the struggle between Bengal Sultāns and Delhi Emperors. An Alankara work called *Ekāvalī* was composed by Vidyādhara who lived at the court of Narasiṃha I. M. Chakravarti very rightly held that he lived in Narasiṃha I's reign and not in his grandson's. The work gives several references to the King's fights with the Muslims who are referred to as Hamira, Yavana and Saka. The King is called *Yavanāvani-Vallabha* or Lord of Yavana kingdom (Varendra). He defeated the Hamira or Amirs of Bengal in *Vanga Sangara* or battle of Bengal. He defeated the Muslims of Bengal,

[13] After crossing the river Saru or Gogra, we get into Lakhnauti or West-Bengal.

[14] Jājnagar, here mentioned, is said to lie to the east of the river Brahmaputra and to correspond to Tippera. *Vide* Elliot and Dowson's *History of India*, Vol. III, pp. 112-13. But this view of Briggs cannot be accepted.

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taking the offensive himself several times. This policy not only saved Orissa from Muslim conquest for a long time to come but also led to the addition of the south-western districts of Bengal to Kalinga.

Narasimha Deva II (1278-79—1305-06)

Some account of his relations with the Muslims of Bengal is known to us. Fifteen or sixteen years after Balban's succession to the throne of Dehli, *i.e.*, in A.D. 1281-82, Tughril Khān, the Viceroy of Lakhnauti and Bengal, rebelled. Soon after his appointment in 1274, he had increased his power by attacking Jājnagar [15] or Tippera lying to the east of the river Brahmaputra and carrying away several elephants and valuables. He kept them for his own use. When he rebelled, Sultān Balban marched against him and so he left Lakhnauti and took the road to Jājnagar (Tippera), promising his followers that he would plunder the city afer staying there for some time and return to Lakhnauti, rich and safe, after the Sultān retired. After taking Lakhnauti, Balban marched towards Jājnagar and on the way at Sunr-ganw, on a branch of the river Brahmaputra, entered into a treaty with the Rājā of the place named Danuj Rāi with a view to arrest Tughril. Soon after this event, an advance party of soldiers, learning that he was close by and intending next day to march into Jājnagar, succeeded in arresting and beheading him.

These wars between the Sultāns of Delhi and their Governors of Bengal gave freedom and peace to Orissa in the time of this King. It is probable that the Hindu rulers of Lower Bengal appealed to the King for help against the invading Muslims and so he marched in A.D. 1296 to the

[15] *Vide* Ziauddin Barni's *Ta'rikh-i-Fīrūz Shāhi*, translated in Elliot and Dowson's *History of India*, Vol. III, pp. 112-13 and 116-17. Briggs, following Dowson, identified it as the capital of Orissa and R. D. Banerji followed it. But Elliot and Dowson correctly identified it with Tippera. There were two Jājnagars.

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river Ganges, as stated in the Kendupatna plates already described, and made the grants of two villages on the *vijaya-samaye* (time of victory or conquest). This would suggest his following up the path of victory against the Muslims of Bengal which was already chalked out so successfully by his father and grandfather.

Bhānu Deva II. (1306-07—1328)

He was a great warrior who fought with the Muslims successfully. It is learnt [16] that "the king's (Bhānu Deva II's) war with Ghyās-ud-dīn beginning, the blood flowing from the necks of the many big chiefs wounded by his valour filled the world. The blood stream gushing up profusely from the then wounded breasts of the (enemy's) elephants was such that still shines in the sky in the disguise of sun-set glow." M. Chakravarti first thought [17] that this was probably fought with Ulugh Khān in 1323 A.D. after his capture of Warrangal but later on correctly held that it was against his father Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq. [18] He also stated that Ulugh Khān having captured Warrangal invaded Jājnagar. These events are thus described [19] :—

"The name of Arangal was changed to Sultānpur and all the country of Tilang was conquered. Officers were appointed to manage the country and one year's tribute was taken. The prince then marched towards Jājnagar (the Jājnagar on the Mahānadī in Cuttack) and there took forty elephants with which he returned to Tilang. These he sent on to his father. At the time when Arangal was taken and the elephants arrived from Jājnagar, several Mughal armies attacked the frontiers. ....." About this time,

16 J.A.S.B., Vol. LXIV, p. 136.

17 *Ibid.*

18 *Ibid.*, Vol. LXXII, p. 130.

19 *Vide Ta'rikh-i-Fīrūz Shāhi*, translated in Elliot and Dowson's *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 234. Also p. 609.

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complaints came from Lakhnauti against its cruel ruler. So the Sultān Ghiyās-ud-dīn, after summoning Ulugh Khān from Warrangal and making him vice-gerent, marched against Lakhnauti. Nasir-ud-dīn met him and paid homage and got back Lakhnauti. It was probably at this time, when the Sultān tried to invade Jājnagar, that Bhānu Deva defeated him and drove him out. Shortly after, he was killed by the evil design of his son. Ulugh Khān's capture of 40 elephants from Jājnagar cannot be considered as its conquest, for, in the list of provinces under the control of Ulugh Khān, it is omitted.[20] However, a certain Shāhāb-ud-dīn, in his work on travels stated, on the information given by a native of Oudh, that the dominions of Muhammad Tughluq (Ulugh Khān) consisted of 23 provinces and the 22nd was Jājnagar.[21] This was probably comprised in the Empire on the ground of the capture of 40 elephants which must be due to a mere raid and not a conquest. Still, it shows the beginning of the decline of E. Ganga kingdom. Ulugh Khān or Muhammad bin Tughluq, after capturing finally Warrangal, invaded and took Rajahmundry and converted a Hindu temple into a mosque, which still stands on the main road of the city near the market with a Persian inscription [22] at the top of the front-gate. It states that, when Ghiyās-ud-dīn was the Emperor of Dehli and when his son Ulugh Khān was the Nawab of Telingana, a certain Salar Ulvi built the mosque in Hijri 724 or A.D. 1324. This proves that the raid into Orissa took place in A.D. 1323.

Bhānu Deva III. (1352-53—1378)

Already, during the time of this King's grand-father, Bhānu Deva II, the country was attacked by the Tughluqs,

Ta'rikh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī, p. 236. This account of Ziauddin Barni may be preferred to other accounts as it appears to be true.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 575.

22 *Ep. Indo-Moslemica* for 1923-24, pp. 13-14.

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Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq attempting to invade from the north and his son Mahammad bin Tughluq invading from the south and capturing 40 elephants. After the fall of the Kākatiya Empire, two States, one Hindu and the other Muhammadan, arose on its ruins, *viz.*, Vijayanagara and Bahmanī. According to Sewell,[23] Kampana's son Sangama II was ruling over Nellore and the east coast in A.D. 1356. He was the nephew of Bukka I, Emperor of Vijayanagara. In A.D. 1357, he is said to have led a raid into Kalinga and defeated the Gajapati Ganga King, Bhanu III. *Ta'rikh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*[24] gives a detailed account of the relations between Sultān Fīrūz Tughluq of Delhi who succeeded Muhammad bin Tughluq in A.D. 1251 and Jājnagar, then under Vīra Bhānu Deva III.

Briefly stated, it is thus :—" After a campaign against Bengal, Sultān Firuz reached Jaunpur and resolved to march against Jājnagar and his officials made all preparations. Leaving his baggage at Karra, he made forced marches through Bihar and finally reached Jājnagar. It was a very rich and happy place, being full of corn and fruit. The Sultān rested at Bānārasī, an ancient capital of the Rājās. At that time, the Rājā of Jājnagar was Adāya who quitted Bānārasī which had 2 forts. The Rājās were Brāhmans and successive Rāis had added to the forts making them large and populous. The then Rājā fled and took refuge in the water. The country was in confusion and some people fled to hills and some were taken captives. Their cattle, horses and property fell into the enemy's hand. The people had spacious houses and fine gardens with fruit trees, flowers, etc., showing the prosperity of the country. The Sultān, on hearing that the Rājā took refuge in an island in the river, pursued him and on the way spent some time in

23 *Vide* Sewell's *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 300.

24 *Vide* Elliot and Dowson's *History of India*, Vol. III, pp. 312-16.

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hunting wild elephants. He then entered the palace of the King and found many fine buildings, and within his fort a stone idol of Jagannāth which was taken to Dehlī and put to disgrace. When the Sultān next prepared to pursue the Rāi into his island, he sent five of his Brāhman Patars or Patros to wait upon the Sultān. In the country of Jājnagar, the Mahtas or Mahants are called Patars or Patros and the Rājā had 20 such officers under whose advice he conducted all affairs of his State. When the 5 Patros respectfully submitted that their Rājā was already a dependent and subject of the Sultān, the latter replied that his intentions were friendly and that he came hither to hunt for elephants. The Rājā gave 20 mighty elephants as an offering and agreed to furnish a certain number yearly in payment of revenue. The Sultān then sent robes and insignia by the Mahants or Patros to the Rājā and returned home after much difficulty with the 73 elephants he obtained from Lakhnauti and Jājnagar."

This account differs in important points from the one translated by Major Raverty.[25] According to it, (1) Bānārasī is given as Banaras which he reached after crossing the river Mahānadī ; (2) The Rāi fled towards Talingana; (3) The Rāi sought for peace sending 3 elephants besides rarities and precious things; (4) The Sultān reached the country of Rāi Bhānu Diw or Bīr Bhān Dev ; (5) He returned from thence to Padmāvatī or South Bihar for hunting purposes and captured 33 elephants and killed 2 ; (6) He then returned to Karah.

It is not possible to know which account is true. It is doubtful whether either account is wholly true, particularly in the material respect of the submission of Bhānu Deva III. It is inconceivable how a mighty King with such a large kingdom and such great resources could so easily submit to a hunting

[25] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXXII, p. 136.

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excursion party of Fīrūz Tughluq. This so-called invasion of Fīrūz should be treated as a mere hunting-raid like the one[26] led by the Bengal Sultān Hāji Ilyās, in A.D. 1353, or the one led by Sangamā, the nephew of Bukka I, in A.D. 1356-57. The Ganga kingdom lasted with full vigour for nearly a century more when it was succeeded by a yet more powerful dynasty known as the Gajapati, a title which was inherited along with the kingdom by the Solar Line of Kings from their suzerains, the Ganga Kings. The late Mr. R. D. Banerji[27] has rightly held :

" Jajnagar lay at the extremity of Gadha-Katanka or Jubbalpur. Having crossed the Mahānadī, he (Fīrūz) reached the town of Banarasi. The *Haihaya* King of Jajnagar fled into Telingana. After passing through Jajnagar territories, Firoz Tughlak entered the kingdom of Bhānudeva III while hunting. Bhānudeva sent him some elephants and Firoz Tughlak returned to Karah. This expedition took place in 1361 A.D."

According to the *Cambridge History of India*,[28] Fīrūz halted at Jaunpur in 1360 and led an expedition into Orissa, his objective being Puri (Jagannātha). As he entered Orissa, the Rājā fled and took ship for a port on the coast of Telingana. Fīrūz reached Puri, occupied Rājā's palace and took the great idol which he sent to Delhi to be trodden under foot. The Rājā sued for peace offering 20 elephants and promising to send the same number annually.

Narasiṃha Deva IV. (A.D. 1378-1414)

During this reign, the Kalinga kingdom extended from the river Ganges in the north to the river Krishna in the south. The country was often troubled by foreign invaders. in A.D. 1404 the King of Vijayanagara, Bukka Rājā, invaded

26 *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 219.
27 *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. 282-83.
28 Vol. III, p. 171.

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the country but retired after taking a heavy bribe. In or about 1400 A.D., the Muslim ruler of Jaunpur invaded Kalinga and in 1412 the Bahmanī Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh invaded and captured several elephants, while in 1422, the Sultān of Malwa Hoshang Ghūrī led a raid, surprised the Ganga King and forced him to give several elephants.[29] These foreign invasions weakened the Ganga kingdom and paved the way for its downfall.

Bhānu Deva IV. (A.D. 1414—1434-35)

In the reign of the last Eastern Ganga King Bhānu Deva IV the Kalinga kingdom was attacked from all directions and probably on that account, a revolution took place. Kapileswara Gajapati (A.D. 1434-35—1469), founded his dynasty. From the Gopīnāthapuram Temple Inscription of his minister and Commander Gopīnāth,[30] we learn that he defeated the Muslim rulers of Malwa, Gauḍa and Bahmanī Kingdoms and destroyed the pride of Dehli Sultāns and subdued Karnāta rulers of Vijayanagara and spread his power over Orissa or Kalinga, Andhra and even a part of Tamila desa down to Kanchi in the south.

A new era opened, with the accession of this King in A.D. 1435, with regard to Kalinga history.

29 *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 689.
30 *Vide* J. A. S. B., Vol. LXIX, Part I, pp. 173-189.

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15

VĪRASIMHA, A FORGOTTEN BUDDHIST SCHOLAR OF ORISSA

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Buddhism flourished in Orissa for many centuries. Many Buddhist scholars visited Orissa and stayed in the great monastery near the Udaigiri and Lalitgiri Hills. Nāgārjuna, the founder and expounder of the Mādhyamikā school, came to Orissa and converted Muñja, the King of that country, to Buddhism.[1] Scholars like Manjuśrī, Bodhaśrī and Chandragomi preached the religion of Buddha in Orissa. After the Muslim conquest of Bengal, the learned Śākyaśrī went to Orissa and stayed there for some time.[2]

But gradually Buddhism lost its influence in Orissa. It suffered more from assimilation by Hinduism than from persecution. The Buddhists drifted towards Hinduism, when they found elements of Buddhistic faith within the four corners of Hinduism. The Vishṇuite faith particularly attracted them, as Jagannātha was identified with Buddha. In the 10th Century A.D. Rāmāi Paṇḍit described Jagannātha as the Buddha incarnation of Vishṇu in his *Dharmapūjā-vidhāna*. The number of Buddhists dwindled fast. It is stated that they numbered only seven hundred in the reign

[1] Tāranāth's account, *Journal of the Dept. of Letters*, Vol. I, Calcutta University, p. 28.

[2] Kern, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 134.

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of the Keśarī Kings,[3] one of whom killed 616 of them. The surviving few openly adopted the Vishṇuite tenets to escape extinction. Unfortunately the wisdom of their leader Vīrasiṃha was noised abroad and they had to suffer again.

The name of Vīrasiṃha has been rescued from oblivion by collecting scraps of evidence from several texts. The references are not always reliable and in some cases conflicting. One wishes for more light on the veiled history of this Buddhist scholar. Our chief authority is Īśwara Dāsa who wrote a biography of Chaitanya (*Chaitanya Bhāgavata*) in Oriya, in which he described Chaitanya as an incarnation of Buddha. According to Īśwara Dāsa, Vīrasiṃha lived in the reign of Ananga Bhīma Deva. This King may be Ananga Bhīma II (1190-98) or III (1211-38).

Vīrasiṃha was at first a Brahmin of the name of Vinod Misra and he worshipped Nṛsiṃha. By profession he was a physician. Later on, he became a Buddhist and was called Vīrasiṃha. He became the leader of the Buddhists, whose numerical strength increased due to the emigration of Buddhist monks from Bengal. Though a Buddhist, Vīrasiṃha professed devotion to the image of Nṛsiṃha at Puri.

One day Padmāvatī, the Queen, went to offer worship to Nṛsiṃha. At the temple she met Vīrasiṃha and listened to his philosophical expositions. Subsequently she began to weep. "Why dost thou weep?", questioned the Buddhist leader. "Hast thou mercy upon me," replied the Queen, "and let me serve thee." But the Brahmins were loath to tolerate the ascendency of Vīrasiṃha. Forthwith they repaired to the King's Court and reported, "There is a Brahmin Buddhist, heterodox in his conduct. Thy chief

[3] सात शत आन बौद्ध। केशरी राजा सङ्गे वाद॥

Chaitanya Bhāgavata, Chapter LIII.

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Queen hath received religious instructions from such a person.''[4]

Hearing this, the King got angry. He went to the temple of Nṛsiṃha and reprimanded his wife for her conduct. But Padmāvatī was adamant in her conviction. She supported the cause of the Buddhists who, in her opinion, were omniscient. But the King claimed omniscience for the Brahmins. " At last it was decided to make a trial of their relative skill as men of science and magicians. Accordingly a snake was put secretly into an earthen jar, the mouth of which being covered up, the vessel was produced in a great assembly at that place. Both the parties were then asked what the jar contained.''[5]

Stirling translated the version of the trial from *Mādlā Pāñji*—the Jagannātha temple Chronicle. Buddhists, states the *Pāñji*, lived in rockcut caves in the reign of Madana Mahādeva (the brother of Ananga Bhīma II, according to the *Pāñji*). One day the Queen and the King had a heated discussion on the respective wisdom of the Buddhists and the Brahmins. Subsequently the trial, referred to above, followed.

The Buddhists with their superior knowledge of occult art could correctly guess the existence of the snake within the jar. The Brahmins cursed the contents of the jar and declared that it contained nothing but a heap of ashes. The lid was then uncovered and the prediction of the Brahmins was found to be true. The King, in high rage, ordered the massacre of the Buddhists. Stirling's account does not fully agree with the existing texts of the *Pāñji*. He writes that the Rājā's name was Pratāparudra and that the Rājā destroyed

[4] वउद्दे बोलि विप्रवर। वर्णे अटन्ति अनाचार॥
ताहाङ्क ठारु उपदेश। घेनिले तोर राणी हंस॥

Chaitanya Bhāgavata, Chapter LIII.

[5] Stirling, *Orissa*, p. 132.

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all the writings of the Buddhists except the MSS. of Vīrasiṃha and Amarasiṃha. He certainly committed a mistake by describing the King as the supporter of the Buddhists and his Queen, that of the Brahmins.

The *Pāñji* stops here and we are to rely solely on *Chaitanya Bhāgavata*. Vīrasiṃha in vain made a spirited protest against the high-handedness of the King. Thirty-two Buddhists were clubbed to death and the rest escaped by the skin of their teeth. Vīrasiṃha took shelter in the Daṇḍakāraṇya forest, to the east of the river Prāchī, in the district of Puri. We get a vivid description of his hermitage in *Śūnya Saṃhitā* by Achyutānanda Dāsa, who belonged to the old school of Vaishnavism in Orissa and was a direct disciple of Chaitanya.

Mādhurī Dāsa, a young Vaishṇava cenobite, visited Daṇḍakāraṇya and was shown the hermitage of Vīrasiṃha by his guide, who said, "Here is the hermitage of Vīrasiṃha, the descendent of Bharadvāja, who practises air-controlling in and outside the body to the extent of 12 digits." (Twelve digits are connected with air-controlling). Vīrasiṃha's method of Yoga is different (from that of Lohidāsa). He has the knowledge of the intricate Nāgānta philosophy. He travels hundred yojanas at his will. He visits Kṛṣṇa every day and serves him."[6]

Thus Vīrasiṃha has been described as a devotee of Kṛṣṇa! Mādhurī Dāsa could torment his spiritual mentor by exercising the occult art of Vīrasiṃha (Vīrasiṃha Ājñā).

6 वीरसिंह आश्रम ए भारद्वाज वाल
याइँ आमि साधन्ति से तपी वाराङ्गुख ॥
* * * *
वीरसिंह विपरीत आज्ञाकारी थान्ति
विषम सन्धि नागान्त विद्या से जाणन्ति ॥
इच्छाए याआन्ति तपी शए युग चषे
श्रीकृष्ण नियोगी से आन्ति प्रति दिने ॥
Śūnya-Saṃhitā, X.

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He wrote the *mantra* in the shape of a figure (of his preceptor). Then thinking of that person he placed the sheet on fire. The preceptor felt unbearable pain all over his body.

Hearing the advent of Chaitanya, Vīrasiṃha started for Puri. "After the Nṛsiṃha incarnation, the Lord manifested himself again, in the incarnation of Buddha. Chaitanya was but the embodiment of Buddha."[7] Vīrasiṃha could realise this truth and forthwith he cast himself at the Master's Feet.

This fact shows that he was a contemporary of Pratāparudra, and the incident of Buddhist persecution really took place in the reign of this King. Moreover Padmāvatī was the wife of Pratāparudra.[8]

We do not know of any consort of Ananga Bhīma II of that name. Perhaps Īśwara Dāsa concocted the name of Ananga Bhīma to pass Vīrasiṃha as a Methuselah. The incident, in all probability, took place in the early part of Pratāparudra's reign; otherwise the writers of the Gauḍiya school would have gladly narrated this story of persecution of the Buddhists.

There is a booklet in Oriya, which passes as the composition of Vīrasiṃha. In one MS., we find the concluding line is, "Thus saith the Buddhist Vīrasiṃha of the Drāvida country."[9] In this book, "*Vīrasiṃha Chautisa*," Vīrasiṃha gives religious instruction to Nacchindra or Lakshmīdhara. Lolla Lakshmīdhara was an Andhra scholar, who adorned

7 चैतन्य विष्णु अवतार। वहिले अउध शरीर॥
नृसिंह अवतार हरि। वउध तहुँ अवतरि॥
Chaitanya Bhāgavata, Chapter LXV.

8 वीररुद्रोऽपि पद्मान्विष्टतनुः—कटकनगरीं पद्मा पद्मालयेला महिलाभिसम्भं सानयम्.....
Saraswatī-Vilāsa, by Prataparudra.

9 द्रविड़ बौध वीरसिंह कहै ऐहा
Vīrasiṃha Chautisa,,

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the court of Rājā Pratāparudra, and wrote the commentary of *Saundarya-lahari*. He might be the afore-named Lakshmīdhara, but the proof of definite identity is lacking.

The Bengali followers of Vīrasiṃha fled to Bāṅki on the Mahānadī and took shelter in the cave of the Mahāparvata Hill. Their descendants took up weaving as their profession. They are now known as Sarāki " which is simply a Prakrit form of the word Śrāvaka."[10] The Sarākis live at Ragaḍi near Banki in the district of Cuttack, Nuapatnā in Tigria State and at Māniāvandha in the Barambā State. Māniāvandha is perhaps the largest Buddhist village in India, outside the Chittagong Division.

The *Shāstra* of the Sarākis reveals that their ancestors lived at Nandigrām in the Burdwan district (*Nandigrama Vardhamana Sarāka Desa*). These ancestors immigrated to Puri in the reign of Pratāparudra, probably as a result of Muslim persecution. The Buddhists (*Baudha-putra*) were worsted in the trial of the snake within the jar, as has already been described.

The Sarākis are also to be found in the districts of Bankura, Burdwan and Balasore where they have now become fully Hinduised. But the Sarākis living in the three villages mentioned above even now call themselves Buddhists. They do not mix with the Hindu weaving class and are strictly vegetarian. At the same time they profess Vaishṇavism to escape Brahminical persecution. These Buddhist Sarākis are now cent. per cent. Oriya. But their surnames, *viz.*, Dutta, Bardhan, Chanda, Dev, Nandi, etc., are unmistakably of Bengali origin. Thus these Sarākis remind us of the days when the Buddhists led by Vīrasiṃha were the victims of cruel persecution, which wiped out Buddhism from Orissa.

10 N. N. Vasu, *Modern Buddhism in Orissa*, Introduction

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16

TELIAGARHI : THE FORT THAT DECIDED THE FATE OF BENGAL

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Sahibganj

The fort of Teliagarhi, known as the key of Bengal, which stands hoary with age, on the Rajmahal hills near Sahibganj, has unfortunately failed to receive the prominence or attention it deserves. That it proved a veritable 'key' to Bengal's political problems throughout the ages has escaped the notice of the present day historians. The *Jahāngīr Nāmah* describes the fort of Teliagarhi as a burial ground,[1]—burial indeed of many political ambitions. But physically too it bears many burials though the fort is too big to be described in the fashion of *Jahāngīr Nāmah*. A casual observer can only catch a glimpse of its central structure and goes satisfied with the idea that it is only as big as it can arrest the attention of his eyes, but to a regular visitor of the site it reveals its real dimension now lying hidden under nature's vegetable vagary. In length it is two-third of a mile. The northern limit is a natural precipice just below which the swift-going Ganges runs. The area is bounded with a strong-built rampart on all other sides barring a small portion on the south where the fort is imbedded with the mountains difficult to ascend. As we approach the area from the west we may yet see the rampart which has been described by *Ain-i-Akbari*[2] as a "raised stone

[1] Stewart, *History of Bengal*, p. 226, foot -note.
[2] Vol. II, p. 28.

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wall extending from the Ganges to the mountains" and this wall is considered to be the boundary between Bengal and Bihar. The translator of the *Seir-ul-Mutaqherin* writes, "Teliagarry is a fort that shuts up the passage into Bengal. It consists in a wall strengthened in towers, that extend from the foot of the hills to the rocky bank of the Ganges." He wrongly adds that "it has neither ditch nor rampart." As a matter of fact ramparts there are and we have just discussed about it. A deep natural ditch in the vicinity of its western wall is visible even to-day and perhaps Major Coote referred to this when he wrote, "a rivulet or water-course very hollow and impassable ran near the 'phataks' or gates". For the purpose of defence, this frontier fort with the natural fortifications of the Ganges in the north and the hills in the south stood in no need of any more ditch.

The *Ain-i-Akbari*, *Khulasat-ul-Twarikh*,[3] and *Wākiāt-i-Jahāngirī*[4] have all measured the area of Bengal from Gaḍhi on the western front to Chātganw (Chittagong) on the east and this in itself proves that this 'Gate of Bengal' always carried an importance of its own. A close study of the descriptions of Gaḍhi in the *Akbar Nāmah*, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, *Twarikh-i-Sher Shāhī*, *Iqbalnāmah-i-Jahāngirī*, *Al-Badūonī*, *Riaz-us-Salatin*, etc., will show that the authors one and all stress upon the strategic significance of its natural situation. The greatness of Gaḍhi lay in the fact that it was "the only passage to the countries of Gaur and Bengal; there being except by that gate no other way of entry or exit."[5] In the comment following the above quotation Elliott (Vol. IV, p. 367, fn. 2) writes that the Gaḍhi is better known as Siclygully, properly

[3] See *Tabaqat-i-Nāsirī*, p. 592, foot-note and p. 598 foot-note.

[4] Elliot, Vol. VI, p. 326.

[5] *Makhzan-i-Afghana*, Mss. 202; Elliott, Vol. IV, p. 367, foot-note 2.

P. Kennedy, *History of the Great Moghals*, Vol. I, pp. 190-91, writes: "The only practicable road for an army of invaders to penetrate into the country provided it does not come by the river."

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Sankarîgāli,[6] the narrow pass about 8 miles north-west from Rajmahal. But this is a sad confusion between the two passes of Teliagarhi and Sakrigali (Śankarîgali). The fact is that they are two distinct passes. The one that commences from the fort of Teliagarhi is known as the Teliagarhi pass and the other that ends at the promontary of the Rajmahal hills making a bid for the Ganges is known as the Siclygally pass and midway between them stands the Sakrugarh (Chikkoragarh).[7] As regards the rôle played by this pass in history in relation to Bengal we shall see from the sources of information of the Mughul period that it was always the theatre of decisive battles. But its history is not confined to the Mughul period only. Cunningham identified with Teliagarhi the lofty tower of Hieun Tsang's account and observed: "The pilgrim does not say what was the nature of the tower but from his description I gather that it must have been a Buddhist building, as its four faces were ornamented with panels filled with figures of saints, Buddhas and Devas. From the mixture of brick and stone in the building and its position on the northern frontier of the district and the south bank of the Ganges, I am led to think that the tower was most probably situated at Teliagarhi itself."[8] I would like to draw the attention of all to some informations of interest here:

(*a*) A stone piller with small images of Buddha on its four sides has been recently found in the fort area and is being worshipped by the Santhals of the village lying close to the south-east corner of Teliagarhi.

(*b*) Just above the fort, on the top-most part of the mountains, we have discovered a small stone structure built without mortar overlooking the surrounding area even miles off and curiously enough it goes by the name of "Yogi-garh" among

[6] More properly Sankarîgali. See *Indian Culture*, April, 1939. Pithi and Pithipatis, p. 384.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] Arch. Survey of India Reports, Vol. XV, p. 39.

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the Paharias living in the neighbourhood. Is it then wild to conclude in the light of the traces of Buddhist stamps described by the renowned archaeologist Cunningham and the relics recently discovered by me that the word "Yogigarh" carries with it the memory of its old existence as a Buddhist monastery which was so common in those days in Bihar?

The passes of Teliagarhi and Sakrigali were possessed by the Pīṭhīpati Devarakshita and a close guard of this front helped him in the revolt against his overlord Rāmapāla. I have already discussed in my paper "Pîṭhî and Pîṭhîpatis" that the possession of this place by a revolting feudatory would prove fatal to the Pāla empire and hence the defeat of Devarakshita at the arms of Mahaṇa was a political necessity.[9] The discovery of the Janibāgh inscription proves that the area was under the Pīṭhīpatis for a long time after Devarakshita.[10] The Vikramaśīlā Vihāra, which is identified with Patthalghattā, some ten miles off Teliagarhi, must have also been in their possession till the powerful arms of Ikhtiyār-ud-dīn Muhammad bin Bakhtiyār Khaljī destroyed it. Mr. R. D. Banerji in his paper entitled "Lakshmaṇasena" discusses about one of the three possible routes traversed by this invader and says that "the third route (*i.e.*, through the pass at Sahibganj) has been generally followed by the invaders of Bengal and most probably the first Muhammadan invader of Bengal also followed it."[11] The learned scholar has opined in his *History of Bengal* (in Bengali) that a successful guard of the pass of Teliagarhi would have checked the invader and the subsequent history of Bengal would have been quite different.[12] The story of Bengal during the Turko-Afghān

[9] *Proceedings, Indian History Congress*, Allahabad (1938), pp. 141-46 ; *Indian Culture*, April, 1939, p. 384.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] J. & P. R. A. S. of Bengal

[12] *Bānglār Itihās*, Vol. II, pp. 8 ff.

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period has been that of a continuous tug-of-war between the local and the imperial rulers but we do not find any direct reference to the part played by Teliagarhi. But that the fort was in existence during the close of the Pāthān rule can be proved from the well-known *Chaitanya-charitāmrita*, a book written as early as 1582 A.D. The following reference appears in connection with Sanātana, the Private Secretary of Hussain Shāh :—

রাজবন্দী আমি গড়ীদ্বার যাইতে না পারি।
পুণ্য হবে পর্ব্বত আমা দেহ পার করি ॥[13]

As Sanātan bought off his release from the Imperial government he tried to steal his passage towards Benares. On his way he had to avoid the gate of Garhi because a King's prisoner could have no free passage over there. Though the verses were composed nearly sixty years after the incident it is definite that even during the reign of Hussain Shāh, the King of Bengal, Teliagarhi was an important post. We are now to move on to the history of Garhi in the rôle of deciding battles.

Sher Shāh, Mahmūd Shāh & Humāyūn

In his attempt for a way into Bengal Sher Shāh got his first real obstacle here at this pass. Mahmūd Shāh was then the governor of Bengal. He found an enemy in the person of Makdum Alam, his own brother-in-law, who again joined hands with Sher Shāh. Makdum Alam soon lost his life. Sher Shāh drew his forces towards Bengal. " The nobles of Bengal guarding the passes of Teliagarhi and Sakrigali for one month continued the fighting. At length the passes of Teliagarhi and Sakrigali were captured and Sher Shāh entered Bengal, and Mahmūd Shāh, drawing his force, encountered the former, when a great battle ensued. Sultan

[13] *Chaitanyacharitāmrita*, by Krishnadāsa Kavirāja, Madhyalilā, Chapter 20.

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Mahmud, being vanquished in the field, entrenched himself in the citadel, and sent a message to Emperor Humayun in Delhi, seeking for help.'[14] The fall of Teliagarhi opened the way for the trimuphant entry of Sher Shāh into Bengal. The empire was in danger and Humāyūn immediately hastened towards Bengal. But the resistance offered by Mahmūd Shāh at the passes of Teliagarhi and Sakrigali gave this definite lesson to Sher Shāh that a close guard of them was a necessity. So he immediately sent Jalal Khān and Khawas Khān to defend the pass and to hold the Emperor in check there. Emperor Humāyūn detatched Jahāngīr Beg Mughal to capture Teliagarhi and Sakrigali. On the day that Jahāngīr Beg reached the place, just after he had dismounted, Jalal Khān and Khawas Khān, marching up quickly with an efficient force, attacked him. The Mughul forces, unable to cope, were vanquished and Jahāngīr Beg getting wounded, in a helpless condition returned to the Emperor's camp (which must have been near Colgong). But when Humāyūn himself marched up to Teliagarhi and Sakrigali Jalal Khān and Khawas Khān, seeing their inability to stand the Emperor's onslaught, fled towards the hills and then to Sher Shāh at Gaur. The Imperial army forcing its way easily through the narrow defile, marched up stage by stage.[15] Humāyūn entered Bengal and Sher Shāh fled through the jungles of "Jhārkhanda". The victory of Humāyūn at the Garhi saved for a time his empire from the clutch of Sher Shāh.

[14] Stewart, *History of Bengal*, pp. 120 21.
- *Riaz-us-salatin*, pp. 138-39.

[15] *Tezkereh-al-Vakiat* (Tr. Stewart), p. 12; *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, Elliot, Vol. V, p. 200 ff; *Akbarnāmah*, Elliot, Vol. VI, p. 19; *ibid*, (Beveridge), Vol. I, pp. 328-34, *Twarikh-i Sher Shāhī*, Elliot, Vol. IV, p. 367; Briggs, Vol. II, p. 114ff; Al Badāūnī, p 457; *Riaz-us-salatin*, pp. 141ff.

Akbarnama (Elliot, Vol. VI, p. 19) calls it 'town of Garhi' but the area of the fort is too insufficient to hold a town and does not bear any trace whatsoever of civil residence.

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The students of history all know the subsequent facts. Sulāimān Karrānī was appointed the governor of Bihar by Islām Shāh, the son of Sher Shāh. Karrānī declared independence after the death of Islām Shāh and consequently became the governor of Bengal. After the death of Sulāimān Karrānī in 1572 A.D. the Afghān Sardars dethroned his son and placed Dāūd Khān on the throne. A man of very high ambitions, Daud Khan began to establish himself as independent ruler of Bengal and Bihar. Akbar was then the Emperor and he made no delay to send Munīm Khān against Dāūd. The general controlled the situation by annexing Patna. He was appointed governor of Bengal and Bihar.

Dāūd vs. the Mughul army

"When Daud fled from Patna, he went to Garhi.[16] Leaving aside trusty men there he proceeded to the town of Tanda. He made such efforts to strengthen the fort of Garhi that in his vain idea it was impregnable. Khan Khanan marched against Tanda and arrived near Garhi. As soon as the eyes of the terrified Afghans fell upon his army they fled and abandoned the fort, so that he obtained possession of Garhi without striking a blow."[17] The road to Bengal was open to the Imperial army and so Dāūd fled towards Orissa. To cut the subsequent events short, we may only refer to the battle of Mogalmari where Dāūd suffered a defeat and promised to rule faithfully over Orissa. But when Munīm Khān died and the Afghāns of Bengal and Orissa revolted Dāūd took advantage of the anarchy and again strengthened his position at Rajmahal, 30 miles off from Teliagarhi. "Upon receiving this intelligence the Emperor sent a letter through Subhan Kuli Turk to Khan Jahan

[16] Dow, *History of Hindosthan*, Vol. II, p. 251, calls the pass of Teliagarhi as 'Killagurry.'

[17] *T. Akbari*, Elliot, Vol. V, p. 381.

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directing him to take with him all the Amirs and Jaigirdars who had abandoned Bengal and to march against Daud .....The Khan took the field and advanced into Bengal. He had an action with 3,000 men whom Daud had left in charge of Garhi and took the place."[18] Khān Jahān (Hussain Kulī Khān), the governor of Bengal, stormed the fort of Teliagarhi and Sakrigali, and by the delivery of first assault, slaughtered about 1500 Afghāns and advanced towards the site where Dāūd Khān was entrenched. Dāūd was captured and put to death. So the battle at Teliagarhi closed the career of Dāūd and decided the fate of Bengal in relation to the Mughul government.

The secret way

Akbarnāmah, while describing the preparations of the Imperial army against Dāūd Khān, writes: "The Zemindars of the neighbourhood (of Teliagarhi) said that there was a secret way through the country of Telirāja, which, though impracticable for beasts of burden, might be surmounted by active and intelligent horsemen..... Manjum Khan was sent at the head of a brave and resolute detatchment by this route."[19] It is to be noted here that besides the main pass of Garhi there was a second secret way to Bengal. Here again we can quote to our advantage the verses from the *Chaitanya Charitāmrita* which refer to the same secret passage traversed by Sanātan in c. 1522 A.D.:

রাজবন্দী আমি গড়ীদ্বার যাইতে না পারি।
পুণ্য হবে পর্ব্বত আমা দেহ পার করি।
... ...
তবে গোসাঞির সঙ্গে চারি পাইক দিলা
রাত্রে রাত্রে বনপথে পর্ব্বত পার কৈলা॥[20]

18 *T. Akbari*, Elliot, Vol. V, p. 397; Briggs, Vol. II, pp. 246-48. *Akbarnāmah*, Elliott, Vol. VI, p. 44ff: *Riaz.*, pp. 161-62.

19 Elliot, Vol. VI, p. 44ff.

20 *Chaitanya Charitāmrita*, Krishnadāsa Kavirāja, Madhyalilā, Chapter 20.

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A local zemindar helped Sanātan with four 'paiks' who took him by the secret way over the hills.

Teliagarhi named after Telirājā ?

One more point of interest needs be discussed here. In the same passage from *Akbarnāmah* we find that Telirājā was a zemindar of the vicinity. Is the fort of Garhi named after some Telirājā ? "Local tradition states that the fort is called after a Teli zemindar who was compelled by the Muhammadans to embrace Islam."[21] Taking the tradition and the reference in the *Akbarnāmah* into consideration we can conclude that the fort carries in its name the memory of some Telirājā of the neighbourhood.

Kakshals and the Garhi

Let us go back to our topic. The problem of Bengal looked solved when Dāūd Khān was crushed and Akbar sent Muzaffar Khān to take over charge of the province after Khān Jahān. Shāh Mansūr was appointed to look after the affairs of the Jāgīrdārs. He began with promulgation of strict measures. This, together with the imperial order of death on one Roshan Beg, enraged the Kakshals so much that they resolved upon mutiny. Matters moved to an alarming situation. Muzaffar Khān sent his men for peace talks to Baba Khān but the latter replied with their arrest. "Coincident with this the revenue officials of Bihar took away the Jagirs of Md. Masum Kabuli Arab Bahadur and all the Amirs." This pushed matters to a climax and mutiny broke out. "When the Kakshals confronted Muzaffar Khan Āsī Māsum marched to assist them and arrived to Garhi. Muzaffar Khān then sent Kwaja Samsuddin Md. Kwaji with a detatchment and some guns to the pass of Garhi to arrest the progress of Āsi Māsum. But the latter had a

[21] Gazetteer, Santhal Parganas. Ed. L.S.S.O'Malley, 1910, p. 285.

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strong force ; he broke through Garhi and attacked the Kwaja and defeated him."[22] The failure of the Khwājā at the pass of Teliagarhi brought sweeping success to the Kakshals. Had Māsum been defeated there, he would have no chance to enter Bengal, form a junction with the Kakshals and all the countries of Bengal and Bihar would not have fallen into their hands. Akbar however sent a strong army under the able lead of Todarmal and as fortune would ultimately have it, Garhi fell into the hands of the Mughul troops and Bengal was regained at the place where it was lost. The pass of Teliagarhi once more showed how it decided the fate of Bengal.

Shāh Jahān vs. Ibrāhīm

The next drama began when Prince Shāh Jahān raised a rebellion against his father, forcibly annexed Burdwan and proceeded to fall upon Ibrāhīm Khān, the Subādār of Bengal. Ibrāhīm took his post at Rajmahal. Shāh Jahān, convinced that in his situation delays were dangerous and that his success depended on prompt and vigorous measures, advanced by rapid marches towards the governor, who, "finding that the city of Rajmahal was incapable of standing a siege, retreated to the fortification of Teliagarhi, upon which were mounted a number of cannons served by vagabond Europeans...but not considering the place sufficiently secure, he entrusted the defence of it to one of his best officers, and encamped with his army on the opposite bank of the Ganges."[23] Meanwhile Deriaw Khān, one of the Afghān chiefs in the army of Shāh Jahān, won the assistance of some of the zemindars of Boglipore (Bhāgalpur), secured boats and crossed the Ganges. "When Ibrahim Khan found that the enemy had passed the river, he withdrew as many of his troops as could be spared from the defence of

[22] *T. Akbari*, Elliot, Vol. V. p. 416ff. Al Badāūnī, Vol. II, p. 290ff.

[23] Stewart, *History of Bengal*, p. 227.

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Terriagurhy ; and being thus reinforced, advanced to meet the rebel chiefs."[24] Then began a great battle at Teliagarhi. The author of the *Riaz-us-Salatin* gives a vivid description as to how one Syed Nurullāh was ordered to form the van with eight hundred cavalry, how Ahmad Beg Khān formed the centre with 7 hundred cavalry while Ibrāhīm Khān himself held the line of reserve with thousands of cavalry and infantry. In the long run Ibrāhīm got serious wounds and fell dead. "Roumy Khan, an engineer of Shah Jahan, had pressed forward the siege of Terriagurhy and at the time when battle was raging on the opposite bank he set fire to a mine which blew up twenty yards of the fortification and opened a breach, through which rebels rushed with impetuousity and put the greater part of the garrison to the sword. The capture of Terriagurhy and the death of the governor decided the fate of Bengal and the authority of the Prince was everywhere acknowledged."[25]

Aurangzeb vs. Shujā

The government of Bengal changed many hands after Ibrāhīm. Shujā, the second son Shāh Jahān, came in. He changed the capital from Dacca back to Rajmahal and thus the importance of the passes of Teliagarhi and Sakrigali became once more doubly greater. When Shāh Jahān fell ill his sons entered into internecine quarrels. In his attempt for the throne Shāh Shujā suffered a defeat near Agra and retreated to Monghyr. His position at Monghyr also became insecure owing to the treachery played by Raja Bahroj of Kharagpur. The Raja secretly intrigued with Mīr Jumlā and showed the latter another route accross the hills to the east of Monghyr. Shāh Shujā was in the face of danger

[24] Stewart, *History of Bengal*, p. 228ff.

[25] *Ibid.* Dow, *History of Hindosthan*, Vol. III, p. 66ff. *Iqbalnāmah*, p. 220ff; Elliot, Vol. VI, pp. 409-10; Khafi Khān, *Muntākhāb-ul-lubāb*, Vol.I , pp. 344-46. *Riaz*, pp. 188-93.

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and he instantly sailed down his war vessels from Monghyr fort to Rāngāmāti and Rajmahal and on the way fortified the passes of Teliagarhi and Siclygalli." So Shāh Shujā thought of sealing the success of the enemy by shutting the gate of Garhi. Shuja "built a wall from the river to the southern hill barring the narrow plain through which the road ran" at Garhi[26] or at a place named Rāngāmāti[27] (Lalmati, nearly four miles east of Teliagarhi). The wall was constructed perhaps under the idea of giving a second resistance there and controlling the Ganges. But Shujā had soon to evacuate the place, for in the meantime the Imperialists had avoided Teliagarhi and stolen a passage towards Rajmahal through Birbhum. Mīr Jumlā expected quite naturally that Shujā would concentrate at Garhi and he would fall upon him by a rear attack. The battle which was to be fought at Teliagarhi was fought and won by Mīr Jumlā on the other side of Rajmahal.

Sarfarāj vs. Alivardī

We next pass on to the reign of Nawāb Shujā-ud-dīn. During his time two brothers named Hājī Muhammad and Alivardī Khān became very prominent in the court. The latter was entrusted with the government of Bihar in 1729 A.D. Sarfarāj Khān, son of Shujā, could not tolerate their eminence and when in 1739 he ascended the throne he was on the look-out for a plea. Meanwhile there was a conspiracy among Hājī Muhammad, Jagat Seth and others to procure the Subādārship of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa for Alivardī. Sarfarāj detected the conspiracy and decided to bestow the Deputy-Governorship of Patna to his son-in-law Syed Muhammad Hasan in supercession of Alivardī Khān and the Fouzdārī of Akbārnagar together with the command

[26] Aqil Khān, p. 92.

[27] *Alamgīranāmah*, pp. 534-36, 495. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. II, p. 241ff.

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of Sakrigali and Teliagarhi passes on Mir Sharf-ud-dīn Bakshī in supercession of Atāullāh Khān, son-in-law of Hājī Muhammad.[28] Meanwhile Alivardī secured the adhesion of many generals and officers of army. Under the false pretext of waiting upon Sarfarāj Khān Alivardī Khān marched swiftly, crossed the passes of Teliagarhi[29] and Sakrigali and reached the frontier of Bengal. At the instigation of Hājī Muhammad, Atāullāh Khān, the Foujdār of Akbārnagar, had taken steps to prevent all movements of messengers and spies and to interdict all intercourse through news-letters between Azīmābād (Patna) and Bengal via the passes of Teliagarhi and Sakrigali until Alivardī had crossed through those passes. In consequence no news of Alivardī's movements had reached Sarfarāj Khān.[30] In the above debut Alivardī came out successful. We can have no better account than that of *Riaz-us-Salatin* to reveal the unique part played by the passes in deciding such a momentous battle. At a time when Alivardī was troubled by the Marathas in Bengal and the Pāthāns in Bihar this pass of Teliagarhi and Sakrigali helped him much as a base of operations and guard.

We thus see that Teliagarhi played all along a role unique in history and no single pass or fort can stand any comparison to it. But inscrutable as are the ways of Destiny, this fateful fort lies unnoticed and uncared for!

28 *Riaz-us-Salatin*, p. 310.

29 Orme, *History of Hindosthan*, Vol. II, Sec. I., p. 30, calls it "Tacriagully."

30 *Riaz*, p. 311.

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17

LIFE AND TIMES OF SULTAN ALAUDDIN KHALJI

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The history of the so-called Pathan and Turko-Afghan period has yet received little attention. Few of the records of that period, except coins and a few monuments, have survived and for that age we are entirely dependent upon Muslim historians. Constant dynastic changes, an almost incessant war with the Hindus and repeated invasions of the Mongols—all contributed to an unsettled political condition in which a settled government could not come into existence. Most of the early Turkish rulers of India lacked the genius of governing or of establishing more amicable relations with the conquered and devoted their time and attention to war. Under such circumstances, historians are more or less unanimous in regarding the period as one of lawlessness and anarchy.

But in the midst of religious animosity and constant warfare, some of the Sultans could devote their time to the establishment of an administration and some of them were great innovators. Of such innovators the more important were Sultan Alauddin Khalji and Muhammad Tughluq, but of their institutions and innovations few have survived.

Among the Turko-Afghan Sultans the name of Alauddin stands out prominently as a great conqueror, a consummate general and an able administrator who thought of

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consolidating Muslim supremacy in India and making himself the sole suzerain authority in that vast country. His exploits were many. It was he who first conceived the conquest of the Hindu states of the Deccan which still maintained their independence, though the major part of Northern India had fallen into the hands of the Muslim invaders of India. It was Alauddin who fought against the repeated onslaughts of the Mongols who issuing out of their homes in Central Asia had overturned the Muslim Sultanates near about and after overrunning Persia were turning their attention to the Muslim Sultanate of Delhi. Alauddin had to face all these and in the midst of their attacks fought against and subjugated not only the Hindu Princes like the rulers of Ranthambor and Chitor, but had overrun Gujrat, Deogiri, Dwarasamudra, Madura and the Coromandal coast. In the midst of all his troubles, he had energy and ability enough to think of organising on new principles the system of revenue administration and of civil government, taking care to check the constant intrigues of the Turki Maliks, the intrigues of the members of his own court including some of his queens and the rapacity of the civil officials.

For many reasons, Alauddin's reign was remarkable and full of exploits and a large number of historians have given us an account of his reign. Prominent among their works which have been translated in English in part or in full, are :—

(*a*) *Taziyat-ul Anusar Wa Tajriyat ul Asar* of Abdulla Wassaq.

(*b*) *Tarikh-i-Alai*, by Amir Khusru who was the court-poet of Alauddin and wrote many other works relating to the reign of that Sultan. His other works like the *Miftah-ul Futuh* and the *Ashika* contains accounts of Alauddin.

(*c*) *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* by Ziauddin Barni, the well-known historian who wrote the history of India during

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the reigns of eight kings from Balban to Firuz Shah Tughluq, during whose time the work was written.

(*d*) Ibn Batuta, a native of Ṭangiers—who travelled over the greater part of Asia and visited India during the reign of Muhammad Tughluq.

(*e*) Ferista—who wrote about three hundred years after Alauddin's death. His history is based on previous works and contains a summary of the accounts of his predecessors.

In spite of achievements to his credit Muslim historians have not pronounced the same judgment upon him. His court-poet Amir Khasru has narrated his exploits almost in the strain of an epic writer and the foreign traveller Ibn Batuta has classed him "among the best Sultans of India" and "eulogised him highly" (see Elliot, III, p. 599). He sums up the great achivements of Alauddin, namely, during the reign of Alauddin either through the agency or the beneficient ruling of providence there were several remarkable events and matters which had never been witnessed or heard of in any time or age and probably never will again be.

1. The cheapness of grain, clothes and necessaries of life.
2. The constant succession of victories.
3. The destruction and rolling back of the Mongols.
4. The maintenance of a large army at a small cost.
5. Severe punishment of rebels and the general prevalence of loyalty.
6. The safety of the roads in all directions.
7. The honest dealings of the bazar peoples.
8. The creation and repair of mosques, forts and minarets and excavations of tanks.
9. During the last ten years of his reign the hearts of the Mussalmans in general were inclined to respect truth, honesty, justice and temperance.
10. With the patronage of the Sultan many learned and great men flourished.

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Ferista draws a picture of his reign, pointing out both sides of his character. He denounces his cruelty but on the whole regards him as a great ruler. He sums up as follows:—Alauddin Khalji reigned joyous and for some months the household servants of the monarch amounted to 17000. His wealth and power was never equalled by any prince who sat upon the throne of Delhi and they surpassed by far the riches accumulated in the ten campaigns of Mahmud all of which he left for them to enjoy.

Modern historians too have differed in their judgment on Alauddin. Elphinstone sums up by saying that his reign was glorious, his foreign conquests were among the greatest ever made in India and that his internal administration, in spite of many absurd and oppressive measures, was on the whole equally successful and that he exhibited a just exercise of his power. (Elphinstone, pp. 382-391).

The judgment of Dr. Smith is, however, very severe. He cites in full Barni's statement and contradicts the judgment of Elphinstone as too lenient. According to him, "Facts do not warrant the assertion that he exhibited a just exercise of his power and that his reign was glorious." Then he gives his own opinion that "in reality he was a particularly savage tyrant with very little regard for justice and his reign though marked by the conquest of Gujrat, many successful raids like the storming of the two great fortresses, was exceedingly disgraceful in many respects." (*Oxford History of India*, p. 232).

While pronouncing this judgment Vincent Smith takes note of this divergence among historians, and while harping on the ferocity and cruelty associated with his acts, emphasises the necessity of carefully studying the materials regarding Alauddin and writing down a critical monograph on his reign. (*Oxford History*, p. 232, note).

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Before we pass on to attempt a critical estimate of Alauddin Khalji, we must give a short account of his exploits and then pass on to a consideration of the reasons which made his reign so odious to some Muslim historians. Last of all, we shall describe the age of Alauddin which was one of great brilliancy inasmuch as it produced a large number of poets and literateurs whose works are still held high by scholars of different nations.

Exploits of Alauddin:—Alauddin's reign, though not very long (1296-1315), was marked by the series of most glorious exploits in the history of the Turki Sultanate of Delhi.

I. First of all, he undertook expeditions against a number of North Indian strongholds still held by the Hindus which proved a thorn in the flesh of the expanding Turki dominion. Of the fortresses and strongholds conquered the more important were Jalwar, Chitor and Ranthambor—each of which became the scene of repeated struggles between the Rajputs and the Mussalmans and changed hands several times. Ranthambor, in particular, had to be captured after a seige of more than a year and this required the presence of the Sultan himself. The Rajput soldiers of Hamir Deo were reinforced by large bands of Mongols who made common cause with the Rajputs against Alauddin. The Rajputs offered stiff resistance but the superior military implements of the Turks as well as the treachery of the minister of the Hindu Raja enabled Alauddin to obtain success.

II. After this Alauddin devoted himself to the conquest of the rich Hindu states of the Deccan and the extreme south of India, and his generals overran Gujrat, the Yadava kingdom of Devagiri, the kingdom of Warrangal, the kingdom of Dvarasamudra and the Pandya kingdom of Madura. In some of these conquests he was helped by Malik Kafur, a slave from Cambay, who rose to be the second man in the state at the time of Alauddin.

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III. While the Sultan was engaged in these projects of conquest, the Sultanate of Delhi suffered from the repeated incursions of the Mongols whose cavalry under different leaders were spreading terror and havoc throughout the Punjab and were destroying everything before their path of advance. Alauddin while extending his empire in the south had to divide his attention and to make proper arrangements against the Mongols. The wars with the Mongols were characterised by the worst type of brutality and savagery and we have descriptions of wholesale execution of the Mongols from the pen of Amir Khasru who writes almost in the strain of an epic poet. The Mongols on one occasion were bold enough to encamp near Delhi and the Turki Sultanate had a narrow escape from their ravages.

IV. All these exploits were creditable to a prince of the middle ages and Alauddin had a right to be regarded as a great fighter and a conqueror. But Alauddin was not satisfied with these military achievements.

V. He devoted his attention to the consolidation of the royal authority by putting an end to the turbulence of the Turki Maliks who since the days of Qutbuddin were maintained by grants of military fiefs or Iqtas and had proved to be a source of menace to the Sultanate of Delhi.

VI. Next he tried to save his people from the oppression of the revenue farmers, the *Qhotes*, the *Mukaddams* and the *Chowdhuries* who were acting as middlemen between the Sultan and his subjects and plundering the latter in all possible ways. While keeping these in check Alauddin devoted his attention to the settlement of the land revenue and introduced the system of measurement of land.

VII. Next, with a view to save the people from the evils of capitalism he issued his well-known regulations which regulated the price of articles and checked undue profiteering.

VIII. Next, he introduced many other improvements. He organised the system of espionage to watch over the con

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duct of his officials and nobles, established military post-offices and put an end to the practice of wine-drinking.

IX. Last of all, with a view to organise the army on a sounder basis he introduced cash payments and put an end to the practice of granting lands to soldiers.

Such were the achievements of Alauddin in matters of civil government and these surely stand to his credit. A prince who in the midst of repeated foreign invasions could think of extending his conquests in the far south and of overhauling the administration must be regarded as a great administrator.

Yet in spite of all this, the historian Barni accuses him of being a savage tyrant and credits him of 'shedding more blood than the Pharoh' of Jewish fame. The answer is very difficult to find out and it seems rather puzzling to the historians as to why Alauddin has been denounced in so violent language.

Before we discuss the question, we must give a brief catalogue of the achievements of Alauddin in regard to his internal administration, namely his regulations. These regulations which have been given in detail by Barni in his *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* were promulgated in order to solve the difficulties of the Sultan arising out of various causes *e.g.*, the constant want of money from which Alauddin suffered, the desire to suppress high-handedness on the part of the revenue-farmers and the distress of the people on account of the raising of prices of foodstuff by unscrupulous profiteers. He was also actuated by some other motives. The regulations were :—

(1) One of the earliest regulations was directed against those who held state land but failed to pay a share of the income to the king. This regulation was allowed to operate against those who held villages in proprietory rights (*milk*), in free gift (*inam*), or religious endowment (*wakf*). This law of

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confiscation operated with great hardship for a large section of the people and was one of the causes of his unpopularity.

(2) Secondly, he made arrangements for a regular system of espionage so as to keep himself informed of the sayings and doings of men in position.

(3) His third regulation prohibited wine-drinking and wine-selling. Dicing also was forbidden.

(4) The Sultan gave command that noble men and great men should not visit each other's house, give feasts or hold meetings in private. They were forbidden to form matrimonial alliances without obtaining the consent from the throne and they were also prohibited from allowing people to resort to their houses.

(5) The fifth regulation was directed to the settlement of land revenue and the fixing of the royal share. But according to Muslim historians, this regulation was directed towards the grinding down of the Hindu cultivators. On account of the importance of this regulation we must carefully note its different sections. According to the first section, all cultivation was to be carried on by measurement at a certain rate for every *Biswa*. Half of the produce was to be paid without any diminution and this rule was to apply to the *Qhots*, *Mukaddams* and *Chowdhuries*. The *Qhots* were to be deprived of all their privileges. The second section applied to goats, buffaloes and other animals. A tax for pasturage at a fixed rate was to be levied and was to be demanded from every house. The officer in charge of enforcing this regulation was *Sharaf Kai*. Barni gives us harrowing tales of the distress of the *Qhots* and *Mukaddams* who were not only impoverished but were degraded in all possible ways.

(6) The next regulation was directed towards keeping down the prices of articles of everyday necessity by royal edict, the lowering of prices being supposed to preserve the good will of the community, and we have a table of prices given by Barni.

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(7) With a view to maintain cheapness of foodstuffs Alauddin ordered that the *Khalsa* villages of the Doab should pay in kind. The corn was then brought into the granaries of the city of Delhi. In other places, half of the Sultan's share was ordered to be paid in grain. These stores of grain were to be sent to the city in caravan. Whenever the price of grain rose, the royal stores were opened and the corn was sold at the tariff price.

(8) Next the carriers of the caravans were completely brought under control and the result was that the price of grain in the market never rose higher than that laid by the government.

(9) By another regulation, arrangements were made for regrating. Measures were taken to see that merchants, farmers, or corn dealers could not sell even half a maund of corn in their shop, except at the market and the specified price. If any stock was kept in secret it was confiscated.

(10) At the same time corn producers were compelled to sell their produce to corn-carriers at the specified rate. Thus, the whole business of corn trade was brought under royal control. By another regulation the central government was kept informed of market transactions as well as of the rate of price. At the same time regulations were used for keeping down the price of sugar, piece-goods, lamp-oil, etc. So rigorously were these regulations enforced that inspite of want of rain the reign of Alauddin knew no scarcity. Severe punishments were inflicted on those who gave short weight and otherwise deceived the purchaser.

At the same time the Sultan took steps to put an end to brigandage and as a result of the activity of his officials there was perfect peace throughout the country and as the historian says, "Justice was executed with such rigour that robbery and theft, formerly so common, were not heard of in the land. The traveller slept secure on the highway and the merchant carried his commodities with safety from

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the sea of Bengal to the mountains of Kabul and from Telingana to Kasmir." Perhaps the Sultan's laws against wine-drinking had much to do with the decrease of crime.

Inspite of what historians have said Alauddin was a hard worker and did much to improve himself intellectually. At the time of his accession he was wholly illiterate but being sensible of the disadvantages of want of education he applied himself privately to study and made himself acquainted with the best Persian authors of the time. Towards the close of of his reign he became a great patron of learned men and his reign was remarkable for a great literary activity. The following were the great poets of his time :—

(1) Amir Khusrau Dehlvi.
(2) Amir Hasan Sunjurri.
(3) Sudruddin Aaly.
(4) Fukruddin Ksowass.
(5) Hamiduddin Raja.
(6) Maulana Arif.
(7) Abdul Hukeem.
(8) Sahabuddin Suder Nisheen.

There were also many Muslim saints, ascetics and learned men who flourished during his reign. Among these the more important were the following :—

(1) Shaik Nizamuddin Aulia.
(2) Shaik Alauddin of Ajudhun.
(3) Shaik Ruknuddin, grandson of Shaikh Bahauddin Zakaria of Multan,
(4) Sayyad Tajuddin of Budaoon.
(5) Ruknuddin—his brother.
(6) Sayyad Moghaisuddin
(7) Sayyad Mountujibuddin.

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It is impossible in this short paper to notice the importance of these men. But something ought to be said about the poet Amir Khusrau of Delhi. Great as a poet, eminent as a historian and regarded as the first writer in Hindi, the versatility of Khusrau was remarkable. At the same time Khusrau was one of the earliest among Muhammadans to feel for this country, namely India, and to appreciate the virtue and intellectual qualities of his countrymen, the Hindus. In his "*Nuh Sipihr*" he talks in the strain of the first Muslim patriot of India and lays down the reasons which made this country so dear to him. Though a pious Muslim he extols the superiority of the Indians in science and wisdom over all other nations. "I know," he says, "that in this land lie concealed wisdom and ideas beyond compute. Greece has been famous for its Philosophy, but India is not devoid of it. All branches of Philosophy are found here. Logic, Astrology, *Kalam* (dogmatic theory), are found. Physics, Mathematics, Astronomy, Divination of the past and the future are known. In Divinity alone the Hindus are confused but then so are all the other people. Though they do not believe in our religion many of their beliefs are like ours. They believe, for instance, in the unity and eternity of God, His power to create after nothingness, etc., and so are better than the Dualists or those who believe in father and son, the Anthropomorphists, the Sabians or Star worshippers, the Materialists or the *Mushabih* (those who liken God to visible things). They worship no doubt, stones, beasts, plants and the Sun, but they recognise that these things are creations of God and adore them simply because their forefathers did so." Khusrau then gives us ten instances of the Indian superiority :—

1. Knowledge and learning are widespread among them.

2. They can speak all the languages of the world clearly.

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3. Learned men from all parts of the world have come from time to time to study in India while no Brahmin has ever travelled to any place outside India. Abu Ma'shar, the famous astronomer of Balkh, came to India and learned this science for ten years at Benares.

4. The science of Hindsa and the numerical system originated in India. Hindsa was invented by a Brahmin named Asa when Hind Asa was shortened into Hindsa.

5. The wonderful book of wisdom '*Kalila and Damna*' (Panchatantra) was composed in India and has been translated into Persian, Turki, Tazi (Arabic) and Dari.

6. The game of Chess is an invention of India.

7. Chess and the Damna, both of Indian origin, have become popular with other nations.

8. Indian music is superior to the music of any other country, and it charms not only men but beasts also.

9. There is in no other land a wizard in poetry like Khusrau.

Khusrau who claims to have known many of the languages of the day speaks highly of Hindi and Sanskrit in which the sacred books of the Brahmins—the *Bids*—are written. This language was in his eyes pure as a pearl and was superior to Dari though inferior to Arabic (Dr. Mirza's '*Life and Works of Amir Khusrau*'—pp. 183-85).

Khusrau's appreciation of Indian culture does not seem to be merely the outburst of an individual's opinion. He feels sympathy for the Hindus and while he describes the desecration of Hindu temples and the slaughter of Brahmin priests, he feels for the devotion of the conquered. He says, "There is one thing, of which you cannot deny the reality—the dying of the Hindus out of devotion either with sword or with fire—a woman dying willingly for her

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dead husband and a man for an idol. This is no doubt forbidden in Islam but behold, what a noble thing it is. If the law permitted it many a blessed one would die eagerly for that!'' (Mirza—p. 186; also Habib—p. 109).

Another great poet of the period was Khwaja Hasan Sijzi, a man who had come from Sistan, who was an intimate friend of Khusrau, and received patronage from Sultan Balban and his son Prince Muhammad. Like Khusrau he became a disciple of Nizamuddin Aulia and lived during the days of Muhammad Tughluq. As a poet he wrote exquisite verses and Ghazals. He was called the Sadi of India. His poems are characterised by a depth of feeling and intensity of love though the style is very simple. He was also imbued with the Sufi doctrine.

The activity of these poets and their feeling of toleration was also an index to the spirit of Alauddin Khalji. For the Sultan though tyrannical had peculiar notions about religion. His concept of religion was peculiar and according to him religion had no connection with politics, but was only the business or rather amusement of private life.

Such being his ideas, he talked of declaring himself a Prophet and openly took the title of Khalifa. He styled himself "*Yamin-ul Khilafat Nasiri Amir-ul Muminin*" (defender of the Khalifa).

To sum up, having given a short account of Alauddin's exploits, we are in a position to form an estimate of him. Relying on the evidence of Muslim historians, we find in him not only a great conqueror and a consummate general but a vigorous ruler. The Muslims of India had many reasons to be grateful to him. But inspite of this some historians have passed adverse judgment on him. The reasons for this are not very far to seek.

First of all, Alauddin had begun his reign with an act of violence, namely the murder of old Jalaluddin, his uncle and father-in-law.

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Secondly, his repression of the nobles and the holders of state lands had alienated a large and influential section of the Muslim population.

Thirdly, his administrative regulations, which were merely borrowed from the old Hindu institutions of the country, shocked the Muslim jurists and officials of the period who could find very little sanction for this in the Muslim books and traditions.

Lastly, his attitude towards religion was a shock to the whole Muslim world. He was in this respect anticipating Akbar who in the 16th century promulgated his Din-Ilahi and thereby won odium for himself.

Alauddin possessed to the highest degree the virtues and vices of his race. His savagery in war was unbounded but after all he was fighting the Mongols who had proved the scourge to Islam in Central Asia and Persia and for his massacre of the Mongols, denunciation is not justified. Towards the Hindus, he displayed less ferocity than Balban. His conduct to Rama Deva of Devagiri was on the whole very humane. After all, he was a great ruler and as an administrator wished to solve many problems of civil government. His innovations did not survive him but his example left a strong impress upon many of his successors.

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18

A NOTE ON THE RISE OF THE GUHILOTS IN CHITOR AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

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The view that finds favour with most of the scholars is that Chitor formed part of the Guhilot kingdom from a very early period. The capture of this celebrated fortress is ascribed by tradition to Bappa, the venerable ancestor of the Rānās of Mewar. The Rajasamudra Inscription of the time of Mahārānā Rājasimha, dated 1674 A.D., records that Bappa, who obtained the favour of Haritarasi, conquered Chitrakuta (Chitor) from the Mori king Manurāja and adopted the title of Raval. The same story is repeated in the chronicles of Muhanota Noinasi (1610-1670), the Dewan of Maharaja Yasovantasimha of Marwar, and in the pages of Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan.* The latter authority further informs us that Bappa carried the assault on Chitor after expelling a horde of foreigners which had attacked the Mori kingdom. An inscription dated 713 A.D. proves that Mana, king of Malwa, was in possession of Chitor at that date. He is identified with Manurāja of the Rajasamudra Inscription and Mana Mori of Tod. The *Ekalinga Purana* of the time of Rānā Rāyamalla, son of Rānā Kumbha, tells us that Bappa abdicated in 753 A.D. (810 V.S.). Chitor, if it was really conquered by Bappa must have fallen into his hands sometime between 713 and 753 A.D. An inscription

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referred to by Tod, however, indicates that the fortress was in possession of a Rāja styled Kukkresvar till the year 754 A.D. (811 V.S.). We are told that he erected a temple and excavated a fountain in Chitor at that date. As the name Kukkresvar is not met with in the traditional lists of the Guhilot princes it is difficult to reconcile his possession of Chitor in 754 A.D. with the conquest of the same city by Guhilot Bappa unless we assume that he was a feudatory or that Bappa's conquest was a temporary affair and the infant Guhila power was swept away by a new line. It is interesting to note in this connection that the early epigraphic records do not tell anything of Bappa's attack on Chitor. They simply refer to his elevation to the sovereignty of Mewar through the grace of Haritarasi and not by any military exploit. Thus the Chitorgarh Inscription, dated 1274 A.D., composed by the poet Vedasarman, tells us that Bappa coming from Anandapura worshipped the pair of feet of Haritarasi and through his favour obtained new royal fortune (*navarājyalakṣhmīm*) and became the king of Chitor. The same poet gives almost identical information in an inscription of 1285 A.D. found on Mt. Abu and in 1489 A.D. the poet Maheśvara also repeated the same story in an epigraph. Abul Fazl writing in the time of Akbar also appears to be ignorant of the story of Bappa's assault on the Mori prince of Chitor. He speaks of the acquisition by Bappa of the kingdom of Mewar from the sons of the Bhil Raja Mandalik, whom he treacherously put to death. Attention may be invited here to the fact that Bappa of the eight century was not the first Guhilot prince to obtain the possession of Mewar. The Samoli Inscription of the time of Silāditya (identified with the Guhilot prince Sila) and the Nagda Inscription of the time of Aparājita clearly prove that the western part of Mewar came under the sway of the Guhilots at least half a century before Bappa. How is it then that he is represented in some early records as having

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obtained the sovereignty of Mewar through the grace of Haritarasi? The suggestion may be hazarded that the infant Guhila power was swept away by a catastrophe and was restored by Bappa who also received new royal fortune (*navarājyalakṣhmīm*) through the grace of Haritarasi. This conjecture is confirmed by the events of contemporary history. The account of the invasion of Junaid, the Arab governor of Sind, if read together with the Nausari grant of Avanijanāsraya Pulakeśin, dated 738-39 A.D., leaves no room for doubt that the Arab army ravaged a large part of western India including Sind, Cutch, Surashtra, Ujjain, Malwa and also the territories ruled over by the Chapotkatas, Gurjjaras, Mauryas and other kings, sometime before 738-39 A.D. The territory of the Mauryas referred to above has been located by Tod and the late Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji in Chitor. Epigraphic evidence also proves the existence of Maurya rule in the neighbourhood of Chitor about this period. If it is accepted that the Arab army ravaged Chitor and its adjoining region, then it is not at all impossible that the little Guhila principality in western Mewar was also overwhelmed by them. The list of the vanquished princes given in the Nausari grant is not exhaustive as it speaks not only of the Chapotkatas, Gurjjaras and Mauryas but also refers to other kings (*Saindhava-Kacchella-Saurāshtra-Chāvotaka Maurya-Gurjjarādirājye*). The repulse of foreigners by Bappa alluded to by Tod may refer to a fight between him and the Arabs as a result of which he not only restored the Guhila power in Mewar but added new territory (*navarājyalakṣhmīm*) to his patrimony.

That Chitor was included within Bappa's conquest is, however, not clear from early epigraphic testimony. The most important place in the early annals of the Guhilots was not that fortress but Nagda. It is here that the earliest record that can undoubtedly be referred to a Guhila prince has been found. In the inscription of 1489 A. D. Bappa is made

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to flourish at Nagarahda (*Srī-Medapātabhūvi Nāgahrade Pūre bhūd Bappa dvijah*). Its place was taken in the tenth century by Aghata. Most of the inscriptions from the time of Maharāja Bhatripatta II (940 A.D.) to the time of Suchivarman, son of Saktikumāra (977 A.D.), have been found in this region. In the inscription of Rāshtrakuta Dhavala Aghata, which was destroyed by the famous Paramāra King Vākpati Munja, is referred to as the pride of Medapata, In the opening of the eleventh century Alberuni refers to Jattaraur as the capital of Meywar (Mewar). This place has been identified with Jetuttara (mod. Nagari, about seven miles from Chitor) by Mr. N. L. Dey, but it might stand for Chitor as well. The Tīrthakalpa of Jinaprabha Suri, the Delwara Inscription of the time of Vimalashah and the Chirwa Inscription of the time of the Guhilot prince Samarasimha inform us that the renowned Paramāra prince Bhoja I, a contemporary of Alberuni, was in possession of Chitor and built there a temple of his patron deity Tribhuvananārāyana. It seems that the change of the capital from Aghata which was destroyed by Munja to Chitor was made by the Paramāras. Tod mentions the fort as one of the many capitals founded or conquered by the Paramāras. As there is no evidence to prove that Chitor was the capital of Mewar before the Paramāras, it seems that it was made the seat of a capital by them rather than conquered. The place seems to have been an appanage of Malwa from a very early period. When the Paramāras yielded before the Chaulukyas, Chitor passed into their hands. Kumārapāla visited the place and did worship there. There is evidence to prove that the Chaulukyas also exercised sway over Mewar. During this period of their fallen fortune the Guhilots seem to have once more made Nagda their capital city. In the Kadmal Plate of the time of Vijayasimha, dated 1106 A.D., and in the Nandesma Inscription of the time of Jaitrasimha both the rulers are styled

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as ' king of Nagahrada.' It seems that Chitor was included within the Guhila dominion at the time of Jaitrasimha. No record has up till now been unearthed which connect the Guhilots with Chitor before that ruler. The Chirwa Inscription informs us that Nagda was destroyed by the Muhammadans during the reign of Padmasimha, father of Jaitrasimha. The Guhilots were evidently in need of a strong fortified place. The above-mentioned inscription also informs us that Jaitrasimha fought with the Gurjjaras (evidently the Chaulukyas). It is not impossible that he wrested Chitor from them. We are also informed that Kshema was appointed the Talara of Chitrakuta by him. This is the first definite association of the Guhilots with the fortress of Chitor. From the time of Tejasimha, son and successor of Jaitrasimha, Guhila records are found copiously in Chitor which seems to have been by this time formally recognised as the capital of the Guhilot kings of Mewar.

It is difficult to determine the place of Bappa in the dynastic list of the Guhilot princes of Mewar. Diverse opinions have been expressed in this connection, by different scholars. Traditions are also not unanimous. Tod identifies Bappa with Sila. In the Kumbhalgarh Inscription Bappa is given as an epithet of Aparājita, an inscription of whose time is dated 661 A.D. The *Ekalinga Māhātmya* of the time of Rānā Kumbha and the *Ekalinga Purāna* of the time of Rānā Rāyamalla give 753 A.D. as falling within the reign of Bappa. Evidently he flourished later than Aparājita. In some of the inscriptions Bappa is made the father of Guhila, the progenitor of the Guhila family. In others again he is represented as the son or even a son's son or a remote descendant of Guhila. All these evidences probably show that Bappa was an epithet which was given by later writers not to a single individual of the Guhila family but to a number of them as a title of respect.

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THE CHHANDOMAKHĀNTA BY PURUSHOTTAMA BHATTA

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Mr. Dhireschandra Acharya published an interesting account of a work on prosody, called *Chhandomakhānta*, by Bhaṭṭa Purushottama in *Memoir of the Varendra Research Society*, No. 5. His account in based on a fragmentary MS of the work in the Society's library at Rajshahi. Mr. Acharya has tried to establish the following facts :—

(1) Purushottama was the teacher of Gaṅgādāsa, author of the *Chhandomañjarī*.

(2) This Gaṅgādāsa was probably a contemporary of Jayadeva and was not earlier than the 14th century.

(3) Purushottama was earlier than, or a contemporary of, Jayadeva.

(4) Purushottama's work belongs to a school of metricians the chief of whom was Śvetamāṇḍavya.

A careful consideration of Mr. Acharya's arguments would however show that *all his conclusions are wrong*.

I. Mr. Acharya quotes the following verse from the *Chhandomañjarī* (I, 21) in order to prove that Purushottama was the teacher of Gaṅgādāsa :—

श्वेतमाण्डव्यमुख्यास्तु मुनयो नेच्छन्ति यतिम् ।
इत्याह भट्टः स्वग्रन्थे गुरुर्मे पुरुषोत्तमः ॥

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But he has evidently overlooked the fact that the verse is preceded by the following sentence :—

अयञ्च श्लोकश्छन्दोगोविन्दे मम गुरोर्गङ्गादासस्य।

This sentence shows beyond doubt that the verse in question was not composed by Gaṅgādāsa, author of the *Chhandomañjarī*, but was quoted from the *Chhandogovinda* by his *guru* whose name was also Gaṅgādāsa. It is interesting to note that Gaṅgādāsa's *Chhandogovinda* is found quoted in the *Vṛittaratnākarādarśa* (*Cat. Cat.*, I, s.v.), composed by Divākara, son of Mahādeva, in 1684 A.D. This teacher Gaṅgādāsa was, according to the verse of the *Chhandomañjarī*, a pupil of Purushottama Bhaṭṭa. Purushottama therefore may have flourished about half a century earlier than his pupil's pupil Gaṅgādāsa, author of the *Chhandomañjarī*.

II. According to Mr. Acharya, the well known stanza of the *Chhandomañjarī* (I, 8):

मस्त्रिगुरुस्त्रिलघुश्च नकारो भादिगुरुः पुनरादिलघुर्यः।
जो गुरुमध्यगतो रलमध्यः सोऽन्तगुरुः कथितोऽन्तलघुस्तः॥

is not a quotation, but was composed by Gaṅgādāsa, author of the work, and since it is found quoted in the *Vṛittaratnākarapañjikā*, by Rāmachandra Kavibhāratī, written in the beginning of the 15th century A.D., the *Chhandomañjarī* cannot be placed later than the 14th century. It should however be pointed out that the same verse has been quoted by Bhaṭṭa Utpala in his commentary on the *Bṛihatsaṃhitā*, Ch. 104, and Utpala, we know, wrote his commentary on the *Bṛhajjātaka* in Śaka 888 (966 A.D.). The verse therefore certainly belongs to an author who lived before the middle of the 10th century.

Mr. Acharya also says, "Again, the *Chhandomañjarī* quotes a stanza from Jayadeva as not observing metrical pause. This stanza is quoted in such a way that it seems

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Jayadeva was his contemporary.'' The suggestion is absolutely without any ground. After quoting the verse from the *Chhandogovinda* by Gaṅgādāsa, the *Chhandomañjarī* says, **अतएव मुरारिः** and quotes a verse from the *Anargharāghava*; then it says, **जयदेवोऽपि** and quotes a verse from Jayadeva; next it concludes **एवमन्येऽपि** and quotes a fourth verse. It is evident that Gaṅgādāsa, (author of the *Chandrāloka*), author of the *Chhandomañjarī*, lived after Jayadeva that is to say, after the beginning of the 13th Century A.D.

III. Mr. Acharya points out that, although the *Chhandomakhānta* has a section on *gītavṛitta* or songs, Purushottama does not quote any verse of Jayadeva. He tries to explain the situation by offering two alternate suggestions : (1) either, Purushottama was earlier than Jayadeva, (2) or he too was a contemporary of Jayadeva, but did not like to quote from a rival poet. The section on *gītavṛitta*, however, itself shows that Purushottama was later than Jayadeva who was the first to popularise that particular form of Sanskrit poetry. The illustrations in the section in praise of Śiva and Pārvatī, composed by Purushottama himself, also exhibit obvious influence of Jayadeva.

Cf. **सहचरि दर्शय तमतुलमत्तं । अविरत-मुकुलित-लोचनमालं । स्फटिकमनोहर-गौरशरीरं । भालविभूषित-हिमकरखण्डं । शृङ्गडमरुकरमतुलविराजं । शृण् पुरुषोत्तम भणितमुदारं ।**

स्वप्नसमागममोहितचित्तम् ॥ध्रु ॥ दोषशिखालसदोत्तणभारम् ॥१॥ प्रकटजटाजूट-विगलितनीरम् ॥२॥ कुण्डलिकुण्डलमण्डितगण्डम् ॥३॥ विधिहरिसेवित-चरणसरोजम् ॥४॥ प्रभुरपि कलयति विविधविकारम् ॥५॥

The illustrative verses in the *Chhandomakhānta* show that the *ishṭa-devatā* of the author was Śiva whom he represents as worshipped by Vidhi and Hari. His staunch devotion for Śiva evidently prevented him from quoting any verse from Jayadeva who wrote in praise of Kṛishṇa.

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IV. I am inclined to believe that there was no single metrician of the name of Śvetamāṇḍavya. In the *Bṛihat-saṃhitā* (Ch. 104, 3), Varāhamihira mentions Māṇḍavya as the greatest authority on metres, and Utpala Bhaṭṭa quotes in his commentary two verses in the Sragdharā metre composed by Māṇḍavya. According to the *sūtra* **अन्यत्र रातमाण्डव्याभ्याम्** of the *Chhandaḥsūtra* (VII, 35) ascribed to Piṅgala, the *Chaṇḍavṛishṭiprapāta* variety of the Daṇḍaka metres, which has 27 syllables in each *pāda*, was known by a different name to Rāta and Māṇḍavya who had given this name to an altogether different metre. This point, which is rather vague in the *Chhandaḥsūtra*, has fortunately been explained by Bhaṭṭa Utpala in his commentary on the *Bṛihatsaṃhitā*, Ch. 104. Utpala says that Piṅgala and other metricians call the metre *Chaṇḍavṛishṭiprayāta* (sic. *prapāta*), but Rāja and Māṇḍavya call it *Suvarṇa*. *Cf.* **दण्डकश्चण्डवृष्टिप्रयातसंज्ञः सप्तविंशत्यक्षरपादो भवति पिङ्गलादीनामाचार्याणां मतेन, राजमाण्डव्यौ वर्ज्जयित्वा। तथा च तावूचतुः—**

सुवर्णश्चण्डवेगश्च प्लवो जीमूत एव च।
बलाहको भुजङ्गश्च समुद्रश्चेति दण्डकाः॥

It is clear that Rāja of Utpala is the same as Rāta of the *Chhandaḥsūtra*. The facts that their names have been jointly mentioned in the works of Piṅgala and Utpala and that there is the passage **तावूचतुः**, *i.e.*, "they both say," before the verse, suggest that the verse has been quoted from the joint work of the two metricians. I am inclined to suggest that Śveta-Māṇḍavya in the verse quoted in the *Chhandomañjarī* is a compound of two names and that *Śveta* is the same as *Rāta* of Piṅgala and Rāja of Utpala. The facts that *rā* as the first syllable of the name is common both in the works of Piṅgala and Utpala and that *ta* as the second syllable of the name is common in the *Chhandaḥsūtra* and the *Chhandomañjarī* possibly suggest that the *Chhandaḥsūtra*

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which reads *Rāta* gives the correct form of the metrician's name.

Scholars generally place the *Chhandomañjarī* of Gaṅgādāsa in the 15th or 16th century A.D. (Krishnamachariar, *Hist. C.S.L.*, p. 909). A Tanjore MS. of the work belongs to the last quarter of the 17th century (*loc. cit.*), Purushottama's *Chhandomaḳhānta* may be roughly assigned to the 14th or 15th century A.D.

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THE WORD *TURUSKA* IN THE RECORDS OF THE TUMMĀNA HAIHAYAS

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The most important early medieval line that claimed Haihaya descent was certainly the Kalacuris whose name appears in records from about the 6th to 15th century A.D. The Tummāṇa branch (*c.* 1025-1200 A.D.) of these Kalacuris[1] claims to be descended from one Kokkala.[2] In the Amoda plates of Prithvīdeva I of this line, dated *Cedīśasya Sam(vat)* 831 (*c.* 1079 A.D.), this Kokkala is stated to have 'raided the treasures' of many princes. Some of these were born of *Turuṣka* and Raghu families (*Turuṣka-Raghudbhāvanām*).[3] Elsewhere I have expressed the opinion, which I still tentatively hold, that much of what is stated in this record about the achievement of Kokkala is mere *praśasti*. As the word *Turuṣka* in Indian records is generally accepted in the sense of 'Turk' and as there is no evidence, so far discovered, of the Amīrs of Ghaznī of ever having come into the area occupied by the Kalacuris of Ḍāhala and Tummāṇa, I was disposed to accept the story of his conflict with the Turki Ghaznavids as rather unhistorical. In this connection it should be noted that the Turks during the period c. 1008-34 A.D. not only occupied the Punjab

1 Sometimes called 'Kalacuris of Ratnapur.' See my *Dynastic History of Northern India* (Early Medieval Period), Calcutta University Press, Vol. II, pp. 802ff.

2 Among the variants of this name may be mentioned Kokkala (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIX, p. 78), Kokkala *Dynastic History*, Vol. II, p. 753, f.n. 2).

3 *Dynastic History*, Vol. II, 755; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIX, p. 78, line 7.

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but also harried a considerable portion of the Ganges-Jumna valley and even came as far east as the sacred city of Vāranasī (*Banāras*).[4] This military success of the Turks must have produced a profound impression on the rest of India. Under the circumstances, to state that Kokkala defeated such formidable adversaries was the best *praśasti* possible.[5]

Recently it has been suggested that the word *Turuṣka* in the Amoda grant has been very probably used in a broad sense to refer to the Muhammadans.[6] As my ideas on the point are only tentative, I can only welcome this new suggestion. But the effort to identify Kokkala of the Amoda grant with Kokkala II and not with Kokkala I (c. 875-925 A.D.), the founder of the Ḍāhala branch of the line,[7] does not appear to me so plausible. Even if the conflict with the 'Muhammadans' be accepted as 'a very significant' historical fact, there is nothing so far discovered to conflict against the suggestion of Kielhorn that the ruler in question was Kokkala I. Proceeding on the basis, for arguments' sake, that this reference is 'not due to a mere poetical exaggeration,' we have to accept this statement along with his claim to victory over the princes of the Raghu family. Now during the reign period of Kokkala I the most celebrated dynasty which claimed such lineage was the Pratīhāras of Mahodaya (Kanauj) whose power extended from the Karnal District of the Punjab to the Vindhyas and from the north of Bengal to the Kathiawar Peninsula. Rājaśekhara, a contemporary writer, calls one of these princes "the pearl-jewel of the lineage of *Raghu*, the *Mahārājādhirāja* of *Aryāvarta*."[8]

4 *Dynastic History*, Vol. I, pp. 56ff., 251, 514; Vol. II, p. 773.

5 *Dynastic History*, pp. 680-82 (compare my notes on the Candella Dhanga and Hammīra).

6 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXI, p. 161.

7 Usually called Kalacuris of Tripuri. See *Dynastic History*, Vol. II, pp. 751ff.

8 *Dynastic History*, Vol. I, pp. 576-77.

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The Arab records constantly refer to the conflicts between these rulers and the Muslim Arabs of the Lower Indus valley.[9] It is not impossible therefore that like so many other founders of the early medieval dynasties in India Kokkala I was perhaps for sometime a lieutenant of one of these emperors, and like the Rajputs Mansingh and Jaswant Singh of a later period, fought with the enemies of the Imperial power they served. In this way the Rajput chief Kokkala I, during the early part of his career, might have come into conflict with the Muhammadans on the Indus. It is also possible that following the path of so many well-known figures in history, he at last turned against his patrons and tried to establish his right to sovereignty. This might have occurred during the inglorious reign of the Pratīhāra Bhoja II. As it is nowhere stated that Kaliṅgarāja (c. 1020 A.D.), the real founder of the Tuṁmāṇa branch, was the son of one of the younger sons of Kokkala I (c. 875-925 A.D.) but only as "born in the family" of such a prince, and as the account of the achievements of Kokkala of the Tuṁmāṇa Haihaya records fits in far better with the deeds of Kokkala I as recorded in the records of the Ḍāhala branch than with the very vague and meaningless praise given to the shadowy Kokkala II of the same line, I see no reason why we should at the present moment give up the identification of 'Kokkala of the Tuṁmāṇa Haihaya records' with 'Kokkala I of the Ḍāhala branch.' The contemporaneity of the Tuṁmāṇa prince Kamalarāja with the Ḍāhala Gāṅgeyadeva (c. 1030-41 A.D.), pointed out by me sometime ago[10], and the statement in Tuṁmāṇa records that the elder son of Kokkala I became ruler at Tripurī while the younger sons became *Maṇḍalādhipatis* or feudatory chiefs in his kingdom fits in quite well with this suggestion.

9 *Dynastic History*, Vol. I, pp. 10ff.

10 *Dynastic History*, Vol. II, 803.

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21

SOME LIGHT ON THE HISTORY OF WESTERN INDIA IN THE 11TH CENTURY A. D.

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The most outstanding event in Western Indian history in the 9th century A.D. was the rivalry between the Rāshtrakutas of the Deccan and the Gurjjara-Pratihāras of North India. Early in the following century, however, this long-continued struggle reached its concluding stage. In 916 A.D., Indra III of the Deccan family captured Kanauj from his northern adversary Mahipāla II; and, although an attempt was made by Mahendrapāla, a later member of the family, to revive Pratihāra power, the humiliation which Pratihāra imperialism had sustained was too deep to be obliterated. As it was, therefore, within a little more than a generation, Pratihāra power was reduced to a mere shadow of what it had once been.

The fall of the Pratihāra empire was in itself an event of great importance; but this was further enhanced by the fact that its decline gave opportunity to a number of ambitious Rajput clans to claim the supremacy which had so long belonged to the Pratihāras. The principal claimants for this position were the Paramāras of Malwa, the Chaulukyas of Guzerat, and the Chahamanas of Sakambhari—three powers that were geographically situated at the three corners of a triangle which had its

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apex at Ajmer. Another Rajput clan, the Guhilots of Medapāṭa or Mewar, also played an interesting although secondary part in this new contest for supremacy that now began in Western India. To them was not yet granted the vision of a hegemony equally with the other three powers; nevertheless their position in the middle of the triangle brought them in the struggle all the same.

This Western Indian contest for overlordship commenced as early as *c.* 950 A.D. and continued till, and supplied an important background of the establishment of Muslim rule on the throne of Delhi in the last decade of the 12th century. The fortunes of the struggle changed incessantly, now one power and then another maintaining a short-lived supremacy only to experience the humiliation of failure at the very next moment. After many a turn in the wheels of fortune, in the second quarter of the 11th century, the Paramāras of Malwa were able to occupy the dominating position in the politics of Western India.

Two circumstances explain this Paramāra success. In the first place, this family produced at this period the greatest of its rulers in Bhoja (*c.* 1010-*c.* 1055 A.D.) who was endowed with many brilliant qualities which have made his name a byword in Indian literary tradition. And, secondly—this was of greater importance than the first—, the rivals of the Paramāras—the Chaulukyas and Chahamanas— were beset with an entirely new difficulty. In 997 A.D. the throne of Ghazni had passed to the well-known Muslim conqueror, Sultan Mahmud. In the second and third decades of the 11th century, he undertook a course of systematic campaigns for the plunder of the Indian principalities in the northern and western parts of the country. The rapidity of his movements baffled all calculation and paralysed the activities of the Hindu princes. As they lay close to the lines of Mahmud's

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marches, the Chahamanas and Chaulukyas suffered greatly from these depredations as the records of these families sufficiently testify. What is pertinent to the present consideration is that these troubles must have diverted the attention of these two clans from the Paramāras who were thus enable to take full advantage of the situation.

How the Paramāras made use of the opportunity may be gathered from the contemporary history of the Guhilots of Mewar. It has been indicated already that in the three-cornered struggle that had been going on in Western India since the decline of the Pratihāra empire, Mewar, owing to her geographical position, came to be implicated and became in fact the battleground of her neighbours. She was the political barometer from which one can form an idea about the fortunes of the conflict.

To turn therefore to the history of contemporary Mewar. It will be gathered from what is said below that the throne of this principality was occupied about this period by a prince of the name of Vairaṭ or Veraḍ. According to the Kumbhalagaḍh inscription of 1460 A.D., Vairaṭ was a contemporary of Yogarāja [1] who again was the grandson of Saktikumāra to whose reign belongs the Atpur inscription of 997 A.D.[2] Moreover, Vairaṭ's great-grandson Vijayasimha was alive in 1116 A.D., according to an inscription discovered by MM. Rai Bahadur Pandit G.H. Ojha.[3] From a consideration of these data, it is reasonable to place Vairaṭ about the second quarter of the 11th century which is to say that he and Paramāra Bhoja were contemporaries.

[1] Verse : " api rajye sthite tasmin, tasmanno divam gatāh
pashcat Allaṭa.....Vairato bhunnareshwarah."
Quoted by Ojha in Udayapur Rajya ka Itihas, Vol. I, p 139, f n. 2.

[2] Indian Antiquary, Vol. 39, pp. 186 ff.

[3] *Udaypur Rajya ka Itihas*, Vol. I, pp. 141-2.

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An interesting light on Bhoja's relations with Mewar is thrown by the Chirwa inscription of 1273 A.D. which mentions that Bhoja stayed in Chitor, the reputed capital of Mewar, for some time and raised there a temple dedicated to Siva.[4] An examination of further relevant facts indicates that it was not the hope of acquiring religious merit alone that brought Bhoja in Mewar. A piece of very important and significant information is furnished by the Kumbhalgadh inscription on this point. While mentioning Vairaṭ's predecessor Yogarāja, this inscription says that "the kingdom passed out of his hands and, thereafter Vairaṭ, a descendant of Allaṭa, became the sovereign." It will be shown later that Vairaṭ was a loyal vassal of the Paramāra king Bhoja. In the transfer of the Mewar crown from Yogarāja to the pro-Paramāra Vairaṭ, therefore, one can possibly discern the hand of the Paramāra king Bhoja himself. The inference is strengthened by some evidence which proves an alliance between the immediate predecessors of Vairaṭ on the Mewar throne and the Chaulukyas of Guzerat on the other.[5] It is clear, therefore, that Bhoja found the continuance of Yogarāja on the Mewar throne prejudicial to his interests and hence supplanted him by one on whose loyalty he could fully rely. Such a person he apparently found in Vairaṭ who belonged to a colateral branch of the Guhilot family itself.[6]

Subsequent events sufficiently justified Bhoja's policy. The seventeenth century chronicler Muhanote Nensi quotes a very old Dingal couplet about Vairaṭ or Veraḍ which

[4] *Ibid*, p. 132, also f.n. 1.

[5] The Bijapur inscription of 997 A.D. mentions that a Rāshtrakuta prince of that place gave shelter to the armies of Khommāṇa (a title of the Mewar prince) and the lord of Gurjjara so that they were given shelter by the same. Besides, a contemporary Guhilot prince Ambāprasad is mentioned as having married a Chaulukya princess. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X, pp. 20-21, verse 10.

[6] In the Kumbhalgadh inscription referred to above Vairaṭ is described as a descendant of Allaṭa who was also an ancestor of Jogarāja.

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says :—" Verad did not bow to the lord of Gurjjara, neither did he bow to the lord of Dahala. (Verad) took Sambhar and divided it."

Here the Mewar prince Verad or Vairat is said to have been successful against the contemporary rulers of Guzerat (*i.e.*, the Chaulukyas), Dahala (*i.e.*, the Kalachuris or Haihayas) and Sakambhari (*i.e.*, the Chahamanas). It is significant that no mention is made here of the Paramāras of Malwa, although they were in no wise inferior to the three powers mentioned above. Curiously enough, the Paramāra records also give Bhoja credit for success against the same three powers,[7] besides, as we have seen above, the Guhilots. When all these facts are examined in their proper bearings it will be clear that Vairat's triumphs were really the triumphs of Bhoja. In other words, it was as a vassal of Bhoja that Vairat achieved those successes; and as has been often the case, the vassal appropriated to himself the glory which in the true and historical sense should really be accredited to his overlord.

The history of the episode may, therefore, be reconstructed in the following way. From the struggles for overlordship in Western India about the first quarter of the 11th century, among the three participating powers—the Chaulukyas, the Chahamanas and the Paramāras—the first two were compelled to withdraw their attention on account of the pressure of Muslim inroads that were as unexpected as swift. Availing himself of this opportunity, Bhoja, the Paramāra king of Malwa, which on account of its geographical position was not much affected by Muslim incursions, scored a great success. He interfered in Mewar affairs and, deposing the then ruling prince, established a member of a colateral branch of the same family on throne. This proved to be a very successful diplomatic

7 *Dynastic History of Northern India* by Dr. H. C. Roy, Vol. II, pp. 861 ff, also p. 1069.

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move for in the new ruler was found an able and loyal supporter of the Paramāra cause—a vassal who helped Bhoja to win his successes against the Chaulukyas of Guzerat, the Chahamanas of Sakambhari and the Kalachuris of Dahala.

It is well known, however, that this Paramāra ascendancy was short-lived. The very success of Bhoja led to the formation of an alliance among his rivals which succeeded in not only defeating but even putting an end to the life of this great Paramāra sovereign.

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22

THE FOUNDATION OF MUSLIM RULE IN INDIA. (1206-1290 A.D.)

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The 'Early Turkish Empire of Delhi' lasted from 1206 to 1290 A.D. It is popularly, but inaccurately, called the 'Slave Dynasty' and is sometimes also known as the 'Pathān' or 'Afghān Dynasty'; all these terms are misnomers. Contemporary as well as later authorities do not contain a word with regard to such appellations, for which European writers are alone responsible. The rulers of the 'Early Turkish Empire of Delhi' were styled by contemporary historians as Mu'zzī, Qutbī, Shamsī and Balbanī kings, after the names of the prominent sovereigns, who placed themselves first on the throne from Sultān Shahābuddīn of Ghor to Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Kaiqabād.[1] There is no doubt that they had been, at the outset of their careers, slaves, or slaves of such slaves or sons and daughters of slaves. Nevertheless, 'Slave' and 'King' are contradictory terms; a slave is no longer slave when he is manumitted by his master, and no slave could ascend a throne unless he had obtained a letter of manumission (*Khatti-āzādī*) from his master. Sultān Qutbuddīn Aiybek was sent a letter of manumission and a canopy of state by Sultān Mahmūd, the nephew and successor of his master, Sultān Shahābuddīn of Ghor.[2] Qutbuddīn's slave and

1 *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, pp. 135, 157, 164.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 140.

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successor, Sultān Shamsuddīn Iltutmish got his freedom from his master before the latter's death.[3] The successors of Iltutmish were not slaves, but the Sultān's own sons and daughter. The next ruler, Balban, belonged to the 'forty Turkish slaves of Iltutmish,' better known as '*Chahelgānī*' or 'Forty,' and was liberated along with them.[4] Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Kaiqabād, the last of the dynasty, was Balban's grandson. It is clear, therefore, that none of these rulers was a slave when he ascended the throne.

Secondly, they were Turks and not Afghāns or 'Pāthāns.' Qutbuddīn was brought from Turkistān and sold to Qāzī Fakhruddīn 'Abdul 'Azīz Kūfī.[5] "Even if the Turks have no status, nobility, or position of their own," says the author of the *Nisbat Nāma*, "it is a source of pride, for the king of Islām (*i.e.*, Qutbuddīn) is a Turk."[6] Both Iltutmish and Balban belonged to the renowned Albarī tribe of Turkistan.[7]

The Turkistān of the medieval historians was an extensive country; it was bounded on the east by China, on the west by Rūm, on the north the walls of 'Yājūj and Mājūj' (Gog and Magog) and on the south by the mountains of Hindustān;[8] and it was famous for its rare and precious products such as musk, rich cloth, fur, horses and camels. The Turks, as a people, were divisible into two sections—the civilised town-dwellers and the back-ward migratory tribes, still trekking across the desert or wilderness, between whom there was often a good deal of friction. The development of the Turkish race cannot be discussed here. But the following remarks of Fakhruddīn Mubārak Shāh may be noticed in passing. The Turks possessed books

3 *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 170.

4 Ziā Barnī—*Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī*, p. 26.

5 *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 138.

6 *Tārīkh i-Fakhruddīn Mubārak Shāh*, edited by Sir E. D. Ross, p. 37.

7 *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, pp. 166, 281.

8 *Tārīkh-i-Fakhruddīn Mubārak Shāh*, edited by Sir E. D. Ross, p. 38.

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and an alphabet of their own, knew logic and astronomy and taught their children how to read and write.[9] "The Turks living in the forest of Lūrā (Lawra) had peculiar customs, and whenever a son was born to them, they used to place a dagger by his side so that when he grew up he might make it a means of his occupation. Some burnt their dead, and others buried them in earth.[10] He also mentions a quaint totemic survival: "All men lived on one side of the river and all women on the other, and no system of marriage prevailed. However, a night was fixed in the year, when women crossed the river and went over to the men and returned to their original homes the next morning. With the exception of that particular night, no man at any time was allowed to visit a woman, and if he did, his teeth and nails were cut off and he was put to death." [11]

The various tribes of the Mongolian race—Turks, Tātārs, Turkomen, Tibetans, Chinese and Mongols—extended from Anatolia to the shores of the Pacific Ocean. With the extension of the Muslim frontier to the north and west of Persia, one Turkish tribe after another came under subjection, and attracted the attention of their conquerors by the bravery of their men and the beauty of their women. Alone among the unbelievers converted to Islām, the Turks did not hanker after their original homes and relations, and turned out to be orthodox Mussalmans and zealous warriors.[12] Also unlike other races, the Turks enjoyed no special power or prestige so long as they remained in their homelands, but when they migrated to foreign countries, their status increased and they became *Amīrs* and generals. "Since the dawn of creation up to the present day," says the author of the *Nisbat Nāma*, "no slave bought at a price has ever

9 *Tārīkh-i-Fakhruddīn Mubārak Shāh*, p. 44.
10 *Ibid.*, p. 42.
11 *Ibid.*, pp. 40, 41.
12 *Ibid.*, p. 35.

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become a king except among the Turks." [13], Afrāsiāb, a legendary Turkish king, is supposed to have remarked, once "The Turk is like a pearl in its shell at the bottom of the sea, which, when it leaves the sea, becomes valuable and adorns the diadems of kings and the ears of brides." [14]

Thus the period under review is marked by the ascendancy of the Turks, who had slowly and steadily replaced the Persians from the ordinary post of royal body-guard to the highest officers of the state, and through sheer force of military efficiency became the absolute masters of the 'Abbāside Caliphate. It is interesting to recall how Mu'tasim took the fatal step of introducing the Turkish element in the army. The fact that the Turks were the virtual masters of the Caliphate can be well illustrated by a story related by the author of *al-Fakhrt Ibn Tiqtaqā*, who says, "The courtiers of Mu'tazz summoned the astrologers and asked them how long his Caliphate would endure. A wit present in the gathering said, 'so long as the Turks please'; and every one present laughed." [15]

A despotic form of government cannot exist long without an efficient bureaucratic machinery for its executive work, and it was soon discovered that the young slaves brought from Turkistān and Māwaraon Nehr formed an excellent material for such a corps. While the bureaucracy owed its classification from the decimal system of the Turks, its origin may, however, be traced to the slaves purchased and trained by the 'minor dynasties' of Persia from the time of the Sāmānide. Slave trade thus became one of the most profitable business-ventures of the age. Slave dealers left no stone unturned in the selection and training of Turkish slaves and they were handsomely paid for their investment

13 *Tārīkh-i-Fakhruddīn Mubārak Shāh*, edited by Sir E. D. Ross, p. 36.

14 *Ibid.*, p, 37.

15 Ibn At Tiqtaqā, p. 333, as quoted by Dr. Amīr Hasan Siddīqī in his thesis on '*Caliphate and Sultanate in Medieval Persia.*'

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and labour. The best slaves were purchased by kings and princes and had prospects in life which were denied to free-born subjects.

The great quality of a Turkish slave was the efficiency of his work. Starting with an education which was seldom within the reach of middle-class free man, he gradually won his way up the strings of the bureaucratic ladder. In those days of anarchy and confusion, governments were not stable; provincial governors were too prone to declare independence and their subordinate officers followed their example. A bureaucracy of Turkish slaves was the only remedy possible. Torn away from his tribe and kinsmen and a stranger in a strange land, no consideration interfered with his devotion to his master's person. His whole course of training inculcated loyalty and submission. The slave was the property of his master; for him there was honour in bondage. Though the Apostle had commanded the slave to be clothed and fed like the master, he, nevertheless, fell legally in his master's power.[16] Every sphere of his life, public or private, was under the personal control of the monarch. He could neither marry nor hold pleasure parties

[16] العبد و مانی یدۃ لمولاۃ! (the slave and what he possesses is the property of his master).

In Arabic slave is called 'Abd (عبد) or Mamlūk (مماوک). The term used in the Qurān for slaves is ما ملکت ایمانکم. (That which your right hand possesses). The commandments of the urān with regard to slavery are as follows :—

" Honour God and be kind . . . . even to your slaves "—Chap. IV, 40. " And slaves, who crave a writing (i.e., a document of freedom), write it out for them, if ye know any good in them."—Chap. XXIV, 33.

Mishkātul Masālih, *Sahīhul Bokhārī* and *Sahīhul Muslim* account as follows :—

" When a slave of yours has money to redeem his bond, then you must not allow him to come into your presence any more."

It is incumbent upon the master of the slaves to find them victuals and clothes. The Prophet strictly enjoined the duty of kindness to slaves. Feed your 'Mamlūks,' said he, ' with food which ye eat, and clothe them with such clothing as ye wear, and command them not to do that, which they are unable to do."

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nor even visit his fellow-officers without the master's consent. And curiously enough, when he died, his possessions were inherited not by his sons but by the monarch, who, as a compensation, looked after the children of the deceased slave-officer and very often employed them in his service. Consequently, the progress of a slave depended upon the degree of loyalty he showed to his master. And to be a slave of the king constituted a special title of respect. 'The slave of to-day is the Sultān of to-morrow' was a time-honoured proverb. Everything depended upon his merit, intellect, sagacity and skill, and should he be found wanting at any stage, his fate was sealed. No favour or partiality was shown; those who were really competent rose from the humble post of *Khāsādār* (king's personal attendant) to positions of power and sovereignty.[17] Merit and not favouritism was the standard; and the slave-system in a way secured the survival of the fittest.

The career of Sultān Shahābuddīn of Ghor is generally dismissed as a side-issue in the general history of Muslim Asia. His defeat at Andkhud [18] spoiled his reputation, and his former conquests presented an insignificant and hollow contrast to the extensive empire established by the Mongols in Asia or Europe. For part of the oblivion that has befallen him, Shahābuddīn Ghorī is himself to blame. Unlike many other warriors, he was no patron of letters, had no cultured court, no society of educated men. Still he was a man of action, full of life and energy and unfailing resources. His success in life was due to an insatiable ambition backed by a tenacity of purpose, such as few men have ever possessed. His real achievement lay not in his conquests but in the organization of a system, according to which his generals and their descendants continued to govern

[17] Examples of Qutbuddīn Aiybek, Shamsuddīn Iltutmish and Ghiāsuddīn Balban may be cited in this connection.

[18] *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 123.

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Hindustān for about a century after his death. When during the latter part of Shahābuddīn's reign, a bold courtier condoled [19] him on the lack of male offspring, the Sultān contented himself by saying that he had several sons, namely Turkish slaves, to rule after his death. But for his slaves, there would have been, perhaps, no Turkish rule in India. The example of the gallant Sultān Shahābuddīn of Ghor bred heroic followers, and his slaves Tajuddin Yilduz, Nāsiruddīn Qabāchā and Qutbuddīn Aiybek rose to power and command in the Afghān mountains, on the Indus and at Delhi respectively.

The Turkish government of the thirteenth century was composed of several elements, borrowed from various countries. The king and his courtiers breathed the atmosphere of Persian paganism; [20] the army was organised after the manners of the Mongols and the Turks, and below the central government was the old Hindu system of local government. The Indian Empire which the early Turkish Sultāns inherited from their master was a "flimsy structure." Unloved by the people and dependent on a Turkish oligarchy, it had neither the material strength nor the moral prestige requisite of a permanent government. But the Emperor-Sultāns of Delhi knew of no legal limitations to their power. Practical limitations there were—riots, civil wars, palace intrigues, disloyalty of his officers and, above all, an armed and militant class of the subject-races. However, the will of the Emperor was very often really supreme over all causes, judicial or administrative.

Medieval kingship was a hybrid institution, non-Muslim and non-Hindū. Mahmūd of Ghaznī, Shahābuddīn of Ghor and Shamsuddīn Iltutmish were not inspired by the democratic ideals of the early Saracens. The Muslim Caliph was

19 *Tabaqāt.i-Nāsirī*, pp. 131, 132.

20 *Tārikh-i-Firoz Shāhī* of Ziā Barnī., p. 26.

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elected by the faithful; his power originated from the people below and not from God above. But the Sāssānian Emperors of Persia had claimed 'divinity' and an exclusive right of their family to the throne. The Muslim king, on the other hand, was symbolically the 'shadow of God on earth.' (*Zillullāh*), and not a divine incarnation. Yet the medieval kingship was essentially a secular institution; its power was based on Persian tradition [21] and not on Islamic law.

Inspite of the limitations of the *shari'at* theory, the 'new monarchy' fared well for sometime. The death of Shahābuddīn and the extinction of his dynasty left his slaves and officers without a master, and the tie of 'salt and sonship' was broken. As a consequence, a triangular duel commenced between Qutbuddīn Aiybek of Delhi, Nāsiruddīn Qabāchā of Sindh and Tājuddīn Yilduz of Ghaznīn [22] and when the Mongols snatched away the dominion of Tājuddin and Iltutmish overpowered Nāsiruddīn, the Turkish slave-aristocrats took to intriguing against each other. Their object as a class was two-fold—first, to prevent the crown from becoming too powerful and, secondly, to monopolise the offices of government. As a result of the Mystic Propaganda of the *Chishtis* and the *Suhrwardis*, a large number of Hindus had been converted to Islām by the end of the thirteenth century, and the *shari'at* of Islām gave an equal status to all Mussalmāns. But the Turkish aristocracy strictly forbade an equal treatment, and held the new Muslims in scorn and contempt.

The Turkish officers were successful at first, and to a large extent held the Crown in check. Qutbuddīn died without suppressing his rivals.[23] Shamsuddīn Iltutmish could, with great difficulty, retain his storm-tossed throne, but his sons were set up and pulled down with bewildering

21 See *Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī* of Ziā Barnī., p. 26.

22 *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 40.

23 *Ibid.*, pp. 140, 141.

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rapidity and the heroic Raziyyā gave up her life in a vain attempt to subdue the spirit of aristocratic lawlessness.[24] The Turkish officers struck both at the Crown and the people, and were themselves divided into bitter factions. Every one of them said to the other, " Who art thou, and what shall thou be, that I shall not be ?" [25] Thus the reigns following the death of Iltutmish were very much disturbed by the rivalry and insubordination of Turkish Maliks. All was panic and confusion, and Delhi became the scene of a series of tragedies. To reform the corrupt condition of the kingdom and to infuse a fresh vigour in the government, Balban resolved upon devising more effective schemes. For the rebellious Maliks and Amīrs, he thought, the assassin's dagger or poison was the only remedy possible, and he got rid of most of the 'Forty' by a liberal use of both, and in order to reduce the remnant to a sense of their inferiority, he made them stand motionless in his presence with folded arms and vexed them with petty rules of etiquette. Frequent executions and even massacres restored the loyalty of the people and their governors, and the State slowly recovered from its ruinous condition.[26]

Balban was after all a Turk, and desired the subjection, not the annihilation, of the aristocracy. Soon after his death, the Turkish officers again began their factious intrigues. Balban's grandson was a pleasure-loving, mild, cultivated and humane prince. He gave himself up to the pleasures of the senses, indulged in gross vices and never shook off sloth and luxury.[27] The officers abandoned every pretence of submission to the Sultān's authority, but nevertheless maintained that reckless racial vanity which was the medieval birth

24 *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 190.

تو کیستی کہ من نہ ام و کہ باشي کہ من نباشم

25 Ziā Barnī., *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī*, p. 28.

26 See *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī* of Ziā Barni., pp. 26-30.

27 *Qirān-us-Sa'idain*, p. 56.

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right of the Turks. The family of Balban was to an extent their rallying point. But circumstances had changed, the Khaljī opposition was strong and the revolutionary forces, strengthened by an ever-increasing number of converts, were gaining ascendancy. The Turkish Amīrs, though divided in many groups, were unified by a common hatred of the Khaljīs. To the proposed insensate persecution of the Turks, the Khaljīs replied with the assassin's dagger.[28] The feeble representation of the once mighty empire[29] of Delhi offered an easy prey to the hardy warriors of the Khaljī clan and their Indo-Muslim supporters. One by one the Turkish Amīrs were assassinated, and Mūizzuddīn Kaiqabād was murdered in the Kailū-gherī palace. With him the 'Early Turkish Empire' came to an end.[30] The revolution was complete. The government had passed from the foreign Turks to the Indian Mussalmāns and their Hindū allies. India was henceforth to be governed by administrators sprung from the soil. The new aristocracy had not its origin in slavery, but all the servile conditions were imposed upon servants recruited from a free-born population by the ruthless 'Alāuddīn Khaljī and with the Khaljī Revolution the period with which we are concerned comes to a close.

28 Compare for example a حجو sent by Bābar to the ruler of Biānā.

با ترک ستیزان مکن ای میر پیانه * چالاکی و مردانگی ترک عیان است
گر زور نیائی و بقیمت نه کن گوض * آن را که عیان است چه حاجت زبان است

29 Badāunī, pp. 163, 164, *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, pp. 60, 61.

30 *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī* of Ziā Barnī., p. 173.

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23

SIKANDAR LODI AS A FOUNDER

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Sikandar was the ablest ruler of the Lodi dynasty and one of the great rulers of India, great as a soldier and conqueror, great as an administrator, great as a builder and as a founder. During the 28 years of his reign (1489-1517), he founded a large number of cities and townships. He felt a peculiar delight in evolving new order out of the old, in founding new cities and townships by demolishing old ones or in founding new towns and villages where no habitation existed before. I have tried to collect the names of places which owe their origin to Sikandar Lodi in a table, suggesting in the footnotes such historical information as I could collect about them.

We do not, unfortunately, know the motives or occasions of the foundation of most of these places except through local traditions or narratives. Some of these were, no doubt, founded because of their strategic importance, some to commemorate a victory obtained over an enemy. In the last eventuality, most often, the name of an existing village or town was changed to permanently impress the name of the founder-conqueror.[1] All the places mentioned in the list were not necessarily founded by Sikandar himself. On occasions, loyal provincial governors or jagirdars renamed cities or villages after the name of their over-lord,

1 *Vide* Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, 1935-36, p. 52ff.

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to commemorate the latter's visits to those spots for sight-seeing or during march or perhaps in connexion with hunt.

Sikandar has been commonly known as the founder of the city of Agra, containing one of the Wonders of the World. The motive underlying the foundation of the city, destined to remain for a long time the seat of the Moghul empire, is partly to be sought in Sultan Sikandar's predilection for change and innovation, for Delhi, then fallen to ruins after Timur's invasion, was unsuited to be the capital of a rejuvinated empire. The other consideration was strategic. The Bhadauriya Rajputs,[2] who had their stronghold in Hatkant[3] in the present Bah Tahsil of the Agra District, situated on the bank of the Jumna, were notorious robbers and free-booters. They were a perpetual menace to the crown-lands of the Biana Sarkar, which was conquered by the Sultan in 897 H/1491. The jagirdars of the locality constantly represented to the Sultan to afford them protection from the menace. According to Niamatullah,[4] "the Sultan was constantly on the look-out to select a suitable site on the bank of the Jumna to lay the foundation of a new town." He had appointed a commission in 911H/1506 consisting of some wise men of Delhi to examine both the banks of the Jumna for a site of the capital city, and on its presenting a report about a site it had selected, the Sultan sailed from Delhi *via* Muttra, to personally examine the site. On his choosing two mounds, perhaps the same site as selected by his courtiers, he asked Nayak, his chief boat-man, as to which site he preferred. He replied "Agra" that is "the one in front," upon which the Sultan smiled,

[2] Elliot (*Races in N.W.P.*, I, p. 25ff.) identifies them as a branch of the Chauhan Rajputs.

[3] 26·48 N and 78·42 E.

[4] *Makhzan-i Afghan*, M.U. Ms., p. 100, and repeated in *Tarikh-i Khan Jahan Lodi*, M.U.Ms.

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and ordered the construction of the new city with barracks for soldiers and gave it the name of Agra. " In this way," says Niamatullah, " in the vicinity of the villages of Bas-hi and Poiya, in the jurisdiction of the Pargana of Dauli, Biana Sarkar, the city was built." Agra was made into a separate Sarkar by taking away nine Parganas out of a total of fifty-two of the Biana Sarkar.[5]

The fact is indisputable that Sikandar Lodi founded a new city to which he removed his capital and converted it into the head-quarters of a new Sarkar. In Akbar's reign Agra was created into a Subah. But two problems have to be seriously examined—firstly, whether Sikandar founded a new city of the name of Agra where none existed, and secondly, which was the site of Sikandar's city.

As to the story of the origin of its name from ' Agra,' *i.e.*, ' front ' or ' ahead,' picked up from the suggestion of the Sultan's chief boat-man, it seems to be an invention. Agra is spoken of as ' an insignificant village ' after its raid and pillage by Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin, by Abdullah, the Pathan historian.[6] Again, Agra was known as such when Sikandar Lodi conquered it along with Biana in 897H/1491.[7] According to Nizamuddin [8], a terrible earthquake took place at Agra on the 3rd Safar 911/ July 6, 1505, which demolished many ' lofty buildings.' The presence of lofty buildings is a clear testimony that it was a fairly big city. The date of the foundation of Agra cannot be definitely ascertained. Sikandar Lodi came to stay in Agra for the first time in 909/1503 after quitting Sambal,

5 *Makhzan*, f. 100.

پس در رقبهٔ موضع بهسی و موضع پویه اعمال پرگنهٔ دولی سرکار بیانه شهر آباد ان شد و از جملهٔ پنجاه و دو پرگنهٔ سرکار بیانه نه پرگنه داخل آگره کردند - و از آن باز این شهر روی آبادانی دارد -

6 *Tarikh-i Daudi*, Bankipore Ms., f.79.

7 Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, I, A.S.B., p. 316.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 325.

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in the present Moradabad District, U.P., which remained the seat of his empire for a period of four years from 905-09/1499-1503, and the conclusion of terms with Raja Mān Singh of Gwalior, who had been loyal to the Sharqis. Ferishta definitely says that the capital was removed to Agra in 909/1503. Perhaps it was in 908H but not after 909/1503 that Sultan Sikandar appointed from Sambal, Khawas Khan, the Governor of Macchiwara (Ludhiana District) and afterwards of Delhi, as the Governor of Biana and Agra.[9] It is extremely doubtful, if in two years, *i.e.*, between 909-911H, Agra could have so many buildings as to excite the lament of historians by their destruction. My conclusion from the authorities cited is that there was already a township of the name of Agra. Sikandar founded a new city perhaps at a distance from the then Agra. He had already made up his mind to change the capital from Delhi, after he had completely subjugated his rebellious kinsmen, immediately after the conquest and annexation of the Sarkar of Biana in 897/1491, and till the palaces and residential quarters and barracks for his soldiers were ready, he stayed in Sambal, because he would not like to reside in Delhi reduced to ruins after Timur's invasion.

According to Niamatullah, the Pathan historiographer of emperor Jahangir, the site of Sikandar Lodi's city of Agra included the vicinity [10] of the villages of Bas-hi and Poiya, in Dauli Pargana. Dauli Pargana is not mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, perhaps because of the inclusion of its areas in some other Pargana. Dauli is now a small village about 10-12 miles south-west of the Agra city in Kiraoli Tahsil. It might reasonably have remained the

9 *Ibid.*, p. 324.

10 رقبه (raqba).

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head-quarter of the Pargana of the same name in the Agra Sarkar of Sikandar Lodi. Poiya is a village [11] on the northern bank of the Jumna almost opposite to the village of Sikandra, about 4 miles from the Agra city. Bas-hi may be the same as Basai, a village near Sikandra. Niamatullah establishes beyond the possibility of doubt the site of Sikandar's Agra when he says that the city was founded "in the vicinity of Bas-hi and Poiya" and "in the same place where the present city of Agra is situated." The Agra of Akbar and Jahangir is almost the same as the old Agra city of the present day. Thus the Mughul Agra, according to Niamatullah, was the same as the Agra of Sikandar. The Agra fort which was constructed with the ready materials from an old fort known as Badalgarh,[12] seriously damaged by the earth-quake of 911H/1505, might have been used as a fort by the Lodis. The archaeological evidence suggests the existence of Sikandar Lodi's city almost opposite to Poiya on the southern bank of the Jumna. The Lodi Agra, perhaps, stretched the whole way from the present Agra to Sikandra and included both the localities, as testified from the ruins of numerous buildings on both sides of the road from Agra to Sikandra. The mound which is known as Lodi Khan ka Tila [13] near the village of Sikandra, is most probably the very same mound which Sikandar Lodi selected for building his city of Agra.

The following are the few names I could collect. I could not include in the list quite a large number of them for want of sufficient historical evidence. I feel sure that there may be many more which have escaped my notice, and quite a lot of them may have suffered a change in name since Sikandar's time.

11. 27·15 N and 78·2 E.

12 Fuherer, *Arch. Survey Rep. of N.W.P.*, New Series, Vol. II, p. 65.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 76.

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TABLE

Name of township.	Pargana.	Tashil.	District.	Location.
1. Sikandra.[14]		Jamui.	Monghyr, Bihar.	13 miles west of Jamui town.
2. Sikandarpur.[15]	Sikandarpur.	Bansdih.	Ballia, U.P.	26°3N and 85°4E, 24 miles north of Ballia town and 2 miles from the right bank of the Ghagra.
3. Sikandarpur.[16]	Sikandarpur.	Unao.	Unao, U.P.	26°34 N and 80°23 E, 6 miles from Unao.
4. Sikandarpur.		Khalilabad.	Basti, U.P.	
5. Sikandarpur.	Hyderabad.	Mohamdi.	Kheri, U.P.	27°57 N and 80°29 E.[17]
6. Sikandarpur.[18]	Chhibramau.	Chhibramau.	Farrukhabad, U.P.	
7. Sikandarpur.[19]	Kampil.	Qaimganj.	Farrukhabad, U.P.	
8. Sikandra.[20]		Bhognipur.	Cawnpore, U.P.	26°22 N and 79°37 E., 45 miles SW of Cawnpore town.

[14] Former head-quarter of the Jami Sub-division.

[15] Contains a population of about 10 thousand, and the ruins of a big fort. It may be the same Sikandarpur mentioned by Abul Fazl (*Ain*, II, Jarret, p. 164) and forming a Mahal of North Jaunpur Sarkar and possessing a fort. Vide *U.P. Dist. Gaz.*, Vol. 38, Ballia, 252.

[16] Mentioned by Abul Fazl (*Ain*, Jarr., II, 161) as a Mahal of Illahabad Sarkar. I am sceptical regarding its foundation by Sikandar Khan, an officer of Alauddin Khalji, as mentioned in the *Unao Dist. Gaz.* in view of the repeated campaigns of Sikandar Lodi against Husain Sharqi in that locality.

[17] It was the capital of separate Pargana of the same name till 1869.

[18] May have been the chief town of Sikandarpur Atreji Mahal of the Kanauj Sarkar. *cf. Ain*, Jarr., II, 164.

[19] May have been the chief town of Sikandarpur Udahu Mahal under Kanauj Sarkar. *cf. Ain*, Jarr., II., 185.

[20] *U.P. Dist. Gaz.*, Vol. 19, Cawnpore, p. 341.

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TABLE (*Contd.*)

9. Sikandra Rao.[21]	Sikandra Rao.	Sikandra Rao.	Aligarh, U.P.	27·4 N and 78·23 E, about 23 miles SW of Aligarh.
10. Sikandra-bad.[22]	Sikandra-bad.	Sikandra-bad.	Buland-shahr, U.P.	28·28 N and 77·42 E, on the G. T. Road.
11. Sikan-dra.[23]	Sikandra.	Phulpur.	Allahabad, U.P.	25·35 N and 81·59 E, 12 miles NE of Allahabad city.
12. Sikandra.	Agra.	Agra.	Agra, U.P.	27·13 N and 77·57 E, about 5 miles NW of the Agra city.
13, Iskandra-bad.[24]			Gwalior State.	25·46 N and 78·17 E, about 30 miles south of Gwalior, between the fork of the Sind and Par-wati rivers.

[21] Mentioned in the *Ain.* (Jarr., II,186) as a Mahal of Kol (Aligarh) Sarkar, Agra Subah. It has a population of about 14 thousand and a High School. Rao Khan, a governor of Sikandra (Aligarh), added his name to it to read as Sikandra Rao. It is yet predominantly populated by the Pathans. Vide *U.P. Dist. Gaz.*, Vol. 6, Aligarh, p. 288ff.

[22] Founded by Sikandar Lodi in 1498 A.D. It is mentioned in the *Ain* as a Pargana of the Delhi Sarkar. It has a present population of about 19 thousand. *U.P. Dist. Gaz.*, Vol. V, p. 297.

[23] *U.P. Dist. Gaz.*, Vol. 23, p. 299.

[24] The village Pawaya was renamed Iskandrabad in 911/1505 by order of Sikandar Lodi. The stone slab bearing the inscription has been discovered and deciphered by Ram Babu Saxena of the Gwalior State Archaeological Department, Vide *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1935-36, p. 52ff.

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24

THE ARAB CONQUEST OF SIND

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The Arabs were not quite unfamiliar with the land or the people of Sind, when in 711-12 A.D., Karimuddin Muhammad Kasim[1] led the expedition which resulted in its subjugation to them and rule by men of their faith for over a thousand years. In the course of a number of ineffectual invasions of the country the Arabs had obtained a good deal of information regarding the manners and customs and the laws of peace and war which prevailed in 'Sind and Hind.'

Though our sources of knowledge are scanty, they indicate clearly that there was some cultural and commercial intercourse between the two peoples. The 'commercial understanding or alliance' between Arabia and India which the *Periplus* speaks of could not have been extinct at this time, while Buddhism, which was a predominant force in the life of the Indus valley, must have continued to serve as a cultural link.

There is some evidence of emigration to and from Arabia and vice versa even at this time. The knowledge we have of Indian families settling in Muslim lands (such as the ministerial family of the Barmaks) relates to a slightly later date.

[1] This is the name given in the *Chachnamah*. In the *Tarikh Masumi* he is called Muhammad son of Kasim, and in the *Tuhfatul kiram*, Muhammad Kasim son of Ukail Sakifi. (See the *Chachnamah* translated by Fredunbeg, Vol. I, page 101). All references to the *Chachnamah* in this article are, unless otherwise stated, to the *Chachnamah* translated from the Persian by Mirza Kalichbeg Fredunbeg, Karachi, 1900.

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We know, however, for certain from the *Chachnamah* that Arab mercenaries had already begun to seek their fortunes in Sind; for example, we hear of Muhammad Alafi entering into the service of Dahar with five hundred Arabs of his clan, and being entrusted with important military commissions. Another Muslim, named Amir Ali ud Dowla, was appointed governor of the fort of Sikka (near Mutan) by Chach, after his conquest of the place.[2] It seems that Wazil, a secretary of Dahar, was also a Muhammadan—not only from the evidence of his name but from the fact that he was engaged by Dahar to read letters addressed to him in Arabic by Muhammad Kasim.[3]

It is generally believed that the expedition sent by Hajjaj under Muhammad Kasim was a measure of retaliation against the ruler of Sind, who had refused to punish, on the ground that they were not his subjects, some pirates who had robbed a few vessels containing presents from the king of Ceylon to Hajjaj.[4] Mr. Amir Ali in his *History of the Saracens* substantially accepts this version of the story when he says that the expedition was a punitive one designed to prevent constant harassments by the tribes living in Sind.

While the alleged piratical act might well have taken place to serve as a pretext for the invasion of Sind, another and more definite ground of long standing already existed in the desire for a religious war on the part of the Muslims. The first expedition so sent had been despatched as early as the Caliphate of Omar (634-44 A.D.), and it had resulted in the defeat and death of its commander, Mughairah. In the reign of Usman, a man was sent at the head of an expedition to make a full report on the situation. His reply was discouraging. During the Caliphate of Ali (656-61 A.D.)

[2] See Elliot, *History of India by its own Historians—The Chachnamah*—Vol. I., p. 142.

[3] The *Chachnamah* by Fredunbeg, Vol. 1, p. 71.

[4] The *Tarikh Maasumi* gives a somewhat different story,

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another expedition was sent, and yet another in the reign of Muawiyeh (661-680 A.D.). From this time onwards it became the practice to designate a commander of an expedition in advance as the 'governor' of Sind. When Abdul Malik, son of Marwan, became the Khalifah, he appointed Hajjaj to be governor of Iraq, *Hind and Sind*, long before the alleged practical act could have taken place. Hence, the piracy, if it had really occurred, came in very conveniently to reinforce the usual argument for a holy war and to persuade the wavering Khalifah to despatch a force.

Most historians represent the conquest of Sind by the Arabs as a romantic story of the victorious march of a small army of inspired soldiers under a heroic seventeen-years old commander, whose mission of the conquest of Sind and Hind was left unfulfilled only on account of a terrible misunderstanding which led to his tragic death. Modern research has established the fact that the failure of the Arabs in their larger aim of conquering India was due to the successful resistance of the Rajput princes, notably the Pratihāras of Kanouj. Some have ascribed the conquest to the superstitious beliefs of the Hindus, which prevented them from taking the necessary military steps for the defence of the country at the right time. Others, like Mr. R. D. Banerji and Mr. C. V. Vaidya,[5] represent the Buddhists of Sind as the knaves of the story and make them the scapegoats for India's failure against Muslim invaders.

A superficial perusal of the *Chachnamah*—and, besides, a study of the work in its inadequate translation in the first volume of Elliot may well lead us to one or other of these views. It is forgotten that this book, which is the almost

[5] See *Prehistoric, Ancient and Hindu India*, by R. D. Banerji, p. 237.
Also *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, by C. V. Vaidya, Vol. I., p. 173.

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sole authority for the Arab conquest of Sind, is a product of the times and betrays in every page the prejudices and shortcomings of the age in which it was composed. Though, fortunately, it contains a solid substratum of facts, it is embedded in layers of questionable materials, such as scandalous gossips, and hearsays of various kinds. It is the purpose of the present writer to pick out the truth by an intensive study of the work (as translated by Fredunbeg) so as to find out the true cause of the failure of the people of Sind to defend their country against the foreigners.

India in the eighth century was a land divided and subdivided within itself, where no political frontier was permanent, and no two neighbours were at peace with each other. At a time when no ruler in India could be expected to rush to the aid of a brother prince in difficulties, the comparative geographical isolation of Sind made the prospect of assistance very remote, while it made it particularly vulnerable to the attacks of invaders from the west. An intensive study of the *Chachnamah* shows that, though apparently a state of respectable size, Sind under Dahar was a ramshackle political organisation, utterly wanting in cohesion and inhabited by a heterogeneous population. A feudal state, it was divided into four provinces, whose governors were so independent of each other and of the central authority that some of them are designated as 'kings.' Their only liability, when they chose to fulfil it, was to render military assistance to the king of Sind. The latter's authority was further limited by the power of the ministers, and an Assembly of Five Hundred.[6] Dahar's minister, Buddhiman, was so influential that the king had his name mentioned in the coinage. The Assembly seems to have been a feudal gathering of chieftains, who were consulted on occasions.

[6] Dahar consulted this body, when, according to the *Chachnamah*, he decided to marry his step-sister. The *Chachnamah*, Vol. I., p. 46.

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Much controversy has raged round the question of the caste and tribe to which Chach, the father of Dahar, belonged. Mr. R. D. Banerji adheres to the view that he was a Rajput of the Samna (Samba) tribe of the Yadava clan.[7] The *Chachnamah* says that he was a Brahmin who had usurped the throne by the guilty aid of Suhandi, the queen of the previous sovereign. There is some room for disbelieving this story, which is of the cock and bull type, but it is difficult to set aside numerous and positive statements in the *Chachnamah* to the effect that Chach was a Brahmin, and that his nearest relatives were ascetics or *pujaris*. There should have been no doubt on the subject if it were not for the statement of Hiuen Tsang that the ruler of Sind when he visited the country (who could not have been any other than Chach) belonged to the Shu-to-lo race, which is variously interpreted to mean a Kshattriya, a Sudra, and a Rajput of the Chatur or the Chitor tribe. Some colour is lent to this view by the statement in the *Chachnamah* that a daughter of Chach was married to the king of Kashmir. But this does not necessarily mean that he was a Rajput. It seems safer to accept the categorical statements of the *Chachnamah* in preference to the conjectural interpretations of the doubtful word of the pilgrim. The point is interesting to us, for, if we accept the story of the usurpation, it gives us an additional explanation of the readiness of the provincial governors, some of whom were partisans of the dispossessed family, to join the Muslim invaders in their desire to wreck a vengeance on the usurping dynasty.

Each change in the succession after Chach seems to have occasioned fratricidal quarrels and something of a division of inheritance among brothers and cousins. When Chach

[7] *Prehistoric, Ancient, and Hindu India*, p. 237.

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died, his brother Chandra succeeded to the throne in preference to the sons of Chach. After Chandra's death, his son Bachera (Vajra?) became ruler at Siwistan, while the two sons of Chach, *viz.*, Dahar and Daharsiah, received Alor and Brahmanabad respectively. It is related in the *Chachnamah* that, on account of an astrological prediction that his step-sister, Main or Bai, would never go out of Alor and would marry none but a king, Dahar married her himself, though the marriage was not intended to be and was not consummated. It is further stated that this led to a quarrel between the brothers during the progress of which Daharsiah died.

The story of the so-called marriage looks like a scandalous gossip, and, though the author of the *Chachnamah* harps on it, in at least one reference to Bai, *viz.*, in describing her heroic death, he forgets it and calls her simply 'Dahar's sister.'[8] The quarrel between the brothers seems really to have been of a political nature. When Daharsiah invaded Alor, he sent the following message to his brother, "I have come not to fight with you. This fort was the capital of my father, and from him it has descended to me, You received it from me as my agent, and the kingdom is mine. There never have been two crowns in one country." The *Chachnamah* relates that after the death of Daharsiah, Dahar made Chach, son of Daharsiah, ruler of Brahmanabad, and made an alliance with him. It was thus a country suffering repeatedly from political convulsions that had to bear the brunt of the first Muslim invasions of India.

The story that the Buddhists of Sind handed over their motherland to the foreign invaders does not stand a close scrutiny of the facts as related in the *Chachnamah*. The Buddhists formed an important element of the population of

[8] "Dahar's sister, Bai, then collected all the women of the fort, etc." *Chachnamah*, Vol. I, p. 153.

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Sind, and in many of the towns, *e.g.*, Armabel, Nerun, Maoj, Budhiya, etc , they held the post of governor. Some of these governors no doubt showed the utmost cowardice in face of the invaders, and sometimes acted treacherously. But it was not all Buddhists who did so, and it was not all Hindus who fought for their land and ruler. At Budhiya, says the *Chachnamah*,[9] which was, even as the name implies, a Buddhist stronghold, the 'Budh headmen' came to their rulers and expressed their determination to make a night attack on the Muslim army. They did make the attempt, but they failed, because they lost their way in the wilderness. The people of the same town, it is interesting to note, had stopped the victorious march of Sinan, the commander of a previous expedition, had killed him and dispersed his troops.

On the other hand, it was a Brahmin from the garrison of Debal who betrayed to Kasim the secret which led to the fall of the town. Some historians are so obsessed with the idea of Buddhist influence in Sind that they smell some Buddhist plot or treachery in every case of the surrender of a town or fort to the Muslims. Thus, though it is distinctly stated in the *Chachnamah* that it was a body of one thousand Brahmins in Brahmanabad, who had shaved their heads and beards because their king had died, who betrayed to Kasim the hiding place of the royal family, Sir Henry Elliot[10] asserts that they were Buddhists. Shaven heads do not always make Buddhist monks; and it is a custom, which prevails in some Rajput states even at the present day, for the orthodox people to shave off their heads clean, including their eyebrows, on the death of the ruler.

It is stated in the *Chachnamah* that the Buddhists in certain places refused to fight the invaders on the ground that killing was forbidden in their religion. That all Budddists

9 The *Chachnamah*, Vol. I, p. 95.

10 Elliot, Vol. I, p. 506.

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in Sind did not advance such an argument is evident from the fact, as has been stated above, that the Buddhists did fight in certain places. It was a Buddhist monk who was responsible, according to the *Chachnamah*, for the stiff resistance put up by the citizens of Brahmanabad against Chach. As a matter of fact, the people who tamely submitted were certain classes of the civil population, such as merchants, monks, agriculturists, who, having no means of resistance, were at the mercy of the invaders, and were Hindus as well as Buddhists. This happened not only in Sind, which was dominated by Buddhism, but in all parts of India.

A plausible explanation of the conquest of Sind by the Muslims is the prevalence of communal jealousies among the Hindu and the Buddhistic elements of the population. Mr. C. V. Vaidya thinks that the usurpation of the throne by Chach represented a Brahmanical reaction against Buddhist dominance in Sind,"[11] The *Chachnamah*, however, describes it as a simple palace revolution, and we have not got the slightest evidence to infer that it was anything different. Chach rebuilt a Buddhist temple in Brahmanabad. His brother was a patron of Buddhism.[12] Dahar had a white elephant. During their reigns, Buddhist influence in society and government was not in the slightest degree reduced, as we have overwhelming evidence of the fact of such influence at the time of the conquest.

Though we have not got sufficient data for making an estimate of the population of Sind, there are some evidences to indicate that it was small. Brahmanabad, one of the biggest towns in that country, had a population of only ten thousand, according to a census taken by Kasim after the

11 *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, Vol. I, p. 163.

12 The *Chachnamah* states that ' he promulgated the religion of the monks and hermits.' The *Chachnamah*, Vol. I, p 57.

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conquest.[13] On the other hand, the invading host was large. Over and above an advanced guard under Abu-l Aswad Jaham, which joined Kasim on the borders of Sind, he had six thousand picked horsemen from Syria and Iraq, six thousand armed camel-riders, and a baggage train of three thousand Bactrian camels, which however Mir Masum converts into three thousand infantry. At Makran, again, he was joined with other reinforcements by Muhammad Harun, while five catapults, each requiring five hundred men to work it, were transported by sea to Debal.[14] When Kasim left for Multan for proceeding to the north, his army according to the *Tarikh-i-Sind* and *Luhfatul Kiram* consisted of no less than fifty thousand men, besides those he had left in the forts and garrisons of Sind.[15] It went on swelling partly because of the Jats, Luhanis and other tribes, who joined him.

This is a plea for explaining rationally and by reference to natural causes the story of human failures and human successes. The Arab conquest of Sind is not explained by the superstitious faiths and beliefs of the conquered, for the conquerors also were superstitious and believed in witchcraft and magic. The theory of Buddhist treachery does not stand examination; and it is high time we should give up demanding a scapegoat. As has been explained above, Sind under Dahar was in no position to offer a suitable resistance to the Arabs. It was too weak, politically and militarily, to do so, while the Arabs were in the high tide of their national rise. It had no hope of assistance from other parts of India, while Kasim had a numerous and disciplined army, determined to conquer or die for the faith, and backed by the resources of a mighty empire.

[13] 'All the people, the merchants, artists, and agriculturists were divided separately in their respective classes and ten thousand men, high and low, were counted.' The *Chachnamah* in Elliot, Vol. I, p. 153.

[14] Elliot, Vol. I, p. 434.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 435.

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UNDISCOVERED SOURCE-BOOKS OF PRE-MUGHUL HISTORY

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Students of medieval Indian history have often deplored the fact that, unlike the Mughul period, literary sources for the earlier period are disappointingly meagre and number only a dozen or so to account for nearly five centuries of Muslim rule. Even these are not all contemporary and include works, like the *Tāj al-Maāthir* of Hasan Nizami or the *Tughluq Nāma* of Amir Khusrau, whose historical interest is only secondary. Contemporary non-Indian histories like the *Kamil* of Ibn Athir or the Mongol chronicles of the 13th century, in so far as they relate to India, though helpful to a certain extent, are not always dependable; and for a consistent, connected narrative we have to wait till the age of Akbar when, for the first time, general histories covering the whole of India began to be written. But these, so far as the earlier centuries are concerned, can only be regarded as secondary sources, and, besides, they contain important lacunæ. This is particularly true of local dynasties. For example, we know only a little more than the Mughul historians about such provincial kingdoms as the Sharqis of Jaunpur, Khaljis of Malwa, Bahmanis of the Deccan or even the Pathans of Bengal. No contemporary work dealing with these dynasties has come down to us. Similar is the case with some of the important later

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Gaznawid, Khalji and Lodi sovereigns, although, considering the interest the Muslims rulers had in history, such works presumably did once exist.

This presumption is strengthened by the fact that in almost all the existing histories one frequently comes across references to unfamiliar authors and titles of historical compositions which are not to be found at the present day. Nizamuddin Bakhshi, the author of the first general history of India, made a systematic search for them and has given us a fairly comprehensive list of the authorities he was able to consult. It is interesting to note that some of these works, although not known to us, continued to be used down to as late as the 18th century. Elliot's original plan to include all the general and special histories in his *Bibliographical Index* would probably have brought many of these to light, but since the death of Clive Bailey it was never revived. It is possible that an intensive search may yet produce results, for, of late, some very early works, like Gardezi's *Zain al-Akhbar* on the early Ghaznawids, and Haji Dabir's *History of Gujrat* have been discovered only accidentally. It is with this end in view that an attempt is made in this paper to collect the available data respecting these long-lost works.

Taking the earliest of them first, those dealing with the Ghaznawids, we find mention of no less than five works on Mahmud bin Sabuktigin alone. Ziauddin Barani [1] mentions a *Tarikh-i-Mahmud* which Muhammad bin Tughluq was said to have known almost by heart and was possibly written in verse. It seems to be identical with the *Tawarikh-i-Mahmudi*, said to have been written by Mulla Muhammad Ghaznawi, a contemporary of Mahmud, which is cited as his chief authority by Abdur Rahman Chisti for his work on the life and times of the celebrated Salr Masud, son of Mahmud,

[1] *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*, p. 463.

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called the *Mirat-i-Masudi* and completed during the reign of Jahangir. [2] Some of the later writers like the anonymous author of the *Mukhtasar al-Twarikh* [3] and Rustam Ali, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Hindi* (completed in 1742), also include it in their bibliographies but nothing further seems to be known about it now. Another work on Mahmud by the well-known poet Unsuri, entitled *Tarikh-i-Mahmud-i-Sabuktigin*, is mentioned by Sarup Chand and Muhabbat Khan, authors of the *Sahih al-Akhbar* and *Akhbar-i-Muhabbat* respectively, both written in the 18th century. [4] Ferishta, in his account of Mahmud, refers to a historical poem by Unsuri on the victories of Mahmud, [5] and unless the *Tarikh-i-Mahmud-i-Sabuktigin* is a different work altogether, we seem to have at least a portion of it in a manuscript in the British Museum. [6] Minhaj-i-Siraj, the author of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* [7] and also Ferishta, [8] quote from another work on the reign of Mahmud which is called *Maqamat* and is ascribed to Khwaja Abu Nasr Mishkani who, we learn from the same source, was the confidant and secretary of both Mahmud and his son Masud. The exact title of this work or its scope is not known but Major Raverty, who thinks it was called *Maqamat al-amad Abu Nasr Mishkani*, states, [9] without, however, specifying the source of his information, that it was written by Abul Fazl Baihaqi who died in 470-1077 and was the author of the well-known history of the Ghaznawids variously called *Tarikh-i-Baihaqi*, *Masudi* and *Tarikh-i-Al-i-Sabuktigin*, the first portion of which, dealing with Sabuktigin and Mahmud,

2 Elliot, ii, p. 515.
3 *Ibid.*, viii, pp. 2, 4.
4 *Ibid.*, viii, pp. 314, 377.
5 Briggs, i, p. 91.
6 Rieu, iii, p. 1031 b.
7 pp. 13-14.
8 Briggs, i, pp. 32, 97.
9 *Trans. Tab. Nas.*, i, p. 105.

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is also no longer extant. Elliot, while referring to these lost works,[10] says that they were known to have been in existence less than two centuries ago. The existence of yet another work on Mahmud is testified to by Barani who, in the preface to his *Akhbar-i-Barmakian*, mentions a *Maathir-i-Mahmud Ghaznawi* as having been written by Imam Kaffal during the life-time of that sovereign.[11]

The later Ghaznawids do not seem to have had a contemporary historian; at least none is mentioned. Minhaj-i-Siraj, however, in the earlier part of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, frequently quotes from a work which is variously named *Qasas-i-Nabi* and *Tarikh Ibn Haizam Nabi* by an author whose full name was probably Abul Hasan Haizam bin Muhammud al-Nabi. It has been extensively used for the Persian and Central Asian dynasties, beginning from the Tahirides of Khurasan to the early Shansabanis of Ghor,[12] and could not have been written much earlier than a few years before the fall of the Ghaznawids. Barani[13] also includes the author, under the name of the Imam Hazam, in his list of 'eminent historians of Arab and Ajam.' It is also referred to once by Haji Dabir in his account of the Ghurides,[14] and Denison Ross thinks it was a history of the Ghurides. Possibly the same work is meant by the *Tarikh-i-Shahabuddin Ghori* and *Tarikh-i-Shahabi*, mentioned in the *Khulasat al-Twarikh*, *Akhbar-i-Muhabbat* and *Tarikh-i-Hindi* respectively.[15]

Of Shahabuddin Ghori, incidentally, a remarkably unique document is reported to be in existence in the possession of Mr. Hasan Barni, advocate of Bulandshar, U.P., and the author of a monograph in Urdu on Ziauddin Barani. It is

10 ii, p. 433.

11 Ethe: *Bodleian Catalogue of Persian MSS.*, entry No. 569.

12 *Trans. Tab. Nas.*, i, p. 11 and text p. 40.

13 p. 14.

14 *Arabic History of Gujrat*, ii, p. 652.

15 Elliot, viii, pp. 8, 41, 377.

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stated to be nothing less than an original *Firman* of the Ghuride conqueror relating to the final settlement of the fort of Baran immediately after its conquest from the Dor chieftain, Rai Bhim Singh. Mr. Barni, in his above-mentioned book, [16] expressed his intention to publish the document at a later date, but, as far as my information goes, he does not appear to have done so, nor have I been able to get any reply to my letters asking for more particulars. Unless it turns out to be a forgery, it should obviously be of great value as being the earliest State document existing of Muslim rule in India and perhaps the oldest Indo-Muslim manuscript.

Till the end of the 13th century we hear of no other historical work that has not come down to us, and the recent discovery and edition of the historical portion of Farkhruddin Mubarakshah's *Book of Genealogies* by Sir E. Denison Ross, that was once regarded as lost by Minhaj, perhaps exhausts the historical writings of the period. Early in the 14th century, however, we come across names of histories which are still unfamiliar to us. One is mentioned by Barani [17] who ascribes to a Kabiruddin, son of Tajuddin Iraqi, the compilation of an official history of Alauddin Khalji's wars, which he cites as one of his four chief source-books. The author's is an unfamiliar name but his father Tajuddin is included by Ferishta in the list of learned men who were frequently invited to the private parties of Jalaluddin Khalji.[18] The Tughluqs, specially Firuz, appear to have been great patrons of historical literature and almost all the rest of the 14th century histories, now lost, bear their name. Two, or rather three, of them were written by Shams Siraj Afif, the author of the well-known *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi*, who refers the reader for the early life of Firuz's father and Muhammud bin

[16] *Ziauddin Barani* ? (Urdu), by Syed Hassan Barni, B.A., LL.B., Delhi, Maktaba Jamea, 1930.

[17] p. 14.

[18] Briggs, i, p. 293.

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Tughluq's four-fold division of his empire to his two *Manaqibs* on Sultan Tughluq and Muhammud bin Tughluq respectively.[19] Elliot refers to a third *Manaqib* which Afif proposed to write for Muhammud, son of Firuz.[20] Bearing the last-mentioned sovereign's name is another history listed by Nizamuddin in his bibliography,[21] and also cited by a number of later writers including the anonymous author of the *Mukhtasar-al-Twarikh*.[22] It is ascribed to a Maulana Aezzuddin Khalid Khani who is better known for his lost work on Philosophy and Astrology, *Anamed Dalail-i-Firuz-shahi*, translated under Firuz's order from a Sanskrit manuscript found in the library at Nagarkot.[23] Still another little known history is found to bear Firuz Shah's name for Rieu notices a manuscript in the British Museum containing a portion of a historical composition named *Khulasat-al-Twarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* in which the author, Muhammud bin Shadi Muhammud-al-Kanduzi, frequently refers to the reigning soverign Abul Muzaffar Firuz Shah.[24] In the said manuscript it is incorporated rather carelessly, for the original author's name was not removed, in what purports to be an independently written history, named *Tarikh-i-Mufazzali*, by Mufazzal Khan, a late 17th century writer. Mufazzal Khan's crime, however, does not seem to be greater than that of his victim, for, as Rieu noticed, Muhammud bin Shadi's *Khulasat*, at least in the portion plagiarised in the manuscript, is nothing more than a textual transcription, with some omissions and transpositions, of the first half of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, till the year 658-1259, Minhaj's name having been boldly replaced by his own. The value of Muhammud bin

19 *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi*, pp. 36 & 42.

20 iii, p. 270.

21 *Tab. Akb.*, p. 2 (Lucknow ed.)

22 Elliot, viii, p. 2.

23 Ferishta, quoted in Elliot, vi, p. 227.

24 *Catalogue of Pers. MSS. in the Brit, Mus.*, iii, p. 892-3.

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Shadi's work as a contemporary history of Firuz cannot, however, be determined for, unfortunately for us, his whole book was not plagiarised, so that it is impossible to know if he ever wrote anything of his own.

Another work which should probably be ascribed to the 15th century is the *Mulhiqat-i-Tabqat-i-Nasiri* by Ainuddin Bijapuri, obviously a continuation of Minhaj's history. It is frequently referred to by Ferishta, particularly for the Khalji period, but, strangely enough, finds no mention in any other work, not even in the *Tabqat-i-Akbari*. It may be that Ferishta, being a Deccan man, was in a better position to hear of the work which presumably had only a local fame, and so escaped the notice of other writers almost all of whom belonged to the north. Ferishta also refers to a work without specifying the title and ascribes it to a Haji Muhammad Kandhari.[25] Later writers like Sarupchand, author of the *Sahihal-Akbar*[26] and Gulam Husain Salim, author of the *Riyaz-al-Salatin*[27] call it *Tarikh-i-Haji-Muhammad-Kandhari*, and from the quotations made by them it appears to be a general history probably written early in the 15th century. Another general history named *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* by an annonymous writer is cited by Nizamuddin Bakhshi[28] as one of his authorities. It is not mentioned by the other writers except Abdul Haq, the celebrated divine and the author of *Tarikhi-i-Huqqi*, who, curiously enough, avoids naming the author and dismisses it with the following remark, "The *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* is likewise the name of a historical work that somebody composed."[29] A work of that name by Muhammad, son of Bihamad Khan, afterwards Malik-al-Sharq, completed in 842-1438, is however noticed by Rieu[30]

25 *E.g.*, p. 132 (Lucknow ed.)
26 Elliot, viii, p. 314
27 *E. g.*, p. 128.
28 *Tab. Akb.*, p. 3. (Lucknow ed).
29 Elliot, vi, p. 484.
30 *Catal. of Pers. MSS., Br. Mus*, iii, p. 84.

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and it is not improbable that we have here a copy of the history alluded to by Ferishta and Abdul Huq. In the 16th century we hear of another work which was probably named *Tarikh-i-Ajami*, written during the reign of Akbar by an author whose name has not been preserved. It is mentioned and extensively quoted from by Haji Dabir in his Arabic history of Gujrat for events ranging from the 14th to the 15th century. Denison Ross at one time thought it to be identical with the *Burhan-i-Masir*, [31] but this view he has since abandoned.

Of local histories quite a number seems to be still undiscovered. In this connection we have to note a remarkable fact that while we have several contemporary or nearly contemporary records of the western, southern and northern dynasties there is not a single contemporary chronicle, until we come to the British period, for the eastern provinces like Bengal and Behar. If this is due to the destructive climate of these provinces it is strange that none of the works, if there were any at all, were ever known to other writers. It would be no less strange if we have to assume that these Afghan dynasties, who produced able rulers and have left remarkable epigraphic records, never found a writer of merit to record their history. Perhaps the proposed literary history of Bengal by Hakim Habibur Rahman of Dacca which is reported to be in course of preparation will throw some light on this topic. If we trace the chain of sources relating to Bengal from the *Riyaz* backwards we invariably stop at the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, for apart from incidental references in the TN, Barni and TM, we know of no other early work where its history is treated continuously. Where Nizamuddin Bakhshi got his information from is, it seems to me, a mystery, for he mentions no special history of Bengal. He, however, refers to a *Tarikh-i-Ibrahim-Shahi* as one of

[31] p. civ., vol. III, *Ar. His. of Gujrat*, & notes and corrections, p. 37.

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his sources but it is not known by whom it was written and what period it covered ; neither has it been used by any other writer. Niamatullah, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Khan-Jahan-Lodi*,[32] however, used a work of that name by Moulana Mahmud bin Ibrahim Kalwani for his account of the eastern Afghans, and a conjecture may be hazarded here that it was identical with the work referred to by Nizamuddin and was written during the reign of Ibrahim Sharqi of Jaunpur. The *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* testifies to his extensive patronage of learned men who flocked to his court and names several works written at his desire, and it is not unlikely that the *Tarikh-i-Ibrahim Shahi* was also one of them.[33] Mention may also be made here of two other works on the Afghans ascribed to an author whose name does seem to be familiar. They are *Tarikh-i-Sultan Bahlul* and *Tarikh-i-Sher Shah*, both by one Husain Khan Afghan, and are cited only by Sarup Chand, the author of the *Sahih-al-Akhbar*,[34] a late 18th century history.

The rest of the local dynasties, as has been said above, can each boast of at least one contemporary chronicle, some of which are already well-known. The Bahmanies of the Deccan alone were known to have had no less than 4 such works, none of which, so far as I could ascertain, are extant now. Ferishta in his account of Mahmud Shah Bahmani's war with Vijayanagar[35] quotes from a work named *Tuhfatus-Salotin-i-Bahmani* by Mulla Daud Bidari. Fuzuni Astar Abadi, whose work is cited for a variant account of the origin of the Adil Shahis of Bijapur, refers to this work of Mulla Daud Bidari, but does not mention the title. Curiously enough it is not listed in the TA, but Rieu[36] has reason to

32 Elliot, v, p. 70.
33 *Tab-Akb.* (Bib. Ind.), p. 275.
34 Elliot, viii, p. 314.
35 Elliot, vi, p. 230.
36 *Cat. Pers. MSS., Br. Mus.*, Vol. iii, p. 1149.

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place him in the 8th century A.H. A versified history of the Bahmani dynasty, called the *Bahman-Nama*, was known to have been composed by Ali Hamza Azari, who flourished during the reign of Ahmad Shah Bahmani, 825-838,[37] but nothing further is known about it. The *Siraj-al-Tawarikh* of Khawaja Muhammad Lari is yet another work on the Bahmanis utilised both by Ferishta[38] and Nizamuddin Bakhshi[39], the latter stating that it was compiled 67 years ago, that is in 935/1528 A.D. Mulla Muhammad Lari, it appears, was the popular name of a Sadaruddin Md. of Lar, who, according to an entry in the *Haft Iqlim* of Amin Ahmad Razi[40], travelled from Lar, in Persia, to the Bahmani capital in the Deccan where he rose to high dignity and received the title of Afzal Khan. A manuscript in the British Museum[41], however, contains an account of the Bahmanis which is said to be partly based on the *Siraj al-Twarikh* of one Muhammud bin Hasan bin Lutfullah Lari, who, we are told, was a dependent of Muhmud Shah Bahmani (888-924). Of this author there is another work in the Bodleian Library[42], entitled *Safuat al-Akhbar*, begun in 902/1496 and dedicated also to Mahmud Shah Bahmani. It is a general history up to the death of Humayun Shah Bahmani (1482) and stated to be based mostly on an Arabic history entitled *Zubdat al-Twarikh* by an unnamed author, its concluding part relating to the Bahmanis being, according to Ethe, an abridgement of "the same author's larger work, *Sirajal-Twarikh*." A fourth history of the dynasty entitled *Tarikh-i-Bahmani* is cited by Nizamuddin for a statement respecting Ahmad Shah Bahmani's expedition against Vijayanagar.[43] It is also

[37] *Bankipur Cat. of Pers. MSS.*, Vol. xvi, p. 50.
[38] Elliot, vii, p. 231.
[39] Bib. Ind., iii, p. 3.
[40] Ethe, *Cat. Pers. Mss. India Office Library*, Mss. No. 24, no. 266.
[41] Rieu, *Cat. Pers. Mss.* p. 1039.
[42] Ethe, *Cat. Pers. Mss.* No. 35.
[43] *Loc. cit.*, iii, p. 122.

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mentioned by Muhammud Aslam, the author of the *Farhat al-Nazirin*, completed in 1771,[44] but nowhere unfortunately is the author's name given.

Among the provincial dynasties, however, that of Gujrat can easily claim to possess the largest number of contemporary chronicles, for apart from those to be presently described, the number of extant works alone is more than that possessed by any other dynasty. I refer to the two *Mirats*, and the histories of Haji Dabir and Abu Talib Wali. (There is another work in the Bodleian Library, by Syed Mahmud bin Munawwar al-Mulk, entitled *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Gujrat*, covering the period from Ahmad Shah to Muzaffar III, 813-980. Bodleian, 271). Of those that have not yet been recovered, the *Tabaqat-i-Mahmud Shahi Gujrati*, mentioned by the TA,[45] is perhaps the earliest. It was possibly a general history, for Ferishta refers to it on two occasions[46] in his account of the Bahmanis as well as the Syeds of Delhi. Nothing is known about its author but Rieu suggests that the *Tabaqat-i-Mahmud Shahi* is perhaps only a different title of an unnamed work on general history by Faizullah Zain al-Abedin bin Hussam Ziai, known as Sadar Jahan, a fragmentary manuscript of which is preserved in the British Museum.[47] The author of that work incidentally refers to the reigning sovereign Mahmud Shah bin Ahmad Shah (863-917) and the manuscript comes down only to the Ghorids with a reference to the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, although it is supposed to have been brought down to the 9th century A.H. This identification, though plausible enough, does not seem to be beyond doubt for a Paris manuscript of the same author's work, as noticed by Rieu himself[48], bears the title *Tarikh-i-Sadar Jahan* which

44 Elliot, viii, p. 164.
45 P. 3 (Lucknow ed.)
46 Briggs, i, p. 506.
47 Rieu, *loc. cit.*, i, p. 86.
48 *Ibid.*, ii, p. 1079.

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is the name of an entirely different work extensively quoted from as such by Ferishta[49] as well as a later writer.[50] Nizamuddin mentions another work on Mahmud Shah, entitled *Maathir-i-Mahmud Shah Gujrati*, also by an unnamed author who apears to have lived during the early years of that sovereign's reign.[51] It was obviously the same work which was used extensively, under the name of *Tarikh-i-Mahmud Shahi*, by the author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, who makes the following vague statement respecting its date and authorship: "After that (the *Tarikh-i-Ahmad* Shahi) one of the learned men compiled the *Tarikh-i-Mahmud Shahi* in which the accounts of Sultan Muzaffar to Mahmud Begardha were recorded. It was composed during the lifetime of Sultan Mahmud."[52] On this identification the *Maathir-i-Mahmud Shahi* should be ascribed to Abdul Karim Hamadani who, according to Rieu, had long been attached to Khwaja Mahmud Gawan, the celebrated minister of the Bahmanis. An incomplete ms. of what appears to be in substantial agreement with the known particulars of this work but without title or author's name and breaking off immediately after Mahmud's accession is preserved in the British Museum[53] in which the author, who remains anonymous, states that he was born in 847/1443. Bailey[54] also refers to a complete copy of the *Tarikh-i-Gujrat* which was sent to him from Haidarabad, but mentions no author nor the period it covers. The other histories of Gujrat on which the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* was based are three other works to which I have not been able to trace any further reference. They are the *Tarikh-i-Ahmad* Shahi, and the two histories of Muzaffar Shah I and

49 P. I, n. 3, 132.

50 Sarup Chand, *Sahih al-Akhbar*, quoted in Elliot, viii, p. 314.

51 *Loc. cit.*, p. 3.

52 Bombay ed. pp. 1-2.

53 Rieu, *loc. cit.*, iii, p. 966.

54 Bailey, E. C., *Muhammedan Dynasties—Gujrat*, p. vii.

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Muzaffar Shah II, both called *Tarikh-Muzaffar Shahi*[55] The first, we are told, was written by one Hulwi Shirazi in verse, and dealt with selected events of the reigns of Muzaffar and Ahmad Shah. Bailey[56] considered this work as lost but he drew attention to the extensive quotations that are to be found in the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*. He also refers to a large fragment of the *Tarikh-i-Muzaffar Shahi II* which the *Mirat* says was written by a Mulla, preserved in the British Museum which, although incomplete, contains the whole account of Muzaffar's campaign against Malwa undertaken to restore Mahmud Khalji II to the throne. Two other historical works on Gujrat are mentioned by Haji Dabir, the author of the Arabic History of Gujrat. One is the *Tufat al-Sadat* from which he quotes extensively and is ascribed to a person named Aram Kashmir[57], who, according to the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*[58], compiled it for his patron, Syed Mubarak Bukhari, a high official in Mahmud Begardha's court and the head of the influential Bukhari Syeds of Gujrat. Although primarily an account of the Bukhari Syeds, it must have been of sufficient importance as a political history to lead the author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* to remark that after the close of Aram's history (1545) there was no other work on the basis of which the later facts of the reign of Muzaffar III could be recorded.[59] The other work, for quotations and fuller particulars of which we are indebted solely to Haji Dabir, is the *Tabaqat-i-Bahadur Shahi*, also called *Tabaqat-i-Hussam Khani*, by Hussam Khan, who, according to the Haji, "wrote up to the year 940/1534, and then his pen dried up."[60] It must have been a general history, for Haji Dabir depended on it for the

55 *Loc. cit.*, p. 2.

56 *Loc. cit.*

57 *Loc. cit.*, i, pp. 113, 320-326.

58 Quoted in Bailey, *Guzrat*, p. 436.

59 Commissariat, *History of Guzrat*, p. 420.

60 *Loc. cit.*, ii, p. 227.

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periods not covered by the TN and Barani,[61] while Abdul Huq, in an unnamed treatise of his translated by Elliot[62] says that, written after Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi*, it contained "all the rest of the annals of Firuz's reign as well as those of the Gujrat sovereigns." It was perhaps better known as the *Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi* under which name Nizamuddin[63], Abdul Huq, as well as the authors of the later works like the *Tarikh-i-Mamalik-i-Hind*[64] and *Akhbar-i-Muhabbat*[65] refer to a history of Gujrat which, as Denison Ross has shown[66], could be no other than Hussam Khan's *Tabaqat*. It is mentioned once by the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*[67] while the author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* had to depend entirely on this work for the reign of Bahadur Shah. The latter states that its author was the grandson of Muhafiz Khan who, we learn from Haji Dabir, was originally named Jamaluddin Muhammud, son of Malik Shah, and held a high office in Mahmud Begardha's court.[68] It is curious that except Haji Dabir, no one ever cared to mention the author by name, and judging from the intentionally brief references to it, Hussam Khan's history was not probably very popular. A reason of this unpopularity may perhaps be found in the following sentence of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*: "After the *Tarikh-i-Muzaffar Shahi* some one wrote the *Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi*, but in such a style that not a sentence could be understood except by guesswork and inferences."[69] Two other works of a more or less biographical nature but quite valuable for the history of Gujrat are also mentioned by Haji Dabir, and

61 Ross, E. D., Index to the *Arabic History of Guzrat*, p. 84.
62 Elliot, vi. p. 484.
63 *Loc. cit.*, p. 3 (Lucknow ed.)
64 Elliot, viii, p. 201.
65 *Ibid.*, p. 377.
66 *Arabic History of Guzrat*, ii, preface.
67 Idem.
68 *Ibid.*, ii, p. xxviii.
69 *Loc. cit.*, p. 2.

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I have failed to find any reference to their existence at the present day. One is called *Riyaz al-Rizwan fi Maathir-i-Masnad al Ali Asaf Khan* by the famous Arabic author, Ibn Hajar Haihami, and was obviously an official biography of Asaf Khan, Bahadur Shah's prime minister, who was murdered with Mahmud II in 1555.[70] The other is a supplement to this work also in Arabic by Haji Dabir himself who named it *al-Maali al-Masnad al-Ali*.[71] Two little-known histories of the Khaljis of Malwa may be mentioned in conclusion. They are the *Tarikh-i-Mahmud Shahi Mandawi* and the *Tarikh-i-Mahmud Shahi Khurd Mandawi*, included in Nizamuddin's bibliography,[72] and were obviously named after Abul Muzaffar Mahmud Shah Khalji (839-873) and Mahmud Shah bin Nasir Shah Khalji, the contemporary of Muzaffar III of Gujrat. No further reference is made to them subsequently and their authorship will perhaps never be established. In the Bodleian Library, there is what appears to be a unique copy of a work on Abul Muzaffar Mahud Shah of Malwa, entitled *Maathir-i-Mahmud Shahi*, which may, however, prove to be identical with the first-named work. The author who calls himself Ali bin Mahmud al-Kirmani, and was known as Shihab Hakim, was in the service of Mahmud and says that he wrote the present work at the command of his successor Ghiyasuddin bin Mahmud.[73]

[70] *Arabic History of Guzrat*, iii, p. 36.

[71] Idem.

[72] *Tab. Akb.* p. 3 (Lucknow ed.)

[73] Ethe, *Cal. Pers. Mss. at the Bodleian Library*, No. 270.

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26

ALAUDDIN'S MARKET REGULATIONS

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Alauddin has been called the greatest despot of the medieval period of Indian History. He is represented as riding rough-shod over centuries-old ideals and over the cherished rights of the masses and classes. His courage and ruthlessness have become proverbial. Barani charges him with ' having shed mere blood than Pharaoh is guilty of.' And yet if we attempt to analyse the events of his reign a very different story unfolds itself. Perhaps no Sultan of that age listened more attentively to the advice and suggestions of his prominent officials than Alauddin. When Ataul-Mulk told him that ' religion is the concern of prophets and its foundation relates to revelation', he immediately brushed aside his fond dreams. Again, on the advice of the same person he substituted for the scheme of world-conquest, a scheme for the conquest of India. Indeed, rare were the occasions when in moments of crises, he did not summon the council of his ministers or reject their suggestions. The only recorded instance of his dissenting with the Kotwal was when he was asked to play a waiting game in the face of the assembled hosts of Qutlugh Khwaja. And for this he adduced cogent reasons, the strongest of them being the prospects of the loss of Imperial prestige.

Alauddin succeeded in his calculations. He had to pay dearly for the victory, but enormous was the gain in

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proportion to the sacrifice of Zafar Khan. This, however, did not stop the Mongols from repeating these adventures which provided much food for thought to the Sultan. If Barani is to be believed, it is evident that for days and nights in succession Alauddin discussed the plans of preventing the Mongol invasions. And it was in consultation with his advisers that he decided to recruit a large army, which in its turn brought him face to face with the problem of maintaining it at the lowest possible cost.

This is the genesis of Alauddin's market regulations. They were not conceived in a mere dare-devil spirit but were the result of sound deliberation. The eight clauses of these regulations display a breadth of vision which is almost modern in character. Barani has enumerated them without completely grasping their significance. He was more concerned with the result of these regulations rather than with their importance. The first and the greatest wonder of the ten wonders of the reign of Alauddin, according to him, was 'the cheapness of grain, cloth, and other necessities of life, which did not vary even when there was scarcity of rainfall ; and while the Sultan was alive cheapness of rates was not disturbed.' (Barani, p. 338).

Reverting to the eight regulations, this analysis shows that circumstanced as the Sultan and his advisers were, they took every conceivable precaution against unscrupulous manœuvering to frustrate the object of the State. When these regulations were conceived and enacted, war conditions prevailed in the Empire. At Delhi on more occasions than one, in the face of Mongol invasions, when there was terrible overcrowding and when 'streets became impassable,' scarcity of food had been experienced. The entire commercial activity was either controlled by native merchants or by rich Multanis, both in their turn depending on the assistance and co-operation of the '*Kaevanians*' or carriers who supplied the stuffs. Human nature being the

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same, it is likely, nay it is almost certain, that these agencies of supply and distribution attempted to profit themselves enormously at the expense and to the inconvenience of both the people and the State. They must have resorted to practices which to-day are known by the designations of 'speculation' and 'cornering.'

Regulation number five says that 'a general order against regulating of corn was issued, and it remained so steady during the Alai reign that no one class of persons from amongst the merchants, the village contractors (بد هاران), and the baniyas, etc., could possibly regulate corn even to the extent of a maund.' (Barani p. 307). 'And if regulated corn was discovered it was forfeited to the state and the culprit was severely flogged. The officers of Diwan-i-Ala took agreements from the *nawabs* and *karkuns* of the Doab that they would not permit even a single individual to regulate corn, and if any one was discovered having done it, the *naib* and *mutsarrif* shall be held guilty and they shall have to answer to the state for their conduct.'

From the foregoing description it would be clear that the greatest evil which the state had to guard against was the practice of cornering so freely indulged in by merchants. And this reminds one of the difficulties of our present government. The moment war was declared merchants began to behave in the traditional way. Six hundred years ago their only concern was to make money and so it is to-day. But Alauddin and his advisers were far more daring. They not only passed a pious act for the control of prices but did something which was far more effective. But this was perhaps due to the limited area to which their regulations were to be applied. They were meant for Delhi only. This, however, by no means takes away even an ista from the credit which belongs to Alauddin for displaying extraordinary courage and comprehension He not only laid down a schedule of prices and rates, but he also made a thorough

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arrangement for the supply of provisions and for the control of markets. And the present government will be well advised if it examines the regulations which were enacted so many centuries ago.

Another point in connection with these regulations to which attention must needs be drawn is that by their very nature they were intended to be temporary. That they continued to be enforced throughout the reign was due to the fact that war conditions continued to obtain in India during the entire period of Alauddin's sovereignty.

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27

THE HISTORICITY OF THE LOVE ROMANCE—DAUL RANI *WA* KHIZR KHAN.

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Hindus and Mussalmans have of late become rather touchy and often unreasonable in regard to historical criticism. Hindus do not like Hindu women falling in love with Mussalmans even in the pages of past history. So one Hindu critic of Amir Khusrau and his poem *Daul Rani wa Khizr Khan* has, we should say, very uncharitably, attributed the fabrication of the love romance to the poet's Islamic bias and prejudice and hatred against Hindus. He has attempted to prove that Deval Rani was a fictitious character. According to this writer Amir Khusrau perhaps distorted an actual historical fact. There is a Hindi epic *Hammir Raso*, and also a Sanskrit epic *Hammira Mahakavya* which mention one Devalla Devi, a daughter of the famous hero Hamir Chauhan of Ranthambhar; Alauddin demanded this princess as the bride of his son under the threat of war; Devalla Devi was willing to sacrifice herself for the welfare of her father's kingdom; but the Rajput chief's wrath flared up at her suggestion; Hamir consigned the women folk to the flames of Jauhar and died fighting with desperate valour. It is quite possible, this writer says,

अमीर खुसरो ने अपने स्वामी की निराशा को जलन को, देवलदेवी और राजा कर्ण के नाम को बदनाम करके इस महाकाव्य (देवलराणी ओया खिजिर खाँ) का कथानक गढ़कर, मिठाने का प्रयत्न किया। [1]

[1] Jagan Lal Gupta, introduction, *Daul Rani wa Khizr Khan.*

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This is nothing but prejudice running amock. No student of history with a grain of sense in him would admit that Amir Khusrau who had been almost an eye-witness of what happened at Ramthambhar and outlived the Khalji dynasty is less trustworthy than the author of *Hammira Mahakavya* written 47 years after the incident simply because one happens to be a Muslim, the other a Hindu. On the contrary the *Hamir Raso* and *Hammira Mahakavya* are sad illustrations of the short memory of Hindus regarding their own history and sorry attempts to hide historical ignorance behind the veil of fiction.

We should however, draw the attention of historians to the following facts that give rise to legitimate doubt regarding the authenticity of Devalrani-Khizr Khān episode :

(*i*) Ziauddin Barani, the earliest independent writer who derived most of his information from his uncle Ala-ul-Mulk, and also read Amir Khusrau's work, says that Rai Karan of Gujrat fled for shelter to Ramdeva of Deogiri and that his *wives and daughters* (*Zānān wa dokhtaran-i-u*) fell into the hands of the army of Islam. (Text, p. 251, Bib. Ind.).

(*ii*) Sixty years after Ziauddin Barani another historian, Yahaya Seirhindi, writes in *Tarikh-i-Mukarakshahi* : " At the approach of Ulugh Khan the Rai..... .....was defeated and the country sacked : the Khan captured twenty elephants, ran in pursuit of the Rai so far as Somnath" (Text, p. 76).

(*iii*) The next reliable authority, Nizamuddin Ahmad, in his *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* repeats almost *verbātim* the language of Barani with only the interpolation of the name (perhaps transferred incautiously) from the marginal note of some Mss. to the text itself. The passage reads as follows : *Zanan wa* dokhtaran *Devalrani bā khazana wa* fil *ba-dast*-i-lashkar uflād.

Nizamuddin knew enough Persian as not to make such ungrammatical construction : he would have certainly added

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after *dokhtaran* "*ke eke az ān Devalrani nām darad*," if he intended to transmit the name of any princess.

(*iv*) We rule out of consideration, the gossipy Badayuni who quotes unsuspectingly Amir Khusrau's *Daulrani wa Khizr Khan* as if it was not a poem but a sober history. Ferishta and others who follow suit deserve even less consideration.

(*v*) Forbe's *Rasmala* or History of Gujrat contains a Hindu legend regarding the fate of Rai Karan; but there is no mention of his daughters or wives Devalrani and Kamala Devi. Muslim histories of Gujrat such as *Tarikh-i-Ahmadi* merely repeat Amir Khusrau's love story.

So the Devalrani story appears to have originated with Amir Khusrau who had no other motive except that of creating a heroine for his epic. I have discussed at length elsewhere that *Devalrani wa Khizr Khan* is not even a historical romance. It belongs to the same class of works as *Yusuf wa Zulaikha, Shirin wa Farhad*. Wrong translations by Elliot and Dowson of some extracts have given rise to a wrong notion that Amir Khusrau was given a Ms. of this love epic composed by Khizr Khan at whose request the poet rendered it into Persian.

I have simply set the ball rolling and it is expected that a thorough examination of this controversy will be taken up by some able scholar.

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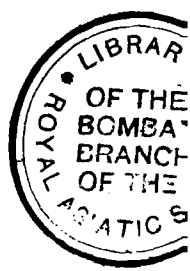

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SECTION IV

MUGHUL PERIOD SECTION

(Including Early Maratha-Sikh History)

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

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GENTLEMEN,

My first word must be that of gratitude to the organisers of the Indian History Congress for the honour they have done me in electing me President of the section on the Mughul period of Indian History. I am fully aware of the fact that there is a number of historians in our country who have devoted their great talents to the study of the period, who have deservedly acquired high reputation in the world of scholarship, and who, on account of their solid achievements, are much worthier than I to fill this position; if, then, the choice has fallen on me, I attribute it to the desire to give prominence to an aspect of history which, although of ever-abiding interest, needs to be especially emphasized to-day. I mean the history of Indian culture.

Now, before I speak about the period which extends roughly from the end of the fifteenth to the end of the eighteenth century, I believe it will be useful to say a word regarding its position in the chain of epochs which constitute the history of India; for, to understand any one period, it is necessary to know its relations with those preceding it, and with the underlying continuity which finds varied expression in them. I have no doubt that unbiased historians will agree that Indian culture is unique. There is no living culture which can compare with it in age, with the possible exception of the Chinese. For, of its original contemporaries, the Iranian and the Egyptian have scarcely retained any vestiges

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of their early forms, and the Graeco-Roman has become completely merged in the modern European; only the culture of China still maintains its continuity with the past, which is as hoary as that of India.

Again, out of a score or so of cultures which attained any degree of distinctness in world history, only four survive to-day—Indic, Sinic, Arabic and European. Although each of these has its own basic conceptions of man and of the universe, and each has made a distinct contribution to the understanding of their nature and relations, it is no exaggeration to say that the difference between the first and the last is more fundamental than that among the others; so much so that it has become as much a dogma of scientific sociology as a refrain of poetry. In fact, there is no gainsaying the overwhelming impression of distinctness which the two make on the mind.

Another feature of our culture is the extraordinary capacity which it has manifested in responding to the numerous challenges which it has received during the course of its long career. China, Central Asia, Persia, Arabia, and ancient and modern Europe, have tested the vitality of Indian culture; and, while they succeeded in casting the cultures of other peoples and countries in their peculiar moulds, transforming or obliterating the peculiarities of the latter, they found in India an amazing resilience. For, while India accepted much from them, she retained nevertheless the essential continuity with her past.

The basic fact about every culture is the balance which it effects between the demands of the inner world of spirit and the outer world of nature, of the real and the actual, the eternal and the transient. So far as our culture is concerned, one has to admit that wonder regarding the secrets of the unfathomable world inside has been far more active than curiosity about the time-space universe which surrounds us from without. In the result, we have produced science,

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philosophy, art, literature, and religion, which express the abundant wealth of inner experience and illumine the secret recesses of the human spirit. Let me give one illustration of this tendency, which concerns widely separated epochs of our history.

The first instance of this tendency is furnished by the earliest culture whose remains have been unearthed in the Indus valley. Take the statue of the three-faced god who is seated on a low throne, with legs bent double beneath him, heel to heel, and toes turned downwards. His arms are outstretched, his hands with thumbs to the front resting on his knees, and the lower limbs bare. Or, take the head of the male statue with its eyes concentrated on the tip of the nose, wearing robes adorned with a trefoil pattern. No one can fail to recognize in these the typical attitude of Yoga.

Two thousand years later, the Bhagavad-Gitā describes in glowing verse a similar attitude :

शुचौ देशे प्रतिष्ठाप्य स्थिरमासनमात्मनः ।
नात्युच्छ्रितं नातिनीचं चैलाजिनकुशोत्तरम् ॥
तत्रैकाग्रं मनः कृत्वा यतचित्तेन्द्रियक्रियः ।
उपविश्यासने युञ्ज्याद् योगमात्मविशुद्धये ॥
समं कायशिरोग्रीवं धारयन्नचलं स्थिरः ।
संप्रेक्ष्य नासिकाग्रं स्वं दिशश्चानवलोकयन् ॥
प्रशांतात्मा विगतभीर्ब्रह्मचारिव्रते स्थितः ।
मनः संयम्य मच्चित्तो युक्त आसीत मत्परः ॥
यथा दीपो निवातस्थो नेंगते सोपमा स्मृता ।
योगिनो यतचित्तस्य युंजतो योगमात्मनः ॥
प्रशांतमनसं ह्येनं योगिनं सुखमुत्तमम् ।
उपैति शांतरजसं ब्रह्मभूतमकल्मषम् ॥ [1]

[*Bhagavad-Gitā*, Chap. VI.]

[1] " In a pure place, established on a fixed seat of his own, neither very much raised nor very low, made of a cloth, a black antelope and *kusha* grass, one over the other; there having made the mind one pointed, with thought and the functions of the

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Another two thousand years pass, and we read in the Akbarnāma of what happened on May 23, 1578 :

آن طلب‌گار حقیقت درین بادیه فراخ گام جریائي زدی و به نزهت گاه صید افگني باخود هنگامه رزم داشتی - و جایهای تنزه و مرزهای دلکشاي صفوت کده نیایش را فروغ یکتائي بخشیدی - و چون جویندگي یا بندگي در پی دارد چراغ دیده زري افروخته شد - و شگرف نشاطی آن پیکر قدسي را فرو گرفت - جذبه شناخت ایزدي پر تو انداخت - گویائي آن را نیروی عادتیان کوتاه همت بر نه تابد و بر دانای روشن ضمیر راه بدان نتواند برد [2]

The sculpture of Mohenjodaro, the poetry of the Song Celestial, and the sonorous prose of Abul Fazl find support in Pātanjalī's aphorisms, which constitute at once the philosophy of an abiding Indian experience and the programme of Indian contemplation. With the key we may open the locked doors of many a hall in the spacious mansion of our culture.

Lest I may be misunderstood, let me hasten to add that although inwardness is the dominant note of Indian culture, the epochs of its development are marked with a growing

senses subdued, steady on his seat, he should practice Yoga for the purification of the self. Holding the body, head and neck erect, immovably steady, looking fixedly at the point of the nose, with unseeing gaze, the self serene, fearless, firm in the vow of the Brahmachārī, the mind controlled, thinking on Me, harmonised, let him sit aspiring after Me. As a lamp in a windless place flickereth not, to such is likened by the Yogī of subdued thought, absorbed in the Yoga of the self. Supreme joy comes to this Yogī whose mind is peaceful, whose passionate nature is calmed, who is sinless and has identified himself with the Eternal."

[2] That seeker after truth struck the pace of enquiry into this wide expanse (of the heart) and in the pleasance of chase carried on the struggle with his own self. He imparted the light of uniqueness of the pure spots and attractive fields of the selected abode of bliss. And as search and discovery are inter-related, the lamp of sight was lighted, and a strange ecstasy overtook the heavenly person. The passion of discernment of the Divine cast its shadow. Its description is beyond the power of those who are unaccustomed to high resolves, and wise men of enlightened conscience cannot find a way to it.

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reception and recognition of the outward. In fact, the subjective, abstract, undefined and impersonal, have been gradually overlaid with the objective, concrete, definitive, and individualized. It is not possible in this address to collect all the evidence which is necessary to sustain this thesis. What I shall, however, endeavour to do, is to draw attention to facts relating to the period of Mughul rule, which indicate the stage reached in this transformation.

The impression which the study of the Mughul period produces on the mind is that of extraordinary exuberance, of intense movement in the field of practical affairs, of enormous fertility in the fields of art and of letters, and of remarkable abundance of striking personalities which crowd upon the stage of history. This tremendous release of the springs of our energy was the result of two factors, the gradually rising potential of the ancient cultural impulse after the depression caused by the early conquests of the Turkish invaders, and the impact of the forces originating in Central Asia. The result was the emergence of new forms in India.

What we notice about the new culture is that it is organic in character, for the new conceptions inspire all its departments equally, that these new conceptions are based on a mutual exchange of ideas between the old inhabitants of the country and the newcomers, and that institutions of society are as much affected by this movement of assimilation as creations of the mind—science, philosophy, art, literature, religion.

Let me deal with some of the latter. Take the sciences first, for scientific thought is basic to all else. It is well-known that Hindu mathematicians highly developed several branches of their science. They showed characteristically special aptitude in the abstract science of number, actual and symbolical, with the result that Arithmetic and Algebra attained far greater perfection in India than in any contemporary or earlier civilization. In Arithmetic, the Hindus

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were the inventors of the zero, the numeral notation, the positional system, and many of the methods of the four fundamental operations, and the checks on these operations. In Algebra, they were the first to use the concepts of negative quantities and irrational numbers, to invent the general method of solving indefinite equations, and the cyclic method of solving quadratic equations. These are regarded by historians of Mathematics as the greatest achievements before Lagrange in the 17th century. They worked at Geometry, Conic Sections and Trigonometry also, but according to Cajori, " Hindu Trigonometry is meritorious, but rests on Arithmetic more than on Geometry, . . . on the other hand, their Geometry was merely Mensuration, unaccompanied by demonstration." It is empirical and intuitive, working without the apparatus of definitions, postulates, axioms and proofs, and is mainly concerned with the areas of triangles and quadrilaterals.

On the contrary, Muslim mathematicians evolved a geometrical bent of mind. They studied the works of Euclid and Apollonious and other Greek geometricians, and so it came to pass that while they excelled the Hindus in Geometry, they remained far behind in Algebra. The difference between the two is brought out in the solution of quadratic equations, for, whereas the Hindus solved them by the analytical method, the Muslims employed Geometry for the same purpose.

Trigonometry, which is so nearly allied to Geometry, and which has such a close bearing on Astronomy, was studied by the Hindus, who, however, employed chords, sines, versed sines, and cosines mainly, and computed trigonometrical tables of these functions. But the Arabs first made real use of tangents, cotangents, secants and cosecants, and drew up the tangent tables.

In Astronomy as well, the difference between the points of view of the Hindus and the Muslims was considerable, the

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first laying stress upon the theoretical and calculatory, and the second upon the practical and objective or observational aspects. The astronomical instruments mentioned in Sanskrit works, are the sun-dial, consisting of a vertical gnomon, and the clepsydra, while the armillary sphere is described only for purposes of demonstration. The Arabs, on the other hand, built fine observatories and devised improved instruments to correct and verify the observations of their predecessors; especially did they labour on the astrolabe to make it perfect.

From early times the mathematical ideas of the two began to exercise influence upon each other, but during the Mughul period this movement attained its greatest height. We find Muslims eager to acquaint themselves with the work of the Hindus and the latter returning the compliment with equal ardour. Among the treatises which were translated from Sanskrit into Persian we find mention of the following: First among them is Bhāskarāchāryya's Siddhānta Śiromani, consisting of the four parts, Līlāvatī, Bijaganita, Grahaganita, and Golādhyāya. They were all appropriated in Persian compilations and translations. Līlāvatī was translated by Faizi, and Bijaganita (Algebra) by Ataullah Rashīdī. Dastūrul' amal by an unknown writer contains an account of Hindu Astronomy and Zubdatul Qawānīn by Harsukh Rai Sahgal of Hindu Arithmetic. Bada'iul Funūn, another arithmetical book based on Līlāvatī, was translated by Medinī Mal. Tanjīm and Burhānul Kifāyat by anonymous authors and Anwārul Nujūm by Qubūl Muhammad Ansārī on Hindu Astronomy and Hukmur Riyāzī by Muhammad Zamān were books on Mathematics and Astronomy; so were Risālā dar 'Ilmi Najūm and Jadwal Sittīn Buzurg by Muhammad Bāqar Yazdī. Burhānul Ikhtiyārāt dar Ta'yīni Sāa't ba tarīq Hunūd and'Uyūnud Dīn Shāh's Risālāh-i-Nujūm were translations of Ratna Mālā. Bahāud Dīn Āmilī, whose Khulāstul Hisāb was one of the

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most popular text-books in those times, borrowed the rule of nine for checking the accuracy of multiplication from Hindu treatises. Humayun, the astronomer king, whose devotion to the lore of the stars was the cause of his untimely death, so much absorbed the Hindu atmosphere as to order the wearing of robes of different colours on different days of the week, corresponding to the colour of the presiding planet of the day. At Akbar's instance Hakim Fathullāh Shīrāzī translated Zīj-i-Mirzaī into Sanskrit.

On the other side we have treatises in Sanskrit and Hindi showing the influence of Arab science. Weber, in his History of Indian Literature, points out the numerous technical terms which Hindu astronomers borrowed from Arabic without much change in their shape. Dutt and Singh in the history of Hindu Mathematics refer to the Gelosia method (Kapāt Sandhi) which appears in Ganesha's Gaṇita Manjarī, a commentary on Līlāvatī written in the 16th century. The method appears first in the writings of Al Bannā (13th century) and Abū Zakarīyā al Hassār (12th century). We have also an astrological work for calculating auspicious days (muhūrtas), bearing the title Jyotirvidābharaṇa (16th century) and ascribed to one Kālidāsa, which shows Arab influence. Kamalākara's Siddhānta Tattva Viveka shows knowledge of Muslim Astronomy. Mathurānāth Sukla wrote the Jyotish Siddhāntasāra in Benares by the order of Rāja Dālachandra in 1778, drawing his materials chiefly from Arabic sources. There is a number of works in Sanskrit which deal with the influence of the stars on the life of man and seek to forecast the events of the year. They bear the title of Tājika Sāstra. Among the authors occur the names of Keshava (Tājika Paddhati), Haribhatta (Tajikasāra), Sūrya (Tājika Alaṅkāra), Nīlkantha (Todarānanda), Govinda (Risālā), Bālkrishna (Tājika Kaustubha), etc.

But the outstanding name in the field of Astronomy is that of Mirza Rājā Sawāi Jai Singh (born in 1693), under

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whose enlightened patronage Arabic astronomical works were translated into Sanskrit. He was himself an excellent mathematician and astronomer, and, at his instance, Pandit Jagannath translated from the Arabic Ptolemy's Almagest (Siddhāntasāra Kaustubha), and Nayana Sukh Upādhyāya rendered Euclid's Geometry into Sanskrit (Rekhāgaṇita). Nasiruddin Tūsi's work on the use of circular instruments was rendered from Arabic into Sanskrit under the title of Katara. Jai Singhs' chief aim, however, was to correct the calculations of the astronomical tables then in existence, and for this purpose he erected five wonderful observatories, at Jaipur, Delhi, Muttra, Ujjain and Benares and compiled the Zīj-i-Muhammad Shāhī.

We find also dictionaries of Arabic-Sanskrit technical terms evidently to help the learners to understand Arabic scientific terms. For instance, the Pārasī Jātakam which begins thus :

यदा महातापो भवेत माळषाने मिरीषोऽथवा मुस्तरी वस्त षाणे ।

and the Pārasi Prakāsha which was compiled by Vedānga Rāya under the patronage of Shah Jahan.

In Hindi also works were compiled on Mathematics, Astronomy and Astrology, on the basis of Persian and Arabic books. Instances are the Mata Chandra (on Astronomy) of Fateh Singh, who is also the author of Dastūr Malaka, a book on acountancy, of Muhram which described the method of forecasting the events of the year, and of Guṇa Prakāsha (on Mathematics); Hari Prasad's Hisāb; Sāthik on Astronomy; and other books furnish other instances.

If we consider the other sciences we find similar tendencies. In medicine we have translations of Sanskrit treatises into Persian, e.g., Bodleian MSS., 1615 ; Tibb-i-Hindi of Hakīm Ahasanullāh Khan; M'adan us Shifā-i-Sikandarī compiled by Bhuvah bin Khawās Khan from

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Indian sources and divided into three parts, (1) Sūtra Sthāna, (2) Sārīrika Sthāna, and (3) Nidāna Chikitsā: Dastūrul-itibbā by Muhammad Qāsim Hindu Shāh Farishta, which is a compendium according to the Indian systems; Tālif-i-Sharīf by Hakim Muhammad Sharīf Khān; Tuhfatul Mumnin of Muhammad Momin ul Husaini Tanakbūni who mentions the treatises of Bahar (Vāgbhata), Jarak (Charaka), Mastchuk (unidentified), Bhojadeva and Suśruta.

Indian drugs were described by Mullā 'Alī bin Husain al Ansārī in the Ikhtiyārāt-i-Bad'i-i, by Nāfi ul Siddiqī al Jayasī in his Anīsul-itibbā, and by S. Abdul Fath Namkīn in Bustān Afroz; and parts of the human body and drugs were given in Arabic and Hindi by Aithippa in Tibb-i Bahrī-o-Barrī. Veterinary science is represented by Farasnāmas of Ibn Sayid Abul Husain Hāshimī and 'Abdullāh Khān, by Salihotra of 'Abdullāh bin Safī who lived at Gulbarga during the reign of Ahmad Shāh Walī Bahmanī, and of Khwāja 'Abdullāh of Jahangir's reign, and by Gajrājnāmā and Fīlnāmā, etc. Treatises in Sanskrit dealing with the classification and characteristics of women and their diseases were often rendered into Persian. We meet with Muhammad Quli Jāmī's Koka Sāstra (1626-27 A.D.), Miftāh us-Surūr-i-i 'Adil Shāhī by Mahmud Ayāz, and Khulāsatul 'Aish-i-'Alam Shahī.

On the other hand, the Arabic and Persian works were either translated or utilized in Sanskrit and Hindi compilations. I give a few names below: Hikamat Prakāsha by Mahādeva Bhatta, Lakshmanotsava by Laksmana, son of Amar Singh, Todarānanda, Rasa Ratnākar by Pahar Saiyyad, Vaidyaka by Lukmān, Qarābā-dīn-i-Shifāī, Tibb, Ilāj Pārasī Prakāsh, and Tibb-Sikandarī translated by Tikā Rām.

In the Sanskrit treatises of the 16th and subsequent centuries, distinct traces of the influence of Arab medicine and ancillary sciences are found. Rāsapradīpa, Rasa Kaumudī, Bhāvaprakāsha, Dhātukriyā, and Arkaprakāsha, which were

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compiled in the 16th and later centuries, not only mention the fell disease which the Europeans introduced into India about this time, but also new drugs like Chob Chīnī, Mausilī, Pārasīka, 'Akarkarha, etc. Again Mādhava's Rasakaumudī, Govinda Dāsa's Bhaishajya Ratnāvalī and other works describe the preparation of mineral acids and use the newly coined term "drāvaka" (solvent) for them. There is no doubt that "the regular application of the mineral acids to technical operations dates from the time of the Emperor Akbar or perhaps a little earlier." (P. C. Ray: History of Hindu Chemistry, p. 187.)

It will not be out of place to mention here that encyclopædic treatises containing accounts of many sciences were rendered from one language to another. Instances are the Bhūpāl Sāstra by an unknown author, which is a Persian encyclopædia of general information regarding Hindu sciences (MS., Edinburgh, 326), Majmū'a of Gangā Bishan Kaul dealing with Hindu mythology, customs, practices, etc., in Persian and Hindustani (MS., A.S.B., 1717), Tuhfatul Hind of Mirzā Khān bin Fukhruddīn Muhammad which contains a description of Pingala, Tuka, Alankāra, Sringāra, Sangīta, Koka, and Sāmudrika (MSS., Khudā Bakhsh Library, Nos. 911-912). Other works like Shāhid-i-Sādiq of Muhammad Sadiq Azādanī (K.B. Library, 913) and Farhang-i-Aurangshāhī by Hidāyat Ullah (MS., A. S. B., 1367) deal with Indian subjects, *e.g.*, Prāṇāyāma, minerals, plants and animals of India.

Of the Arabic encyclopædic works which were translated into Persian and of Persian works compiled on their lines in India which were studied both by the Hindus and by the Muslims, Jawāhir ul 'Ulūm-i-Humāyūnī by Muhammad Fāzil Samarqandī, 'Uqul 'Ushra of Muhammad Barārī Ummī (Shah Jahan's reign). and translations of Mujmil ul Hikmat of Imām Majrītī of Maghribī, Dānish Nāmā-i-A'laī of Ibn-i-Sīnā, Jami' ul U'lūm of Fakhruddīn Rāzī, Durratut Tāj of Qutub Uddin

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Mahmūd Shīrazī, Nafais ul funūn fi 'Arāisul 'Uyūn of Muhammad Amilī, were best known.

Another group of books, which may be classified as pseudo-science or nescience (the Kullahu Sirrun of the Arabic classifications), flourished like noxious weeds choking the fair fields of knowledge and wisdom. Under this head may be counted such subjects as astrology, horoscopy, geomancy, palmistry, physiognomy, phrenology, interpretation of dreams, magic, etc. A list of books in Persian, Sanskrit and Hindi could be compiled showing how a fusion had taken place among the two communities so far as the study of these was concerned. Utter futility and sheer waste of mental energy as this literature exhibits, it is nevertheless an interesting expression of the common attitudes and ways of thought that prevailed in India in the period I am considering.

But let me pass on to subjects worthier of our attention and of really greater intrinsic value. First among them shall I take literature. The first thing that strikes us about it is its abundance. It appears as if the floodgates of creative energy were thrown wide open; and, whether the medium of expression is Persian or some form of Hindi, an ever-increasing flow presses onwards. Poets, story-writers, historians, biographers, belle-lettrists in numbers almost beyond count, contribute to this profusion. All communities are represented among the writers, and, although it is true that the proportion of Muslim authors in Hindi and allied languages and of Hindus in Persian is, for obvious reasons, unequal, it is surprising that the number of Muslim Hindi writers and of Hindu Persian writers is so large. And it is not merely a matter of quantity, for the quality of literature produced, judged from the highest standards of literary criticism, is amazingly high. We find also that the credit for attaining such standards is shared by the two communities in either field.

Whatever other factors may have been responsible for this tremendous output, there is no doubt whatever that the

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enlightened patronage, the broad sympathies, and the inexhaustible generosity of the Mughul Emperors, their princes, noblemen and governors, and of the independent and feudatory Rajas, powerfully stimulated the growth of this literature. In fact, during this period, the Mughul courts became the lodestone towards which artists, poets and literary men were attracted from far and near. In the present times of national backwardness and of intellectual and material poverty, it does one's heart good to read what foreigners seeking our hospitality thought of our country. Says Sāib :

هم چو عـــزم سفـــر هند که در هر دل هست
رقص سودای تو در هیچ سری نیست که نیست

Abu Tālib Kalīm :

اسیر هنـــدم و زین رفتن بیجا پشیمـانم
کجا خواهد رساندن پر فشانی مرغ بسمل را
بایران مي رود نالان کلیم از شوق هم راهان
بپای دیگران هم چون جرس طی کرده منزل را
ز شوق هند زان سان چشم حیرت بر قفا دارم
که رو هم گر براه آرم نمي بینم مقابل را

'Alī Qulī Salīm :

نیست در ایران زمین سامان تحصیل کمـــال
تـا نیامد سوی هندوستان حنـا رنگین نه شد

Kausarī :

در ایران تلخ گشته کام جانم * به باید شد سوی هندوستانم

And Shikebī Isfahānī :

بیـــا ساقي آب حیـوان بـده * ز سر چشمه خان خانان بـده
سکنـدر طلب کـرد لیکن نیـافت * که درهند بود او به ظلمت شتافت

But these courts extended their welcome not only to poets from Samarkand, Bukhara, Iran and Khorasan, but also to poets of the land who composed their works in the Hindi

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languages. Many of the greatest among them found in the Mughuls their supporters. Akbar patronised Sūr, Harī Dāsa Swāmī, Ganga Bhatta, Bāna, Narharī, Parmananda, Mādho and others; Jahangir patronised Keshab Misra, Mohan Sahaj Sanehī and Usman. The Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī record, the award of an elephant to a Hindi poet introduced to him by Rājā Sūraj Singh. Shahjahan's proteges were Sundar Kavi, Śiromani Miśra and Banārsi Dāsa. Aurangzeb showed favour to poets like Mati Ram, Vrinda and Kālidāsa Trivedi, and even Bhuṣan, the great panegyrist of Shivaji, is said to have been present for some time at the Emperor's court. Many Hindu poets served 'Āzam, Mu'azzam and Farrukhsiyar. But among the later Mughuls no one showed greater appreciation for Hindi poets than Muhammad Shah, who was the patron of Ānand Ghan, Surati Miśra, Jugal Kishor and Ghanānanda. The Mughul nobility worthily headed by Abdur Rahīm Khān Khānān, himself a Hindi poet of the first rank, imitated the good example of their Emperors, but it is not possible to give a complete list of all of them here. One illustration will suffice. Saiyid Rahmat Ullah who was the Hākim of Jājmau during Aurangzeb's reign and who was very fond of Hindi poetry besides being a profound scholar and meritorious poet, received the celebrated Chintāmaṇi, brother of Bhuṣan and Mati Ram, and conferred upon him robes and other gifts. Chintamaṇi composed in his praise the following *kavita*:

गरब गह सिंध ज्यों सबल गल गाज मन प्रबल गाजबाज दलसाज धायो।
बजत इक जमक घमक दुन्दुभिन की तरंग खरधमक भूतल हिलायो।
बिरथ कहत हिय कम्प डर जोर सनसैन को सोर चहुं ओर छायो।
कहो चलपाइ तज नाहस्नाह यह रहमत अल्लाह सरनाय आयो॥

The literature which was produced in these times possessed certain common characteristics which throw much light upon the cultural and social relation of the Indian peoples. Among these characteristics some have reference

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to what may be called the formal aspects of literature, and others to its contents. Among the former we may consider language, versification and mannerism; and, in the latter, classification, themes, subjects and spirit of literature.

So far as the problem of language is concerned, the give and take between the Persian and Hindustani languages was mutual. On the one hand, the language of Persian writers became Indianized, their vocabulary absorbed many Hindi words and idioms, and their diction was affected by Indian ways of thought and expression—so much so that an Indian Persian style, distinct from the native Persian, was evolvod. Similar developments occurred in the Indian languages. Before the Mughul rule had been established, Rājasthānī in the west and Magadhī in the east were the media of literary expression in Northern India. These languages were gradually giving way to Braj Bhāshā, Avadī and Bundelī, and along with them the *patois* of Delhi, later known as Kharī Bolī, was being transformed in the Deccan, Gujrat and other provinces of Delhi Sultanate into a literary language to which the name Urdu has been applied.

As illustrations of these tendencies, take the Humayun Nāmā of Gulbadan Begum. Dr. A. S. Siddiqi has compiled a long list of Hindi words which are to be found in this work which was produced quite early in the period (*vide* Jha Commemoration Volume), and he remarks, "some of the Indian words used by the Princess surprise the reader, and the only inference to be drawn is that the early Mughul invaders adopted Indian manners and customs readily and without prejudice." Nor does the Humayun Nāmā stand alone, for the same kind of infusion is found in other books.

On the other hand, Mr. R. P. Dewhurst collected over 90 Arabic and Persian words in the seven hundred odd couplets of Bihari Lal's Satsai (J.R.A.S., 1915), and

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Pandit Ambika Prasad Bajpai has shown that several thousand such words have become enshrined in Hindi works. In this connexion it is interesting to note the *jeux de ésprit* of poets like Khusro, Rahim and others, who joined Sanskrit or Hindi and Persian or Urdu hemistiches in the same couplets. Here is an example from Rahim's Madanaśataka :

दृष्ट्वा तत्र विचित्रतां तरुलतां मैं था गया बाग़मैं ।
कांश्चित् तत्र कुरंगसावनयनी गुल तोड़ती थी खड़ी ॥
उन्नत भ्रू धनुष कटाक्ष विशिखै घायल किया था मुझे ।
तत्सीमाध सरोज हाय धवलं हैदर गुज़ारो शुकर ॥

And another example from a poem of Mulla Do Piyāzā :

دو پیازه از دل و جان قربان چرا نه باشم
جوبن لے مدھہ کا ماتا وہ سانولا سلونا

Dictionaries of Persian and Hindi like Khāliq Bārī wrongly attributed to Khusro, Dastur us Sibīan, Khawān--i-Yaghmā, Farhang-i-Shir-o-Shakar and others, illustrate the same tendencies.

The *rapproachement* between the languages was partly the effect of natural intercourse between their speakers and partly of deliberate cultivation. If Hindus learnt Persian in large numbers because it was the language of the rulers and therefore necessary for their advancement in public service and also because they took a genuine interest in the literature and science of which it was the key, the Mussalmans acquired the Indian languages not merely for political reasons, or in order to propagate their faith and to understand the mind of their subjects, but also because they developed a real admiration for the literature enshrined in them. It is impossible to explain on any other ground the extraordinary phenomena that the Hindi literature counts a number of Muslim names

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in the first rank of its writers, and the Hindu community produced a number of authors who have made contributions of a more or less permanent value to the literature in Persian. Among the former, the names of Kabīr, Malik Muhammad Jāyasī, Rahīm, Raskhān and Raslīn may be mentioned; and among the latter Chandra Bhān Brāhman, Ānanda Rām Mukhlis, Lachmī Narāin Shafīq, Brindaban Dās, and Tekchand Bahār.

In the matter of verse-forms the most important change to notice is the growth of the popularity of rime. The ancient Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit literatures have few traces of rime; alliteration (*anuprāsa*) there is, but the repetition of the same sounds in the end-words is rare if not wholly absent. On the other hand, Arabic and Persian literatures abound in rime, which constitutes the basis of the unity and harmony of a poem. The use of rime in Hindi is really part of the general problem of the introduction of this Semitic rhetorical device into the Aryan unrimed poetry. But there is no occasion to discuss it here. All that need be said is that even if rime has an independent origin in medieval India, its popularity is undoubtedly due to growing familiarity with Persian models.

A connected matter is the introduction of the Indian metres into Urdu verse which ordinarily follows Persian in its prosody, and of the metres of Urdu into Hindi. Illustrations are so common that I need not produce any. It is not, however, generally recognised that Hindi has borrowed some forms from Persian which it has made its own, and that Persian writers endeavoured to popularize some Hindi forms but without much success, for the simple reason that they could not dictate fashions to the writers of Iran without whose approval no form could be permanently adopted. Of the first the most important example is the Masnavi, and it was in the fitness of things that Muslim poets like Qutban, Manjhan and Malik Muhammad Jāyasī gave

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currency to it by means of such poems as Mrigāvatī, Madhu Mālatī and Padmāvat. The form of versification which they adopted consisted of a number of Chaupāis (five to seven) followed by Doha. The form took root and Tulsidāsa, in his celebrated Rāmacharita Mānas, adopted it.

With regard to the latter, we meet with Persian versions of Sanskrit and Hindi poems describing the human figure from head to foot (Nāyaka Barnan, Nakhsikha), and in Arabic a treatise on the basis of Hindu rhetoric. Of the first, the examples are Zīāuddīn Nakshabī's Juzīāt wa Kullīyat, Hasan bin Muhammad Sharf-ud-Dīn ar Ramī's Anīsul'-ussāq, and Sarāpā by an unknown author (Ethé, Vol. I, 1767); and of the second, Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgrāmi's Tasliyatul Fuwād (Brocke'mann, Gesch. der Araber Litteratur), besides the Tuhfatul Hind of Mirza Muhammad bin Fakhruddīn in Persian.

I might draw attention to another small but significant feature, namely, the employment of the pen-name (Takhallus) in poetry. So far as I know, Sanskrit is devoid of it, all ancient poetry being normally anonymous. But the Persian custom is different and every poet considers it necessary to announce himself and his personality by mentioning his pen-name in some part—usually the last or penultimate line—of the poem. Hindi and allied languages adopted this practice.

Another minor matter but of piquant interest is the use of the divine invocation by the Hindi and Persian writers. It is curious that while both Hindu and Muslim traditions enjoined that before commencing a work the author should invoke God, the nature of the invocation depended not upon author's religion but upon his language. Both Hindus and Muslims, when writing in Persian would begin "in the name of Allah the merciful and compassionate," while both would start their Hindi compositions after paying obeisance to Ganeśa, Saraswati, or some other Hindu

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deity. The first phenomenon is so well known that no illustrations need be adduced. Of the second a few examples may be given. Rahim begins his Madana Śataka with Srī Ganeśāya Namah; Ahmad, a writer who flourished during the reign of Jahangir and wrote on Sāmudrika, does the same; Ahmadullāh Dakshana, writing on Nayakabheda, begins with Srī Rāmji Sahāya, atha Saraswatī kī stuti, atha Ganeśa kī stuti; Y'akūb Khad compiled a Rasabhushana and calls upon Srī Ganeshjī, Srī Saraswatījī, Srī Rādhā Krishnajī, Sri Gaurī Sankarjī; Ghulām Nabī Raslīn begins with Srī Ganeśāya Namah, both his Angadarpana and his Rasaprabodha. 'Azam Khān, who composed Singāradarpan at the command of Muhammad Shah, pays obeisance to Rāmānuja (Srīmate Rāmānujāya Namah); Lukmān, the author of a treatise on medicine, renders homage to Ganeśa and Guru (teacher), and Saiyid Pohur, author of Rasa Ratnākar, a medical book, bends his head before Ganeśa.

If we now turn from these externalia to the subject-matter and themes of literature, we find on the one hand the Hindu writers engaged upon Muslim themes, and on the other the Muslims so enamoured of Hindu subjects as to make them the basis of many of their works in Persian, sometimes to translate them outright, and often to use the Indian languages themselves to express and interpret them. Love and romance constitute the common substance of their songs and poetry, but this substance is moulded in such passionately humanistic forms as to obliterate the distinction between the worldly and the otherworldly, which, however, is never entirely absent from their consciousness.

Among Hindus who composed verses in Persian numerous names could be cited. It is true the Muslim compilers of anthologies and histories of poetry have generally neglected to mention them, but the consoling fact is that Persian Tadhkira writers of Iran have meted out a similar fate to the Muslim poets of India. Hindu (1559), Brahman

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(Shahjahan's reign), Kishan Chand Ikhlās (Jahangir's reign), Banwārī Dās Walī (1662), who attempted an imitation of the Masnavi of Maulana Rūm, Siyālkotī Mal Wārusta (1766), Jaswant Rai Munshi (1712), Shiva Rām Hayā (1731), Tansukh Rāi Shauq (1756), Ānand Ghan (1794), the writer of a Masnavi named Kajkulah, Tīkā Rām Bahjat, and others mentioned in M'irājul Khayāl of Wazīr Alī 'Ibratī, and Safīnā-i-Khushgo of Brindaban Das, belong to a list which could be extended if necessary.

In Persian prose a number of stories and fables were written by Hindu authors. Examples are Gashayash Nāmah (Indian tales) by Khwaja Raj Karan (1689), Rangīn Bahār (story of Bahram and the daughter of Darab) by Kripā Dayāl Khattrī (1742), Qissa-i-Nauroz Shāh (in intimation of the Arabian Nights) by Udit Chand Kāyasth 'Āzīz (1744), Malāhat Maqāl (anecdotes) by Dalpat Rāi (1763), Sinhāsan Battīsī by Chaturbhuj Kāyat (Akbar's reign), by Bihari Mal Khattri (Jahangir's reign), by ibn Har Karan Dās (Shahjahan's reign), by Kishan Dās Bāsdeo Lāhorī (Aurangzeb's reign), by Chandra bin Madho Ram (later). Mādho Das Gujrātī composed the story of Mankā-o-Manohar (1687), Brahman of Hisār Tuhfatul Hikāyāt or Haftgona, Ranjīt Rāi of the tale of the sparrow and the red fairy (Kunjṣhak-o-lāl parī); and Rūp Nārain (1709) displayed his powers in that *tour de force* known as Shash Jihāt where by adopting different ways of reading, six stories are told. I may mention here that Banwali translated the Prabodha Chandrodaya Nātaka of Krishna Miṣra from Sanskrit into Persian under the title of Gulzār-i-Hāl, or Tul'ū-i-Qamar-i-M'ārifat.

Among letter-writers there are many quite well-known names, *e.g.*, Harkaran (Jahangir), Chandrabhān (Shahjahan), Sujān Rāi (1695), Rām Nārain (1776), Bhupat Rāi (1616), Sambhū Lāl Munshi (1794), Thori Mal Tamkin (1726), Dalpat Rāi (1794), Lachhmī Nārain Shafīq (1790), Ranchhor Dās (1732-33), Lekhrāj Munshī (1698), Mādho Rām, etc.

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History and biography were not much cultivated by the Hindus in pre-Muslim times, but during the Mughul period, quite a number of works was composed on these subjects in Persian as well as in Hindi. Among the Persian works, mention may be made of Rāi Brindāban Dās's Lubbut Tawārikh which is an abridgement of Tārikh-i-Farishtā (1694), Sujān Rāi's Khulāsatut-Tawārikh (1695), Bhīm Sen's Tārīkh-i-Dilkash which describes Aurangzeb's military transactions in the Deccan, Chandrabhān's Chār Chaman, Rai Chatarman's Chahār Gulshan, Ānand Rup Brahman's Nizām-i-Danish, Kamraj's 'Ibrat Nāmah (which is a life of Azamshāh), Lachhmī Nārain's Tanmīq-i-Shigraf (History of the Deccan), M'athir-i-Asafī (History of the Nizams), Bisatul Ghanāim (History of the Marathas), Banwālī Dās Wali's Rājāvalī, Munshī Harī Rām's Rāj Sohāvalī, Shiva Prasād's Tārīkh-i-Faiz Bakhsh (1776), Nārain Kaul 'Ājiz's Tārikh-i-Kashmīr, Dunī Chand's Keoghar Nāmah (History of the Gokhars), Kewal Rām's Tadhkiratul Umarā (1781), Jagat Rāi's Farhang-i-Kar-dani, Arya Mal's Dasturul 'Amal-i-Āgahī and Todar Mal's Dasturul 'Amal (administrative manuals), Bhagwān Dās's Shahjahan Nāmah, Ishar Dās's Futūhāt-i-'Ālamgīri, etc.

The writing of histories in Persian led to a vogue of historiography in Indian languages. We find notices of works in Sanskrit written during this period, *e.g.*, Sarvadeśavrittānta Samgraha of Maheśa Thākur (1650), Vijayapura Kathā (I.O. Sanskrit MS. 4107), Jagannath Pandit's Jagadābharana (in praise of Dara) and Āsaf Vilāsa (in praise of Asaf Khan), Lakshmīpati's Nripatinītigarbhita Vritta (a versified account of the historical events which occurred after the death of Bahadur Shah), Ranchhor Bhatt's Amara Kāvya and Rāja Praśasti, Vimala Muni's Hīrasau bhāgyam (an account of Jain Munis at Akbar's court), and Jayasūri's life of Karamchand. The Gangādāsa-Pratāpavilāsa of Gangādhara is a drama containing an account of incidents in the

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life of the Raja of Champaner and of Sultan Muhammad of Ahmadabad.

In Hindi a number of Khyāts was composed in Rajputana, *e.g.*, by Mehtā Nainsi, Kaviraj and Mundhiyar; Sewak wrote the Akbarnāma (Search for Hindi MSS., 1907); an unknown Misra, a Shāhnāma which gives dynastic lists from Yudhiṣthira to Shāh 'Ālam; Dayāl Dās, the Rānā Rāsā which describes the wars of Pratap and Akbar; Mān Kavi Jaya, Sinha Charita and Rāj Vilās; and Keshava, Jahāngīr Chandrikā.

Of administrative manuals in Hindi there is quite a considerable list. The names of Gulāb Singh Bakhshī (1695), Himmat Singh, Teja Singh, Ganeś Kavi, Fateh Singh, Kamalajan, Bansīdhar, Dhīraj Singh, Sukh Lāl, Rām Singh, Parmeshwarī Dās, etc., are met in the lists of MSS. of Hindi. Their works have such titles as Daftar Nāmah, Dastūrul Amal, Dastūr Sagar, Dastūr Chintāmanī, etc.

The Mussalman writers who worked upon Hindu subjects may be divided into two groups. To the first group belong those who wrote in Persian and to the second those who adopted Hindi as the medium of expression. In the first group were—Faizi who wrote the Masnavī Nal-o-Daman, which is based upon the famous story of Rājā Nala in the Mahābhārata; Abdus Shukūr Bazmī (1617) and 'Āqil Khān Rāzī (1634) who translated the Padmāvat; Shaikh Nur Muhammad (1649) and Mir 'Askari Rāzī (1654) who versified the tale of Manohar and Madhu Mālatī; Muhammad Murād (1685) the writer of Dastūr-i-Himmat or the story of Kāmrūp and Kāmlatā; Bayānī (1694) the writer of 'Ishq Nāmah or the story of Mahyār and Chandra Badan; Shah Faqīr Ullah Āfrīn and Mīr Qamrud Dīn of Hir-o-Ranjha (1730); Amānat (1732) of Jalwai Dhat which describes the adventures of Sri Krishna; 'Izzat Ullah Bangālī (1722) of Bakāwalī.

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Many of these stories which were written in verse were reproduced in prose. Besides them Abdul Qādir Badāonī rendered Sinhāsan Battīsī into Persian prose and gave the title Khirad Afzā to his work (1575); Tājud Dīn Muftī translated the Hitopadeśa into Persian and called it Mufarrah ul Qulūb (Akbar's reign); Faizi is reputed to have transformed many of the stories of Kathā Sarit Sāgara into Persian. Majnūn Rafīqī composed his Risālā-i-Nāz-o-Niāz to explain the vicissitudes of love; Ghulām 'Alī Āzād in the Ghazlān-i-Hind made known to Persian readers that peculiar product of the Hindu mind, *viz.*, Nāyikābheda. He also wrote in Arabic a work on Hindu Rhetoric. An anonymous author, who lived in Oudh during S'aadat 'Ali Khān's reign, wrote a treatise on politics in the form of ancedotes concerning the two ministers Sumat and Kumat of the King Paramātmā.

The Bodleian Library contains manuscripts of Hindu stories in Persian, and one of them (No. 1994) has the following tales: Sangrām Asura, Dhanwantara, Rājā Soma Sharmā, Śmika Rikshishwar and Rājā Brihat Sen, Rājā Pratāp Rudra, Rājā Sudharma, Rājā Rituparna, Rājā Indraman, Vyās Deo and Parāśar, Rājā Śikhandī, Raja Chitrangada, Chānak Brahman, etc.

The Curzon MS. No. 121 contains the story of the birth of Raja Bikramājīt and the tales of Betāl the ghoul; and the Egerton MS. No. 707 describes the story of Sit Basant.

Among other stories are the Tūtīnāmah of Abul Faẓl and Muhammad Qādirī (17th cent.), Bahār-i-Dānish of Shaikh 'Ināyat Ullah (1677), 'Ajīb ul Qisas and Qissā-i-Malik Muhammad and Shahr Bānu composed during Shāh 'Ālam's reign, Qissa-i-Cherman ruler of Calicut, Gulshan-i-Husn, Afasāna-i-Māninī, Manohar-o-Ratnāvali.

Muslim historians concerned themselves with Hindu principalities and composed their annals. To this class belong the history of the Marathas, of the Sikhs, of Coorg, of

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Mysore, of Gwalior, etc. The Rāja-Taranginī of Kalhana attracted a good deal of attention and several versions were made—by Haidar-ibn-Hasan in 1618-21, and by Muhammad 'Āzam in 1735.

Of the work of the Mussalmans in Hindi the volume is quite large. But it is not so much its quantity which is remarkable. It is true that from the earliest origins of Hindi literature Mussalman poets shared in its growth, and we find names like those of Mas'ūd S'ād Salmān, Amir Khusrau and Dāūd associated with those stages. It is also true that during the period of its greatest development from the 15th to the 18th century, the patronage of Muslim rulers and the interest of Muslim writers were forthcoming in great abundance. We find many learned men and pious saints studying Indian languages and making use of them for spreading their religious ideas. Historians of Hindi literature count almost all the Mughul emperors and many of the Mughul princes among the composers of Hindi verse. The result naturally was the production of a considerable volume of literature. But the really remarkable thing about this literature is its superior quality and high standard. How these newcomers to India learnt the language of the country, entered into the spirit of its culture, and created original works of an abiding literary value, is an amazing historical phenomenon. For if we take the two main divisions of Hindi literature, the religio-mystic and the secular-artistic, we find Muslim poets in the front rank in both.

The first division is subdivided into three classes: allegorical, devotional in relation to an impersonal divine principle, and devotional with reference to a personal deity. The first class is strangely speaking a creation of the Muslims; and almost a monopoly of theirs. Qutban (Mrigāvatī), Manjhan (Madhumālatī), Malik Muhammad Jāyasī (Padmāvatī), Usmān (Chitrāvalī), Shaikh Nabi (Gyāndīp),

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Qāsim Shāh (Hans Jawāhar), Nūr Muhammad (Indrāvatī), Fāzil Shāh (Prem Ratna), belong to this group of writers. The most noticeable characteristic of their poems is the fusion of Hindu and Muslim ideas. Malik Muhammad Jāyasī's Padmāvatī, which is the most celebrated among these poems, may be taken as an illustration. The story is wholly Indian, the characters are Indian, their ways and manners are Indian, the scenes in which the actions lie are Indian, in short the structure is Indian from beginning to end. Yet it is not a Hindu poem, for Islamic beliefs inspire it. What the poet has, however, done is to breathe into a secular amatory tale the spirit of Indo-Muslim mystic philosophy, and to transform the story of worldly vicissitudes of ordinary humans into the symbol of a spiritual conflict and an eternal quest.

The second class of literature was initiated by that great mystic whose thought dominated the Middle Ages of Indian History, namely, Kabir. He was a Muslim weaver; yet he cleared a path through the jungle of superstition, ignorance and communal antagonism, which was trodden by his numerous followers, both Hindu and Muslim. Among those whom he stimulated may be counted Guru Nānak and Akbar. His mystical, broadly tolerant synthesis of Hindu and Muslim faiths found adequate expression in his deeply poetical verses. Among Mussalmans he had a number of imitators who also adopted his language and style, namely, Bābā Farīd, Rajjab, Yārī Sāhib and Dariyā Sāhib.

The third class of religio-mystical poetry is concerned with the cult of the deity in the forms of Krishna and Rāma. Surdāsa and Tulsī have given immortal expression to the devotion of the Hindus to these two. Yet even in this class, and especially in the poetry which embodies the Bhakti of Krishna, the Muslim poets have made a mark for themselves. Literary critics agree that Raskhān's poems equal in the depth of their religious fervour and in the richness

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of their passionate love anything written by any other poet. Nay, more; for in purity of diction he excels even the great Sūr who has mixed Avadhī with Brajbhāsā. Others who sang of Krishna's love were Ālam, Kādir, Jamāl, Mubārak, Tāhir or Ahmad, and Tāj.

In the secular-artistic division of poetry are included the various forms of *ars poetica*—erotics, rhetoric, poetics, humour, anthologies, poetical biographies, etc. The acknowledged masters in this sphere were, of course, Keshava Dās, Bihārī Lāl, and Deva. But Muslim poets followed close upon their steps. In describing the Hindi poets of Bilgrām, Mīr Ghulām 'Alī Āzād, comparing the poetry of Arabic and Persian with Hindī, admits with unusual frankness that the latter is nowhere behind the former; on the other hand in the particular branch of *ars poetica*, it carries the palm over Arabic and Persian:

معنی آفرینان عربی و فارسي خون از رگ اندیشه چکانیده اند و شیوهٔ نازک خیالی را به اعلی مراتب رسانیده - افسون خوانان هندهم درین وادی پای کمی نه دارند - بلکه در فن نایکا بهیدم قد سجر سازي پیش مي گذارند - [3]

He has mentioned eight important Hindi poets of Bilgram, *viz.*, Shaikh Shāh Muhammad Farmulī who lived in Akbar's reign; Saiyid Nizāmud-Dīn Madhunāyak who attained a great reputation in Indian music; Diwān Sayid Rahmat Ullāh who was the magistrate of Jājman and Baiswārā and who patronised Chintāmanī; Mir Abdul Jalīl who helped the advancement of Misra Divākar; Sayid Ghulām Nabī Raslīn the author of Anga Darpana and Rasaprabodha;

[3] The creators of significance in Arabic and Persian have distilled blood from the veins of thought, and carried the arts of subtle imagination to the highest stages. The enchanters of India too do not remain behind in this valley; while in the art of Nāyikābheda (classification of heroines) they set their magic steps in advance of them.

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Sayid Barkat Ullah Pemī; Mīr 'Abdul Wahīd Zauqī; and Muhammad 'Ārif Bilgrāmī. Among them Raslīn is regarded by universal consent as one of the most notable of Hindi poets. Besides him, 'Alī Muhib Khān Prītam the author of the humorous poem Khatmal Bāīsā is equally well known. In the art of didactic poetry, Abdur Rahīm Khān Khānān has scarcely a rival.

Poetical biography and anthology is an art which was imported into India from outside. In Sanskrit, although collections were made from different poetical works by Sridhardāsa, Jalhaṇa, Sārangadhar in the 14th and Vallabhadeva (Subhāshitāvalī) and Srīvara in the 15th century, notices of poets hardly existed. But Arabic and Persian abound in such works and in India in both Persian and Hindi poetical biographies were compiled. Among the latter are, for instance, Tulsī's Kavīmālā, Kālidāsa's Hazārā, Bhikhārīdās's Kāvya Nirnaya, Baldeva's Satkavigirāvilāsa, and Sūdan's Kavīnāmāvalī.

A survey of literature thus makes it abundantly clear that during the Mughul period not only was there a great deal in common between literary writers of different faiths, but that considerable assimilation had taken place between Hindi and Persian literatures, and that Indian literature had under the stress of foreign impact made a great advance upon the ancient models both in the outer forms and in the inner spirit.

Literature is intimately associated with the arts—architecture, sculpture, painting and music. But as I am principally concerned with book-lore in this address, I shall confine myself to music alone, although the development of architecture and painting illustrates the theme adopted here most aptly. The Mughul rulers pursued the joy of life so lustily that it would be surprising if they showed no interest in Indian music. They collected all the great singers of India at their court and became great connoisseurs of the art.

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Naturally, books of Hindu music were translated into Persian for their benefit and the benefit of those who could not read the Indian originals. Bakhshu Nāyak collected one thousand Dhrupads in the reign of Shah Jahan, Mirzā Roshan Zamīr translated the Pārijātaka, Faqir Ullah rendered Mān Singh's Mānkautūhal into Persian, 'Iwaz Muhammad Kāmilkhānī described the Thāths of Indian rāgas, Rāichand Ahmadābādi composed " the principles of music " (Usūl-i-Ghinā), and Madhunāyak compiled in Hindi Nādvinod.

In the beginning of this address, I pointed to the underlying unity of Indian civilization and suggested that the substance of this unity consists in the particular attitude of mind wherein the values of inner life are given a higher status than those pertaining to external life. I feel satisfied that in India, since the earliest dawn of recorded history to the present day, we have on the whole endeavoured to maintain a proper balance between the demands of what is eternal and infinite in our nature and that which is hitched to the wheels of time and reins of space. But this does not in any way mean either that this unity is a self-conscious identity perpetually repeating itself or that it has always been embodied in unvarying forms. Whatever views popular opinion may hold on the matter, the fact is that the amplitude of inward experience itself connotes variation of emphasis : consciousness bringing sometimes one and sometimes another facet of it from penumbral obscurity into light. Again the vesture of logic, language, and symbolism with which the reality of this experience has sought to clothe itself could not have been on even *a priori* grounds identical in all ages.

What has happened is that while the continuity of Indian tradition has been maintained, both its substance and its form have undergone changes. If we compare the shapes into which the vision of reality has been cast in our ancient literature with the order which it illumines in later ages, we

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become aware of the evolution which has taken place. The philosophical abstractions of the Upanishads and the Darshanas are slowly receiving the habiliments of concrete personality. Out of the indefinite fluidity of little differentiated divine beings is arising the crystallized concept of a transcendent God. The limpid waters of the ineffable light which bathe the souls of the ancient seers have become a little turbid, but they are suffused with the warmth of human emotion. The Hindu religious consciousness revelling in immanence and averse to defining limits comes into contact with the Muslim spirit subdued to transcendence and informed with the sense of wide empty spaces and clearly defined boundaries and the result is a mingling of the two into a consciousness sharing the characteristics of both.

In the Mughul period this reconciliation has assumed a deliberate and conscious plan. The restless and adventurous mind of the Mughul princes who counted among their ancestors such dynamic, world-shaking figures as Timur and Chengiz, was full of wonder—wonder about nature and wonder about man. They introduced into the Asiatic countries ruled by them a new spirit of curiosity whose guiding principle was reason. Not to go further than Babar, who does not know that he was an eclectic in faith, ready equally to make friends with and worship according to the tenets of Shīās and Sunnīs, and to show tolerance to other faiths; that his son Humayun was the image of his father, the husband of a Shīā wife Hamīdā Bānū, the master and dependent of a Shīā counsellor Bairam Khān, the adoptive brother of a Hindu Rājput princess Karnāvatī of Chitor, student of Muslim astronomy and believer in Hindu astrology? Akbar's experiments in religion are so well known that nothing need be said about them. His successors, with the possible exception of Aurangzeb, handed the torch onwards. But its light grew feebler with each succeeding

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generation, till it was finally extinguished by the cruel hands of destiny.

Of the rationalism which the Mughuls brought with them the most clear expression is to be found in the Happy Sayings (Guftār-i-Dilāvez-i-Shāhinshāhi) recorded in the fifth book of the Āīn-i-Akbarī. Here are some of them :

(۱) برتری آدم‌زاد به گوهر خرد است - شایسته آن که در زنگ زدائی کوشش برد و از فرمان پذیری از سر نه تابد - [4]

(۲) آدمی مرید خرد است که ازین تابش دارد - [5]

Now the discipline of reason is obviously opposed to obedience to authority. Let us hear in Akbar's words its condemnation :

(۳) ستایش عقل پژوهی و نکوهش تقلید پرستی از آن روشن تر که به حجت نیازمند آید - اگر تقلید شایسته بودی پیغمبران پیروی نیاگان خود کردی - [6]

The rationalism of the East, however, does not lead to a renaissance of science, but stimulates mystic humanism :

(۴) صوری پرستش آن را نوآئین الهی برگویند به جهت بیداری غنودگان است ورنه یزدی نیایش از دل بر آید نه به تن - [7]

Abul Fazl describing the qualities which must characterize a ruler of men insists upon " hatred of sequacity " (*taqlid*).

4 The superiority of man rests on the jewel of reason. It is meet that he should labour in burnishing it and turn not from its instruction.

5 A man is the disciple of his own reason for he obtains lustre from it.

6 Commending obedience to the dictates of reason and reproving a slavish following of others need the aid of no arguments. If imitation were commendable, the prophets would have followed their predecessors.

7 The object of outward worship which they affect to call a new divine institute, is for awakening of slumberers, otherwise the praise of God comes from the heart and not the body.

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Says he, "let the love of inquiry always precede his actions and the cult of proof be his method, so that he may not be moved from his course by perceiving the view of a multitude and may not by altercation be made impatient of research" (Akbar-namah, Chap. 81, p. 681).

The new spirit affected both the Muslims and the Hindus. The Mussalman showed a most praiseworthy desire to acquaint himself with the philosophy, doctrines and dogmas of the Hindu religion, and both Hindu and Muslim scholars contributed to the task of enlightenment. The list of works rendered into Persian contains most of the important Hindu scriptures: Atharva Veda translated by Badāonī, Faizī and Ibrāhīm Sirhindī with the help of Shaikh Bahāvan, a converted Pandit; Mahābhārata translated by Badāonī, Naqīb Khān, Mullā Shīrī, Sultān Hājī Thānesarī, and Faizī. Abul Fazl wrote an introduction to the latter's translation which gives in unambiguous language the motives of the translators:

چون بدریافت کامل خود نزاع فرایق ملت محمدي و یهود و هنود را بیشتر یافت وانکار یکدیگر زیاده از اندازه معلوم شد - خاطر نکته دان بران قرار یافت که کتب معتبره طائفین به زبان مخالف ترجمه کرده آید تا هر در فریق به برکت انفاس قدسی حضرت اکمل الزماني از شدت تعنت وعناد بر آمده جویای حق شوند - و بر محاسن و عیوب یکدیگر اطلاع یافته در اصلاح احوال خود مساعي جمیله نمایند - [8]

[8] Since on thorough personal inquiry numerous sectarian differences were found among the Muhammadan, Jewish, and Hindu religions, and as the task of their reconciliation seemed beyond estimate, the truth-discerning opinion came to the decision that authoritative books of various sects be translated into the languages of the opponents to enable the two sects with the blessing of the holy breath of H. M. the most perfect of his times to emerge out of the excesses of dissensions and quarrels and seek after truth; and having acquainted themselves of each other's qualities and defects to endeavour to their best to improve themselves.

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Among other works are:—Harīvanśa, translated by Tāhir Muhammad and Mullā Shīrī; Bhagavad Gītā translated by Faizī; Rāmāyana translated by Badāonī, and later abridged by Chandraman, rendered into verse by Shaikh S'ādullah Masīh (Jahangir's reign) and translated a number of times; the Upanishad translated by Dārā Shukōh; Gyān Mālā or translation of a dialogue between Krishna and Arjun (MS. A. S. B. 1714); Karma Vipāka, translation of a dialogue between Bharat and Bhrigu (MS. Curzon 692); Gītā Subodhinī translated by 'Abdur Rahmān Chishtī; dialogue of Mahādeva and Pārvati concerning Hindu cosmogony translated by 'Abdur Rahmān Chishtī; Maheśa Mahānanda translated by Abul Fazl; Yoga Vāsishtha translated by Faizī with the title Shāriqul M'arifat, and again under the title Minhajul Haqāiq by Dara, and Kashful Kanūz by Shaikh Sufi Qabjihānī; Bhāgvata translated by Faizī, by Tāhir Muhammad, and by Amānat Rāi; Vishnu Purāna, Shiva Purāna, Brahma-Vaivarta Purāna, Ganeśa Purāna, Shākal Purāna; portions of Purānas, e.g., Kāśī Khanda, Chhatra Mahātmya from Skanda Purāna, Gayā Mahātmya from Vāyū Purāna, Amrit Khanda, Panch Kroshi, Nāsketopāknyāna, Ākar Sāgara, Ekādashī Mahātmya, and Mitāksharā and Manu's Dharma Sāstra (Pertsch, Bibl., Berlin, 1029), etc., by various authors.

Then books were written on Yoga, e.g., Risālāh-i-Shattāriyah by Najmod Din Hasan which describes the Hindu method of meditation; Rayāhīnul Basātīn which treats of Nirvāna, of contemplation and of knowledge of God; and Majm'aul Bahrain of Dārā Shukoh which tries to prove the identity of Yoga and Sufism.

Hujjatul Hind, which is in the form of a dialogue between Tūtī and Shāraka, was written by 'Alī Shāh Mahrābī as a polemic against Hinduism, and Mir'at-i-Makhlūqāt of 'Abdur Rahmān Chishtī "shows by an elaborate system of interpretation, how the Hindu legend is to be adapted to

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Muslim ideas, how for instance Mahādeva is to be taken as a King of Jinns, another mythological being to be turned into Adam, a third into Muhammad and so forth" (C. M. Or. 1883).

The knowledge of Hinduism thus acquired through translation could not but influence the minds of men. In Muslim schools philosophers discussing the dogmas of Kalām disputed the principle of the unity of Godhead (Wahdatul Wujūd) and drew arguments from the armoury of Vedanta. Shaikh Muhibullāh Allāhābādi wrote the Risālāh-i-Taswiyāh to prove the identity of the creator and the creation. His pupil Muhsin Fānī made a comparative study of the five great religions and their sects and came to the conclusion, " the varieties and multitudes of the rules of prophets proceed only from the plurality of names, and as in names there is no mutual opposition or contradiction, the superiority in rank among them is only the predominance of a name." For him, " the time of a prophet is a universal one, having neither priority nor posterity—neither morning nor evening."

Hinduism supplied the inspiration in the development of sects like Roshanīyās, Ilāhīyās, Tanāsukhīyas. Yoga obtained a widespread popularity, entered into the discipline of the monastic orders, and became part of the religious exercises (Dhikr and Marāqabā) of Chishtīāsand Shattārīyas. Prof. A. M. A. Shushtery has pointed out the similarities between Sufism and Vedanta in the methods of breath control and meditation, in submission to Pīr or Guru, in observing fasts and penance, in the recitation of sacred formulae, in belief in union with the Supreme Being and in universal love.

On the other hand the Hindus assimilated many of the ideas and practices of the Muslims. It is not necessary to point to such well-known facts as the rise of the reform movements in Hinduism and the growth of the Bhakti religion. I may, however, draw attention to the fact that this influence is felt strongly in the efforts at reconciliation of

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differences. Up to the fifteenth century, the clash of philosophical systems had led to the emergence of new sects in India. We know how the different interpretations of the Vedanta created the Sampradāyas of Śankarāchārya, Rāmānuja, Mādhava and Vallabha. These differences are swept away in the strong torrent of Bhakti. Nor do philosophical systems escape the tendency. Madhusudan Saraswati, Vijnāna Bhikshu and others endeavour to stress that the six systems of Darshanas establish only one truth.

Hindu writers like Prān Nāth (Bīs girohon ki bāt), Gangā Bishan Kaul (Majmu'ā), Balkrishna Brahman Hisārī (Damishq-i-Khayā'), Sadā Sukh Niyāz (Tanbihul Ghafilīn), familiarize Hindus with Muslim tenets. The last stresses "the irrelevancy of the points which divide the various confessions," and condemns "the injustice of stigmatizing as infidel any man who whether Hindu, Muslim, Jew or Christian, acknowledges one Supreme God."

Kabīr, Nānak, Dādū, Prān Nāth, Bābā Lāl, Jagjivan Das, Charan Das, and others mould the Hindu religious consciousness into forms saturated with Muslim notions. They replace the old religious leadership. The philosophical founders of sects give way to personal guides of the initiates on the path of perfection. The Pīr is their model and as these saintly teachers bless the lives of their numerous followers, they become semi-divine beings whose lives are an everlasting source of inspiration. Hence the numerous lives of saints in Persian. The Hindu develops similar attitudes, and, lacking models in Sanskrit, follows the Persian works. Thus we have Gokul Nath's Chaurāsī Vaisnavon ki Vārtā, Nābhā Dās's Bhaktamāl, Benī Mādho Dās's Gossāin Charita, Dhruvadās's Bhakta Nāmāvalī, etc.

But the most striking change is in the more orthodox or rather more traditional cults. The worship of the Vedic gods and goddesses now belongs to a dim and hoary past; the cults of Siva, Vishnu and Sakti are in a state of semi-

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oblivion; the Hindu mind is filled with the newly discovered devotion to Rāma and Krishna. Poetry and song, music and dance are the instruments of the loving worship centred round these figures which in benignity (Jamāl and Mādhurya), and splendour (Jalāl and Aishvarya) challenge comparison with Allah the compassionate and merciful.

It is time, however, to bring to a close this survey of Indian culture during the Mughul times. The subject is vast and of most fascinating interest and my excuse for the length of this outline is my intense desire that it should receive from Indian historians the attention which it deserves. I thank you for the indulgence which you have shown me and for the patience with which you have listened to my discourse.

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1

EARLY RELATIONS OF MIR JUMLA WITH THE ENGLISH (UP TO 1650)

(Based on English factory records only)

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The relations of Mir Muhammad Sa'id, Mir Jumla, who played a conspicuous part in the history of Peninsular and Northern India for about a quarter of a century during the reigns of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb, with the European Companies, like the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English, the Danish and the French, form a subject of unique importance and interest in Mughul-Indian history. But it has not yet been adequately studied by any scholar with reference to different classes of sources. In this paper I have attempted to give an account of the early relations of Mir Jumla with the English East India Company (up to 1650) from a study of English factory records.[1]

The early period of Mir Jumla's rise, during the two decades following 1630, synchronises with one of earnest attempts made by the East India Company to improve their commercial position in India, particularly in Southern India. The Company's commerce had then been languid and attended with misfortune almost everywhere.[2] In Persia the difficulties of the English were increased by the death of Shah Abbas the Great and the accession of a new sovereign, Shah

[1] Foster, *English Factories in India*; Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol. I; Bruce, *Annals of the Honourable East India Company*, Vol. I.

[2] Macpherson, *The History and Management of the E. I. C. from its Origin in 1600 to the Present Times* (1882), Vol. I, p. 8.

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Sophi, and the need of confirmation of previous contracts and grants and the growing influence of the Portuguese with the Khan of Shiraz.[3] At Bantam the prospect of the trade were 'unfavourable,' and even 'precarious,' owing to the opposition of the Dutch and the reduction of the Agency at Bantam (in 1630-31) from the rank of a Presidency and Council to subordination to the President and Council at Surat.[4] Another stumbling block in the path of the East India Company was the commercial rivalry of, and attacks by, the Dutch[5] and the Portuguese.[6] In the Coromandel Coast the volume of East India Company's commerce carried on by the English was "comparatively small." For, though Masulipatam, "the principal port of the Muhammadan kingdom of Golkonda," was the centre of cotton manufactures which commanded a large market in Bantam and the far East, had commercial intercourse with Surat, Gombroon and other Western Settlements and carried a certain amount of port to port trade, the Company suffered from lack of a steady supply of money from home, the private trade[7] of its own factors, and fear of Dutch competition. Further, the exactions and oppressions of native officials at Masulipatam,[8] had compelled the English factors there to withdraw to Armagon (1628-30).[9] However, the importance of the Coromandel cloth manufactures, 'for facilitating trade with Persia and particularly with Bantam was so great that the English factors were obliged

3 Bruce I, 302-303, 310-11; Elphinstone, *Rise of British Power in the East*. 37.

4 Bruce I, 304, 312, 316-17. In 1634-35, the Agency at Bantam was restored to its former rank with control over Agencies on Coast and in Bengal (*Ibid.*, 327).

5 For the methods employed in the Dutch in the West Coast of India, see Bruce, I, 300. For Anglo-Dutch rivalry in Bantam see Foster, *John Company*, Ch. 6; Elphinstone, *op. cit.*, 37.

6 *Ibid.*, 301. Boies Penrose, *Sea Fights in the East Indies in the Years 1602-39*, Ch. 9.

7 Wheeler, *India under British Rule*, etc., 23 ff.

8 Foster, *The Founding of Fort St. George*, 1902, pp. 1-4.

9 Bruce, I, 315-16. Armagon is now known as Dugarayapatnam, about 35 miles to the north of Pulicat. Foster, *The Founding of Fort St. George*, 3.

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in 1630 to return to Masulipatam.[10] Hence suffering under these disadvantages, they were endeavouring to secure a *farman* from the King of Golconda, which would enable them to make headway against the competition of their European rivals, the Dutch and the Portuguese, and protect their factory and trade from the extortions of the Golconda officials.[11] On November 6, 1630, the English had proposed[12] that they should follow the example of the Dutch in compounding with the King of Golconda for all tolls and customs levied on their goods throughout his Kingdom, both inland and at the port towns. In November, 1632, the English obtained from the King a *farman* authorising them to re-establish their trade at Masulipatam and, in general, allowed them liberty of trade in the other ports of his dominions.[13] As the Company's Coromandel Coast factories were becoming increasingly important, 'from the relation which their exports had to the trade at Bantam, and from furnishing articles for the Europe investments,'[14] the English endeavoured to secure more privileges in Golconda. In 1633, Thomas Joyce, together with Wyche, set out on a mission to the Golconda court. This mission resulted in the grant of "The Golden *Farman*,"[15] of February 26, 1634. By it the English secured complete exemption from all duties in the Golconda

[10] Bruce, I, 315-16; Wheeler, *India under British Rule from the Foundation of the East India Company* (1886), p. 7; Wheeler, *Early Records of British India and History of the English Settlements in India* (1878), p. 47.

[11] Bruce, *op. cit.*, 295, 303-304; FEF 1630-33, Introduction, p. xi. Towards the end of the year 1630, the English possessed five factories in the Coromandel Coast, *viz.*, Armagon, Motupalli, Petapoli, Masulipatam (except during 1628-30) and Viravasaram. FEF 1130-33, *op. cit.*

[12] *Ibid.*, 84-85.

[13] "……The Phirmaund was accompanied by a Cowle or order to the Rajah of the district enjoining obedience to the King's commands." Bruce I, 315-16; Foster, *The Founding of Fort St. George*, 4.

[14] Bruce, 326; Wheeler, *Early Records of British India*, etc., 47.

[15] Almost on the same terms as those of Nov., 1632, which is called in a footnote in Bruce (315-16), Golden *Farman*.

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Kingdom on condition that the royal officers should have the "purveyance" in horses and curiosities, brought by the English from Persia and elsewhere. The farmers of the Masulipatam customs were allowed, by way of compensation for resultant loss, to pay 800 pagodas (about £ 400) less a year to the royal treasury.[16] The *farman* was to become invalid if the duties payable by the English exceeded that amount.[17]

The absence of any reference to Mir Muhammad Sa'īd (Mir Jumla) in connection with this mission and the fact that during it the English Agent, Joyce, received, apart from graciously granted royal interviews, "unspeakable courtesie" from Elchibeague (Elchi Beg) "a Persian borne, but now a chiefe peere of this Kingdome,"[18] suggests that probably at least up to February, 1634, Mir Jumla had not risen to the position of chief minister at Golconda.

The earliest reference in English factory records to his holding a responsible post (that of the Sar-i-Khāil) is found in the letter of the Masulipatam factors, Gerald Pinson and Thomas Clark, to the President and Council at Bantam, dated December 1, 1636. From this it becomes clear that the commercial concessions given to the English by the 'Golden *Farman*,' were viewed with considerable jealousy by the Golconda officers like the Governor and other officers of Masulipatam and Petapoli, who

16 FEF, 1634-36, 14-21. See also Bruce I, 315-16, 320.

17 Dagh Register, 1631-34, p. 360, in Foster, *op. cit.*, Intro. xxxiv. Farruksiyar's *farman* of 1716-17, which was secured as a result of the Surman Embassy of 1715, and which gave a great commercial concession to the English, has been regarded by such an eminent authority as Wilson to be 'the Magna Carta' of the English East India Company. But there are instances to show that they had already acquired such trade privileges in the different provinces and States of India long before, *e.g.*, Shuja's *farman* of 1556, the Golconda *farman* of 1634, etc. A *fasman* (Shahajahan's) was obtained from the 'Mogul,' allowing the English to trade to Piply in Bengal (Feb. 2, 1633-34). Bruce I, 320, 327.

18 FEF, 1634-36. Intro., xxxiii, p. 47.

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were "not a little troubled", and who had "a spetiall (special) eye" over the entire business of the English. They apprehended that they would be unable to maintain their position in Golconda, if the officials "could so contrive it." Grave concern was also felt at the loss to the customs revenues,[19] particularly as the trade of the English E. I. C, was increasing owing to favourable circumstances, and efforts of the factors.[20] The native Governor and other officials at Masulipatam had begun to take steps against the English and 'with the Dutch,' they endeavoured to 'excite the prejudices of the King' against the English by acquainting the Sultan of the violation of the Golden *Farman* of 1634 as the customs proceeds of the English last year amounted to more than 4000 pagodas. Matters proceeded so far that the Sar-i-Khāil and the 'Malliveece' (maulavi, a judge), "two eminent persons" in the court of Golconda demanded from Rogers, English factor at Golconda, the excess amount over 800 pagodas, the stipulated yearly abatement.[21]

It appears from the foregoing facts that sometime between February, 1634 and December, 1636, Mir Jumla had become the Sar-i-Khāil of the Golconda state. Being in charge of revenues, he tried to prevent the loss to customs revenue of the state, arising from the illegal profits of the English. As a matter of fact he was but justly insisting on the strict interpretation and application of the Golden *Farman* of 1634,[22] with the help of a *maulavi*. It was natural

19 FEF, 1634-6, xxxiv, 325-26.

20 'The trade on the Coromandel Coast this season (1636-37) from the factors having received supplies of stock from Bantam, was assuming a more favourable appearance'; the Masulipatam factors were therefore making every effort to increase their investments and necessary equipment, and hoped that the returns would be 200%. (Bruce I, 342-43).

21 FEF, 1634-6. xxxiv; 325-26.

22 *Cf.* the attitudes of Murshid Quli Khan and Mir Kasim and consequent friction with the E. I. C.

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therefore, that the English factors at Masulipatam looked upon the Sar-i-Khāil as one of their "utter (worst) enemies" in Golconda, and generally continued to harbour feelings of animosity against him.

The Masulipatam factors considered this attitude of the Golconda officials, particularly that of Mir Jumla, detrimental to the interests of the English and observed that if they did not nip it in the bud, it would grow "too strong for our powerfull cowle."[23] The expectation of the factors that the best remedy and solution of all these problems was to "pishcash the King and acquaint him with all our grievances,"[24] is a curious commentary on the current commercial and administrative morality and policy of Indian rulers and of foreign merchants in their territories. If the gains of the English were unjustified and illegal, and if their attitude throughout savoured of a selfish and sordid mercenary spirit, it is curious to reflect on how the Golconda state could take so light a view of such a vital matter as customs revenue, as to allow such violation of royal *farmans* by foreigners with impunity and to connive at it on the payment of a pishkash. Tragic indeed was such disregard of economic resources of a country and such bankruptcy of the state, political, financial and moral. Mir Jumla's outlook on this occasion seems to have been legal and rational; but it is a pity that he, being a foreign adventurer and a seeker of

[23] The Masulipatam factors mournfully wrote to the President and Council at Surat, July 26, 1683; "As yet there is no demand for freight in the *Swan*; but for themselves they heartily wish that no merchants would embark in their vessels any more, for the continual clamour of these *base villianes up at court* and thence to us hath so troubled our cogitacions that we can scarce ruminate of other business for writeing in answer to thair false crimes.....The *Swan* departed on the 6th current with 232 bales of cloth and cloves." (FEF, 1637-41, 79-80). See Foster, *The Founding of Fort St. George*, 14.

[24] FEF, 1634-36, 325-26. The Dutch also were preparing a mission to Golconda probably under the Governor Signor Charles (Carel Renierszoon) with a large present to the King. Dagh Register, 1036, p. 268, in *Ibid.* See Foster, *The Founding, etc.*,

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fortune, did not prove to be consistent in his policy or rather moulded it as suited his own interests even at the cost of those of the state. Evasion of the *farman*[25] continued inspite of protests from the Golconda officials. In these circumstances some sort of rapprochement, however unholy and unjustifiable, was considered to be for the immediate advantage of both. The man who profited most was Mir Jumla. By the undue exercise of the powers of royalty he threatened the English, who, however, did not fail to realise his threats to be mere pretences for the exaction of money and for increasing his hold on them. As the Masulipatam factors wrote to Rogers at Golconda (May 18, 1638) :—"This no other then tetalle (pretence) with which they thinks to blinde our eyes (but they are mistaken); Meir Mahm (u) d Syde his letter anc (e) ring no other in our judgment, waighing the base dealings of his when he was Governour of this bunder (*i.e.*, Masulipatam) with us, Mahmud Saiyid need not thinke to Skeare (scare) us with his great words in saying if we intend to depart this country we may go. Lett him know that, when his and all his childrens bodyes are sacrificed to Mahomett, weill advance our heads higher in this bunder then now we can doe, and in spith of the Dutches great promises."[26]

Consequently as Mir Jumla became the chief minister and the most influential man in the Golconda state, whose friendship and aid were invaluable, but displeasure feared, the English factors, perceived the political and commercial advantages of keeping him appeased, and showed in an ever increasing degree the businesslike wisdom of a merchant

[25] *Cf.* the complaints of the King of Golconda to Andrew Cogan. See Foster, *The Founding of Fort St.George*, 4.

[26] FEF, 1637-41, 75-76. It appears that Mir Muhammad Sa'id held the post of the Shahbunder of Masulipatam in succession to Khwaja Md. Kasim. See FEF, 1622-23, p. 233. The Dutch had been trying to prevent the growth of English trade by exciting the Golconda officials against the English.

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in their relations with him. Even as early as January 24, 1638, Thomas Clark and Richard Hudson at Masulipatam withdrew their former request to the President and Council at Surat, for the detention of certain property, belonging to Mir Muhammad Sa'īd.[27] In December, 1639, the Masulipatam factors advised the factors in Persia to use Mir Muhammad's pilot Nākhuda Mullā Hasan Ali, "he being a kinde of a churchman, and one very well beloved of the Serkale (sic), whoe upon the matter governeth the whole Kingdom."[28] While the English factors, with a view to keep him satisfied, offered him presents, lent him men and money, and traded on his behalf, by taking his goods in their ships freightfree, Mir Muhammad Sa'īd in his turn gave help to the English on various occasions and tried to increase the sense of their obligation[29] to him. Thus he tried to use the English as an instrument for the realization of his own political and commercial ambitions, so that he could turn to the English for help in times of a change of fortune.[30]

The necessity of the English Company's factors for offering presents to Mir Muhammad Sa'īd, now styled the Nawab,[31] no doubt arose as a matter of contemporary administrative and business etiquette.[32] But it was also considered by them to be a panacea for all cases of official interference and troubles, just or unjust, and a means of

27 FEF, 1637-41, 43.

28 Letter of Dec. 14, 1639, *Ibid.*, 220-22.

29 By (*i*) loan of money
(*ii*) confirmation of privileges
(*iii*) Wylde going to Mocha in M. J's junk (FEF 1646-50, 137)
(*iv*) helping Cogan in 1639.

30 The motive of remaining in friendly terms with the Portuguese in the beginning was also the same.

31 May 28, 1638.

32 Moreland, *Akbar to Aurangzeb*, 280-82. Bernier observes c. 1663: "Since it is the custom of Asia never to approach Great Persons with Empty Hands, when I had the Honour to kiss the Vest of the Great Mogul, Aurangzebe, I presented him with Eight Rupees." *Hobson Jobson*, 824.

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securing commercial concessions.[33] On December 1, 1636, Masulipatam factors, in their letter to the President and Council at Bantam, observed, ". . . it is a common custome in this country when great men are not remembered in that kind (*i.e.*, piscash), they quickly turn theire favours into frownes and there every petty raskall will immitate them."[34] Moreover, as the rivals of the English like the Dutch,[35] the Portuguese,[36] the Danes, made presents of money, curios, cloth, rubies and rarities and what not, the former considered that they also must do the same, otherwise they would lag behind in the race for obtaining trade privileges from the Nawab and in the seramble for securing his good wishes. Thus John Yard and other factors in Bengal suggested to Thomas Clark and Richard Hudson at Masulipatam that as the Dutch had been with the Nawab, been so "free to him," and liberally offered *piscash* or presents to him, they also should follow suit by presenting Rs. 500 or more.[37] The Masulipatam factors (May 28, 1638) gave a cold reply, because "the returnes" were not very encouraging. However they wanted to know how much more than Rs. 500

[33] These presents were approved by the Court of Committees. We find in its proceedings :

(*a*) "List of presents for the King of Golconda read and approved, and the Committees appointed to buy them are directed to have the said presents ready to send in the *Swan*." (Oct. 7, 1635)."

(*b*) "Captain Milward and Mr. Kerridge directed to buy 'a compleate armour,' for the King of Golconda 'as good cheape' as one fitting and acceptable to the said King can be procured." (Oct. 23, 1635). *Court Minutes of the E.I.C.* (1635-39), pp. 101 and 108.

[34] FEF, 1634-6, 325-6.

[35] On June 11, 1639, the Masulipatam factors advised Cogan at Golconda to leave the capital before the impending arrival of the Dutch "for their lorge guifts our emptie hands shall procure the former respect and us disgrace : for, say what they will, there is noe Moore a friend longer than what will you give me." FEF, 1637-41, 142-43.

[36] Letter of Messrs. Cogan, Greenhill and Krown at Fort St. George to the President and Council at Bantam, January 4, 1643. FEF, 1642-46, 81.

[37] As a matter of fact they had been with the Nawab, as we gather from their letter of January 13, 1638.

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would be required ; and added that if a ship arrived from Europe that year, they might expect to hear further from them ; and that "the Nabob shall participate of such tophaies (*tunfa* or presents) as the company shall please to send out unto us."

If European Companies offered presents to Mir Muhammad Sa'īd unasked, he had to ask them to lend him pilots and sailors to help him in navigating his junks to Persia. Thus, besides a corps of European artillerymen in his army, he had a crew of hired European pilots and sailors. About the end of 1637 or beginning of 1638 the Nawab Mir Muhammad Sa'īd requested John Yard and other factors in Bengal[38] to supply him with a pilot and two or three Englishmen more to help him in navigating a junk of his to Persia. They also promised to furnish him with the same. But the Masulipatam factors considered (letter of May 28, 1638)[39] that they had "proceeded too far" in their promise, as the necessity of the English was such that they were then forced to "entertaine theise cuntry (country) blacks" to sail in their ships and boats. They also ordered that no Englishman was to be lent to the Nawab, and that Robert Shrimpton, a Company's servant drawing a salary of Rs. 10 a month, was to be sent to Masulipatam immediately. Further they observed "Now judge, yea, what reason we have to furnish Moores, whose affections towards us contynues noe longer than tell (till) theire own turnes are searved." But at the same time the Masulipatam factors considered it inadvisable[40] to displease Mir Muhammad Sa'īd by a blunt refusal, and so instructed the Bengal factors to keep the Nabob contented "with delassa and reapa" (encouragement and patience) and to hold out hopes of supply of required sailors to him in case of arrival

[38] FEF, 1637-41, 76.

[39] *Ibid.*, 77.

[40] As we gather from their letter of January 13 or March 21, 1638 to Masulipatam.

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of an expected ship from Europe that year.[41] Thus the response of the English Company's factors on this occasion depended on their own needs and internal condition of their own factories, jealousy of what they considered to be a selfish attitude of the Moors, and the numerical strength of their manpower[42] and arrival of fresh crew from Europe.

We gather from the proceedings of a Consultation held at Masulipatam on December 11, 1642, and the letter of Fort St. George factors to Bantam, dated January 4, 1633, that in 1642 the English factors decided to lend a pilot[43] named Roger Adams[44] and another Englishman to sail on Mir Jumla's junk to Mokha, in view of a "proposed loan" from the Sar-i-Khāil, and his "importunities." Fear of Dutch competition also influenced the decision, for the Dutch had then lent the Sar-i-Khāil 9 men to sail his junk to Persia and 2 pieces of ordinaree.[45]

On January 29, 1647, Thomas Winter and Richard Hudson at Masulipatam wrote to Surat that "the Mir Jumla" had sent two junks from Masulipatam to Gombroon and Mokha respectively, the former carrying some of his own

[41] FEF, 1637-41. 76-77. 51 n. 56 n. It is interesting that while Mir Muhammad Sa'id required the services of English pilots, the English themselves employed Indians to man their ships. Mir Jumla was very unwilling to employ Vijaynagar Sailors; the sailors in East Coast must all have been subjects of Vijaynagar at that time or shortly before and between Vijaynagar and Golconda or Mir Jumla there could not have been much of amity those days. In fact in a few years Mir Jumla was carving out his Nawabship of the Carnatic out of Vijaynagar. Apparently therefore Mir Jumla preferred Englishmen whom he had obliged to Vijaynagar sailors who might hand over his ships to pirates or their own state or otherwise damage the ships or the cargoes.

[42] See *Ibid.*, 255.

[43] Against the opinion of the Agent of Masulipatam.

[44] FEF, 1642-5, 69, 81, 234. Roger Adams was a master's mate. He was bound for China on "the Portugall ship last year." It left Fort St. George for Goa, was cast away near Negapatam where the Portuguese were besieged by the Nayaks of Tanjore, (Dagh Register, quoted in FEF, 1642-45, 81). Unfortunately he died during the voyage. Letter of Swally Marine factors, January 3, 1645, *Ibid.*, 234.

[45] *Ibid.*, 81. This shows that the man-power of the Dutch was greater than that of the English then.

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goods, and the latter being pilotted by Richard Walwyn who "behaved very civilly while here," and that he was about to send another junk for Pegu, laden with "his own and freight goods." Another junk, called "Derry Dowlatt" (Darya-doulat, the river of wealth) pilotted by one John Gayton from Masulipatam to Mokha last year (1646), which was referred to by the factors in the above letter, might also have belonged to Mir Jumla. The factors expressed anxiety at the absence of any news of it after it had left Mokha on August, 1646 and feared that it might have been seized by some pirate. From the letter of Thomas Winter at Masulipatam to Surat, dated July 16, 1647 it however appears that the above ship was wrecked off Ceylon. The passengers had previously abused Gayton very much, and set him ashore on one of the Maldive Islands, where he died with grief. They chose "a pilott of theire owne cast" who brought the ship to "the rocks of Columba" (Colombo).[46] On December 24, 1650, the "Annabobs" (Mir Jumla's) junk, bound for Persia, and pilotted by Thomas Bostock, passed by and saluted with one gun, the English ship *Bonito* there lying in anchor in Madras Road.[47]

Besides hiring pilots and sailors from European Companies, Mir Muhammad Sa'īd occasionally borrowed money from them, the reasons of which are not clear from the English factory records. He did so probably when he required sufficient money to finance his business enterprises like farming of diamond-mining and commercial ventures (and

[46] FEF, 1646-50, 98, 139. On 16th January, 1647, the ship *Rebecca*, belonging to "Courteen's Association" arrived at Masulipatam from Bengal under Thomas Clark as Cape merchant. The Governor of Masulipatam fearing that the *Rebecca* might surprise some of Mir Jumla's vessels at sea, spoke Clark fairly, lent him a hundred pagodas for expenses, and promised to provide a house for a factory on his return next May or June. (Letter of Masulipatam factors to Surat, Jan. 29, 1647). FEF, 1646-50. 92-99.

[47] FEF, 1646-50, 273.

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building of ships, etc.), to further his political ambitions, or creating an army of his own.

A debt of 3000 pagodas (or Rs. 10,500) was due from the Nawab and Thomas Rogers was asked by the Masulipatam factors (February 20, and March 6, 1638) to forward the amount, if repaid, to Masulipatam where it was badly needed.[48] Thomas Ivy and Thomas Morris wrote (August 1, 1639) from Masulipatam to Andrew Cogan (at Golconda) expecting that he would be able to "recover the debts outstanding," including that of Mir Muhammad Sa'īd, of 1900 (or Rs. 6,650), "trusted by Mr. Joyce."[49] But Andrew Cogan, who received invaluable help from Nawab, during his mission to the Golconda court, and regarded him as his "special good friend," replied that he would not make any demands unless he was informed how the debt was contracted; and that, after getting the information, he would write to him about it from the 'bunder' or Masulipatam;[50] and further that he was "confident" that if it was a "due debt," it would be "paid on demand."[51] However, on November 27, 1640, the Masulipatam factors (Andrew Cogan, Thomas Rogers and Robert Markham) wrote to Surat that Mir Muhammad Sa'īd, the Sar-i-khail, utterly denied his liability for 1,919 pagodas out of a debt of 2,099 pagodas though he admitted that he had received three jewels, which he would either pay for or return, and that the rest must be looked upon as lost.[52]

Though Mir Muhammad Sa'īd sometimes borrowed money from the English out of necessity, he often assisted them by loans of money. There are many references in

[48] FEF, 1637-41, 49, 52. A pagoda was a South Indian coin valued at 3½ rupees. See *Hobson-Jobson*, 498; Moreland, *Akbar to Aurangzeb*, 331-33.

[49] *Ibid.*, 146.

[50] FEF, 1637-41, 147 n. *cf.* p. 72. See 1622-23, Vol. 221 n.

[51] *Ibid.*, 148.

[52] *Ibid.*, 266.

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English factory correspondence to show that deficiency in financial equipment was one of the standing complaints of the factors.[53] They required money to relieve their 'poverty' and wants to defray their monthly expenses[54] and to purchase investment for England. Borrowing from other sources having failed, the English factors on the East Coast took loans from Nawab Mir Muhamad Sa'īd; and they tried to put them to the most advantageous use.

At a consultation held in Masulipatam by Francis Day, Thomas Peniston, and Thomas Winter (December, 1642), it was decided that as no money could be borrowed there they should borrow at Golconda where the Sar-i-Khāil was willing to lend four or five thousand pagodas at an interest of $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ for four or five months; and that the sum would be sent after the departure of the *Hopewell* to Madraspatam, either by the *Advice* or the *Prosperous*.[55] On January 4, 1643, Messrs. Cogan, Greenhill and Brown at Fort St. George wrote to the President and Council at Bantam that they found it difficult to borrow money at Masulipatam to begin an investment for England. The moneyed men had mostly deserted the place on account of what they called the Sar-i-khāils "hard usage for to his power he'le suffer noe merchant to buy or sell there, but such as deale for him." It would appear from this letter that Mir Muhammad Sa'īd tried to control the trade at Masulipatam and establish his monopoly over it and amass a large sum of money, which might be necessary for his political or military objectives. It also shows that he promised recently to lend 10,000 pagodas to

53 Foster, *Founding of Fort St. George* (1902), 1-2.

54 FEF, 1637-41, 77. On May 28, 1638, Thomas Clark and Richard Hudson at Masulipatam wrote to John Yard and other factors in Bengal that they were "as destitute of money as they; they had no presents in stock, nor they did know where to procure 100 pagodas ready money to defray their monthly expenses." *Ibid.* On December 14, 1639, the Masulipatam factors wrote to Persia that "money was very welcome, for our credite at present is utterly lost." (*Ibid.*, 220-21).

55 FEF, 1642-45, 69.

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the English and that the factors were confident that if they got the sum they could use it to advantage, owing to the extreme cheapness of goods.[56] From a subsequent letter[57] we learn that 10,000 (new) pagodas (or 16,000 rials of eight)[58]—possibly a part of his plunder in the Carnatic—were borrowed gratis from the general of Golconda, Mir Jumla (who had almost conquered the kingdom of Carnat and reigned as king under the title of 'Annabob')" with effect from 9th March, 1646, on condition that the sum might be repaid on the arrival of the English ship. The amount borrowed wasused to provide a cargo for the *Hind*, which produced at Bantam nearly double its cost. Though the maximum time-limit was 6 months, the Fort St. George authorities could not pay off the entire amount before 29th June, 1647 which they did from the funds brought by the *Farewell*, together with some presents including a brass gun[59] valued at 641 pagodas 8 fanams. On this he gave a written release from all claims for interest.[60] The factors held that even in the absence of a loan, the Nawab would have expected such a present in return for the privileges at Masulipatam and his "new favours" in Fort St. George, in confirming under the royal seal the *firmans* of the "new fledd Jentue King," *i.e.*, the Hindu Raja Sri Ranga regarding this fort and all former privileges. As nothing would please him except the above-mentioned gun, and since his friendship, as experience taught them, was "much to be

[56] FEF, 1642-45, 79.

[57] Letter of Agent Greenhilt and Council at Fort St. George to the Adventurers in the fourth Joint Stock, Sept. 23, 1648 and letter of Thomas Ivy and William Gurney, at Fort St. George, to Co. 4th Oct., 1647. FEF, 1646-50, xxvii-xxix, 166-67, 213-14. Love I, 76, n, 97-98; Foster, *The Founding of Fort St. George*, 37.

[58] This debt was incurred by President Baker when he went to Bantam.

[59] "in requittal of the annabobs curtezie."

[60] The interest on 10,000 pagodas would amount to 2,400 pagodas at 1½% the lowest rate current there and not 2,350 pagodas as mentioned, the period being 9th March, 1646–29th June, 1647 (1 yr., 3 months & 20 days). *Ibid.* Mir Jumla was the first Nawab of the Carnatic.

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valued'' there, the factors concluded that the gun could not be refused with convenience and profit to the Company's affairs and trade on the Coast. The Fort St. George factors thus significantly wrote to the Company (9th October, 1647): "See by this means the gun hath saved you three times the value of it by accomplishing two good Acts at once...."

The relation between the Nawab and the English was not simply the usual one of a debtor and a creditor. As the former was the highest officer of the Golconda state, the English had to feel the weight of his influence in their transactions regarding the recovery of debts and they thought of combating it, if necessary, by force. In 1639 the King of Golconda gave a *farman* to the English for recovery of goods with power to demand and receive them and even to seize the persons of the debtors and keep them till payment.[61] When the royal officers attempted to enforce it, the Agent and Council at Masulipatam sent Winter to recover the debts at Ellore due to the Company, from Komatis[62] and weavers, etc., and the unjust exactions which rebel governors had made from the Company and its servants. But after they had promised to repay the sums if "the parties (as Clarke, Hudson and Peninston) would swear to the particulars and the value of the amount, they created difficulties by objecting to the "linguist" (interpreter). A quarrel arose in which their as well as the Company's servants' lives were endangered. Negotiation with the debtors having failed, Winter returned to Masulipatam and wanted to inform the Sar-i-Khāil of all that had happened and tell him that since they were rebels of Golconda, the English would not trouble the Sar-i-Khāil for recovery of their dues but "right themselves" as best as they could and take the law in their own hands.[63] In 1640 the English factors at Masulipatam met with great difficulties

[61] FEF, 1637-41; 146, 162-63; 255. See post.

[62] A trading caste. *Ibid.*, 1624-29, 135. 68-69.

[63] Letter to Bantam, Oct. 25, 1639; FEF, 1637-41, 190-91.

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and delay in realising their dues (valued at 10,000 pagodas) at Golconda and Viravasaram. They thought that none except the Sar-i-Khāil was to be blamed, as it was impossible for them to do anything in enforcing the royal *farman* (for recovery of debts) without "some strong assistance" from him ; and though they had repeatedly written to him about these debts, they were "as often put off by delaies." So they complained to Surat (Oct. 14, 1640) that recovery was uncertain and the only way to secure it was by "force", *i.e.*, indirect pressure on the Sar-i-Khāil like seizure of his junks, so that he might be stirred to see to the quick recovery of the debts of the English.[64]

Extensive commerce with different parts of the world was one of the principal sources of the power and influence of the Nawab Mir Muhammad Sa'īd. Persia, the land of his birth, figured prominently in his commercial enterprises. He was in the habit of sending annually from the East Coast to Persia a large quantity of goods, in his own junks as well as the ships of the English Company. There are many references in English factory correspondence to show that these goods were to pass freight-free[65] and free of customs.[66]

On September 26, 1637, Agent Pinson and Thomas Clark aboard the *Blessing* (at Masulipatam) wrote to President Methwold and Council at Surat that some sugar belonging to Mir Muhammad Sa'īd, the King's Sar-i-khāil was to pass freight-free to Gombroom (Bandar Abbas), where it was to be sold, and that the sale proceeds were to be retained until further orders.[67] About October, 1640, the Nawab referred in a letter to the Masulipatam factors to a quantity of sugar sent to Gombroom in the *Blessing*, the proceeds of which

64 FEF, 1637-41, pp. 255, 146. Since this complaint was made by Andrew Cogan, who had a high opinion of the Nawab, it is necessary to explain his attitude here.

65 FEF, 1637-41, 30n; 260, 71.

66 *Ibid.*, 1642-45, 207-208.

67 FEF, 1637-41, 30&n.

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should be delivered to "Nochoda Mula Hassan Aley" (Nākhuda Mulla Hasan Alī).[68]

Though jealous of these activities of the Nawab, the English acquiesced in them out of considerations of some practical advantages accruing therefrom. So far as sending Mir Muhammad Sa'id's sugar freight-free was concerned, the Masulipatam factors (Thomas Clark, Richard Hudson, Thomas Peniston and Thomas Winter) wrote (on May 17, 1638) that they could not justify the action, but as the Sar-i-Khāil owed the Company 1900 pagodas, "the proceeds would clear accounts."[69] About sending goods customs-free the Fort St. George factors (Andrew Cogan, Henry Greenhill and John Brown) explained (Sept. 20, 1642) to the Company their action in asking that certain goods from Masulipatam should be excused the payment of customs at Gombroom. By so doing they gained the love of the King and the Sar-i-Khāil. They observed: "Whether our letter or no, they had not paid a pice custom, for there is small hopes to get your customs from the Moors and Persians that trades in junks, when you cannot get the custome of goods that comes uppon your owne shipping." However they had long since promised Surat that neither the King nor the Sar-i-Khāil should ever prevail against with them for any such letter.[70] The futility of objection and the ultimate advantages of acquiescing in the system were clearly brought home to the Company by the Swally Marine factors (President Burton, Thomas Merry and Richard Fitch) in their letter, dated November 28, 1644. They represented that the Sar-i-Khāil pretended that the goods belonged to the King of Golconda and expected that they should be landed free of customs "inasmuch as concernes your proportion thereof," in return

68 *FEF, 1637-41, 260. See ibid., 220-22.*

69 *Ibid.*, 71.

70 *FEF, 1642-45, 55.*

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for the 'immunities' and privileges enjoyed by the English there. But the factors pertinently noted that it was immaterial whether the goods belonged to the King or to the Sar-i-Khāil for the latter governed "the King and consequently the country;" that it was impossible for the East Coast factors to refuse his requests; that refusal was not proper, as it might cause them "much trouble"; and that the arrangements would mean to the Company very "little loss" so long as the Company got not their "due proportion of customes, but must take what they please to allot you." They gave a list of goods thus passed at Gombroom customs free, and concluded that if this practice was continued, "the customes of your goods at the Coast (except your trade, were greater) will be more then (than) sufficiently paid for, whilst in appearance you are therefrom exempted." [71]

But beneath these outward endeavours to placate the Nawab, who might otherwise be led to adopt stringent or adverse measures against the English, ran a current of deep internal hatred towards him. 'A union of hearts' between the Nawab and the English 'was a psychological impossibility,'[72] and the letters of the English factors give ample illustrations of the surging up of their never-failing fountain of animosity and illwill. This attitude of the English towards Mir Jumla during this period was based on the circumstances in which he had to object to the actions of the English factors and insist on a strict interpretation of the *Farmans*, the manner in which he used the English, and on the commercial rivalry between him and the English.

As a matter of fact, through his commercial activities, Mir Jumla gradually became a keen competitor of the English East India Company. He had a growing mercantile marine

[71] FEF, 1642-45, 207-8. This shows that up to 1644, no friction had occurred between the King and the Nawab.

[72] *Cf.* Srinivasachari, *History of Madras*, p. 50.

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with which he traded in different parts of the world.[73] He used to construct ships in the East Coast and monopolized almost all trade to Persia. The English, not finding any opportunity of getting freight on goods sent from Masulipatam to Persia, endeavoured not to lose any freight in the Bay of Bengal ports.

On July 26, 1638, Thomas Clark and Richard Hudson at Masulipatam informed the President and Council at Surat that no freight was forthcoming for the *Swan*, partly because Mir Muhammad Sa'id was building a junk of about 800 tons for himself at Narsapur and wanted to dispatch her to Persia or Mocha next monsoon.[74] On January 17, 1643, the Swally Marine factors observed that " the all ruling Sarkail or vizier,' in the Kingdom of Golconda had built and yearly used to send one or more vast junks to Persia, and that other vessels were not allowed to load themselves till his was filled up. However they approved of the dispatch of the *Hopewell* to Persia, because they felt that she was not likely to lack freight either way.[75] On September 20, 1642, the Fort St. George factors wrote to the Company that " they had been advised by Masulipatam factors that scarcely any freight would be procurable for Persia because the Sar-i-khāil sent his "great" junk there that year and that they had accordingly sent word of this to the Bay, ' that if so be Mr. Day Coold (could) procure a freight, not to refuse it.'' [76] On November 5, 1642, they again wrote to the Company that they had advised Day to accept freight there for Persia, as he could not expect any at Masulipatam, where ' the Serkailes

[73] Pegu Tenasserim, Acheen, Arakan, Persia, Bengal, Mokha, Peruck, Maldeeves, Macassar. FEF, 1651-4, 12; Love, I, 100.

[74] FEF, 1637-41, 79-80.

[75] FEF, 1642-45, 88.

[76] *Ibid.*, 55. The same letter observes : ' It is untrue that goods from Masulipatam to Persia pay freight according to fineness. All cloth is weighed at the ' Bancksall ' (custom-house) and ' according to its weight, payes both freight and custome.' Scale of freight given.' *Ibid.*

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great jonke ' would monopolize all that was available. If no freight be procurable in the Bay, they hoped that he would at all events be able to procure some sugar, etc., there for Persia and then fill up with goods of these parts.' [77] The English Company's factors regarded the commercial activities of Mir Jumla with apprehension and jealousy and we find that Thomas Ivy at Fort St. George tried to prevent Richard Cogan, son of Andrew Cogan, from making a voyage to Pegu on behalf of Mir Jumla and thereby prevent further extension of his commercial ascendancy in Burmese waters.[78]

Expressions and epithets like the following illustrate the venom of ill-will towards Mir Jumla, *viz.*, " our utter enemies," [79] the " base way " in which the Sar-i-khāil treated Thomas Rogers at Golconda,[80] " ingenious gentlemen at Court," [81] " base dealings of his," [82] a " base fellow, " [83] " that hellhound the Serkale," [84] " Dog, Devil," [85] " bad intendments of these devilish Moores." [86] The irony of the situation was that the English factors were at the same time courting the Nawab for securing his good books.

The above expressions indicate a growing sense of exasperation of the English factors in the Coromandel Coast. Inspite of the royal *farmans* of 1632 and 1634, and inspite of the unholy *entente* between Mir Jumla and the English, the commercial position of the latter at Masulipatam did not improve. As a matter of fact the trade of the English

77 FEF, 1642-5, 67.
78 FEF, 1646-50, 198. Letter to Surat, January 17, 1648.
79 FEF, 1634-6, 325-6.
80 FEF, 1637-41, 49.
81 *Ibid.*, 75.
82 *Ibid.*, 75-6.
83 *Ibid.*, 163.
84 *Ibid.*, 142-3.
85 *Ibid.*, 200.
86 *Ibid.*, 78-9.

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suffered "repeated checks" during 1638-39. Friction with the Golconda officials who prevented "their (English) receiving from the native merchants and manufacturers, the goods for which they had contracted," [87] was 'frequent and bitter.' [88]

Complaints were made against the Sar-i-khāil in the correspondence of the Masulipatam factors. They expressed regret to Thomas Rogers at Golconda (Letter of February, 20, 1638) at "the base way" in which he had been treated by the Sar-i-khāil, Mir Muhammad Sa'īd; and expressed the opinion that 'force' was the only remedy as complaints of Agent Pinson (of injuries inflicted on the English at Masulipatam) made to Golconda 45 days ago remained unanswered.[89] Again the factors complained (March 16, 1638) to Thomas Rogers at Golconda about Mir Jumla's "unjust dealing with them about the town of 'Molloule' (Mallovol) near Masulipatam." It had been rented by the English from May, 1634. But from a Dutch letter of January, 1637, we know that the English had been ordered by a royal farman to surrender the lease; that as they objected to do so without compensation, the English representative at Golconda had been dragged out of his house, by order of the King's Secretary, well-beaten and imprisoned. Subsequently, by the intervention of an influential man, he was released on condition that he did not leave the city.[90]

In their letter [91] to Thomas Rogers at Golconda, dated May 18, 1638, the Masulipatam factors advised him to

87 Bruce, I, 360.

88 Foster, *The Founding of Fort St. George*, 4. See *ante*.

89 FEF, 1637-41, 49. Introduction, xxxi-xxxii. Clark instructed Rogers to leave the capital and go to Masulipatam. The factors there wanted to blockade the port with their vessels and secure redress. But Rogers was not allowed to go out of the capital. *Ibid.* Bruce, I, 360; Foster, *The Founding of Fort St. George*, 4.

90 Dagh Register, 1637, p. 94 in FEF, 1637-41, 52-53.

91 It was accompanied by a letter in reply to Mir Muhammad's letter to Masulipatam.

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give full information about "their demands' to those ingenious gentlemen at court.'" They could not believe that their letters written to the 'Sheak, Mullavez, and Seirkeile' had been delivered to the King, for if so satisfaction would surely have been received by this time.[92]

Another complaint was made against Mir Muhammad Sa'īd in the letter[93] of the Masulipatam factors, Thomas Clark and Richard Hudson, dated July 25, 1638, to Thomas Rogers at Golconda. Writing on the proceedings of Captain Weddell, 'one of the most notable of the early sea-captains of the East India Company,'[94] the factors observed that the Governor of Masulipatam, acting under orders from Mir Muhammad Sa'īd, "doth everyday proceede in his villianey, workeing by all menes that possible he may against them . . . Mir Muhammad Syed hath beene the chief factor in this businesse, as wee are informed." But a dispassionate study of the facts enables us to know that the English factors were in the wrong and Mir Muhammad was right. Captain Weddell and Mountney, "the chiefs of Courten's Association,"[95] which had agreed not to interfere with the trade of the E.I.C. at any of their settlements, proceeded to Musulipatam. They were cordially welcomed by Clark and Hudson there in violation of the definite injunctions of the Company. Then they claimed that the exemption from customs duties, granted to the E.I.C. by the 'Golden *Farman*,' should be extended to themselves also. The local authorities, however, insisted on payment of the duties knowing from the Dutch that the newcomers

92 The word 'Sheak' probably refers to Shaikh Muhammad Khatim, appointed Mir Jumla (April, 1634). FEF, 1637-41, p. 75.

93 FEF, 1637-41, 71-9.

94 *Ibid.*, Intro. xxxiii.

95 For Weddell see Bruce, I, 340-2; 350. 357ff. *Court Minutes of the E.I.C.* 1635-39, 127-29; Elphinstone, *Rise of British Power in the East*, 38-9; H. B. Morse, *The Chronicles of the E.I.C. trading to China, 1636-1834*, Vol. I (1926), Ch. 2.

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did not belong to the Company. Weddell, fearing arrest, secretly boarded his ship when free access with the shore was denied to him and his men. In retaliation they fired into the city. Weddell's actions were thus wholly indefensible [96] and the Golconda authorities were right in adopting strong measures under the orders of Mir Muhammad Sa'īd. As Sir William Foster, commenting on a different occasion, truly observes: " It is only fair to say that the faults were not all on one side. The English merchants were apt to be overbearing and not too scrupulous in their dealings with the natives." [97]

The Company tried to escape from its embarrassed situation " by two ways first, by selecting a safer and commercially more profitable station on the coast, further South [98]; and second, by obtaining a fresh firman from the King of Golconda, granting commercial privileges to the English.[99] The first attempt, with which we are not directly connected here, led to the immediate foundation of Fort St. George, while the second led to the mission of Andrew Cogan to Golconda.

In 1639 the Presidency at Bantam dispatched Thomas Ivy to supersede Thomas Clarke, Agent at Masulipatam and reestablish order there. In the meantime, Andrew Cogan [100] had been sent to the East Coast by the Presidency at Surat, acting under authority from England and being 'unaware of Ivy's mission from Bantam.' Together with

[96] FEF, 1637-41, xxxii-xxxiii. From the Court Minutes it appears that the outrages committed by Weddell at Masulipatam were such as to cause imprisonment of the Company's Agent and the imperilling of privileges of trade purchased at so great a cost. " The Company therefore prayed to the King to grant them such help as will encourage them to proceed in their trade . . ." *Court Minutes*, 1635-39, 337-38.

[97] *The Founding of Fort St. George*, 4 n.

[98] Bruce, I, 360, 368-69; Foster, *The Founding, etc.*, 4.

[99] Bruce, I, 368-69.

[100] For details about Cogan's career, see Foster, *The Founding of Fort St. George*, 8-9 and fn.

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two factors, Henry Greenhill and Thomas Morley, Cogan sailed to Goa in May, 1639, and thence made his way across the peninsula by way of Bijapur and Golconda. After an adventurous and difficult journey he arrived on the 19th July, 1639, at a place five *kos* from Golconda,[101] where Rogers met him and delivered the letter from Masulipatam, dated June 11, 1639. It noted: "If that hellhound the Serkale should bring you before His Majestie, we presume your complaints will never been heard ; therefore, could wish rather that you would plead your cause at sea, for on land we shall reape nothing but faire words." He replied (July 22, 1639)[102] that he wanted to avoid visiting the King at the capital and adding to his costly journey the expenses for presents which would not bring adequate return. But Rogers advised him that (*i*) it would be unsafe or prejudicial to their interests, if he passed by the city without acquainting the Sar-i-khāil (as his approach was already known to the King)[103] and (*ii*) that a present must be given, since none had been given for three years and the last one had been refused as being too small. Finding that he could not ignore this advice, and that he could not otherwise get 'pulankeene men'[104] for his journey, Cogan came within two miles of Golconda on the 20th and wrote a few lines to the Sar-i-khāil. The latter replied that the King desired to see him, assured him that 'wherein hee could would be . . . servant in the behalf of the Company.' Cogan did not believe these assurances, as the Masulipatam letters had represented the Sar-i-khāil as their "great enemy." But he could not avoid visiting him and the King, who

101 According to Cogan's letter from Masulipatam to Bantam, September 3 1639, he arrived a 'mile of Golconda' on 19th.

102 Admitted to Golconda.

103 As for the grievances to be brought to the notice of the latter, he referred him to the paper (*i.e.*, letter) lately received from Masulipatam.

104 Tavernier (Bangabasi Edition, 1905), p. 143.

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would expect great presents, according to past practice ; and he held that something must be done, even though their expectations might not be fulfilled.

Thus, through the efforts of the Sar-i-khāil, Mir Muhammad Sa'īd, Cogan obtained audience of the King. The King gave a fair reception to Cogan and had more than an hour's discussion with him (July 28, 1639).[105] In the beginning, the King complained that (*i*) since the death of Joyce, the English factors at Masulipatam had " abused " him as well as the Company —" him in killinge his subjects [106] and the Company is not observing the tennour (terms) of the royal firman—which had become void by " fathering strangers goods." [107]

Later on, Cogan presented the King with a petition, containing the following prayers :—

(*i*) That the English be allowed " quiett and free trading in his country [108] (*ii*) that the King's governors in their respective jurisdictions might be commanded (*a*) " to satisfie such monies as could be proved had been wrongfully taken from the Company," and (*b*) to recover " such debts as were due upon skreets (?) from severall painters, weavers, etc., or else to deliver their persons," and (*iii*) that as the Company's business in Masulipatam was much distracted, Cogan might be permitted to go there suddenly as necessity arose.

The King granted Cogan's petition in all particulars, (28th July).[109] He gave order immediately, for the drafting

105 Letter to Masulipatam, July 30, 1639.

106 *Cf* the account of Captain Weddell.

107 *i.e.*, by cheating the customs by passing off strangers' goods as their own. Foster. *The Founding, etc.*, p. 4.

108 *i.e.*, a *farman* for free trade in Golconda, not simply for ' coast trade ' as Love says.

109 The news was communicated to him on 29th evening by the Sar-i-khāil, who was spoken as 'my most loving freinde.' See Bruce, I, 368-9. The *Farman* prohibited the Golconda subjects from withholding the goods for which they had contracted, or refusing the payment of debts due to the Company, *Ibid.*

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of a general *farman* to be granted to the English for their "freetrade in all parts of his Kingdome" and three other separate or particular *farmans* to such governors as were concerned in recovery of debts. The King held such a good opinion of Cogan that when he took leave of him he was pleased to inquire if he "remembered ought elce" (anything else), beneficial to the Company, which was not inserted in the petition. He even instructed Cogan to "acquaint his Sirkale" of any such omission.

In these attempts, Andrew Cogan was opposed by the Dutch, who, inspite of sending large presents, could not obtain an equally favourable farman.[110]

In course of this affair the Sar-i-khāil showed great respect to Andrew Cogan, which struck him as something unusual in view of the entirely different descriptions previously given about his character by the Masulipatam factors. Cogan's attributes lavishly bestowed on him stand in sharp contrast to the abuses of other factors: *viz*: "my most loving friende" [111] "my speciall friende" [112] "my noble friend." [113] Cogan writes: "the Sar-i-khāil (to the admiration of all people that knows him) [114] used me with that respect as I am not able to expresse: for all the nobility waighted on him and hee to (sic) the King and at other times attend on mee. I must confesse, till I sawe the contrary, I thought it had beene done for lucre of gaine; for in all their letters from Masulipatam they termed him a base fellow and an utter enemy." Evidently Andrew Cogan could not find any suitable ground of complaint and he considered that an admirable change must have come over the Sar-i-khāil. He

110 Bruce, *op. cit.*

111 Letter of July 30, 1639, FEF, 1637-41, 145.

112 Letter of August 9, 1639. *Ibid*, 148.

113 Letter of September 3, 1639, *Ibid*, 162.

114 The expression might imply that to the people concerned with Mir Jumla his treatment of Cogan appeared to be somewhat different from what had been ordinarily meted out by him to the English factors.

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observed that he would say more of him, " for surely when I peruse your letters etts , I cannot but even admire of his change." This change, in the opinion of Cogan, was not due to any hope of private gain. For he sent a present to the Sar-i-khāil privately,[115] but the latter, " very nobly " wanted to return all, and did, as a matter of fact, return all except a piece of ambergreese, weighing about a seer, with professions of love and friendship, so that Cogan might not think that he despised him or the present. Mir Muhammad professed that what was done, and what he could do, would not be in expectation of other return than love. When the *farmans* were prepared (9th August, 1639) and delivered by the Sar-i-khāil, Cogan presented him with a small jewel, purchased from an American on 200 rials of eight. As it was accepted as if it had been of a far greater value, Cogan concluded (letter to Bantam, September 3, 1639) that if any occasion arose for the Company to use the Sar-i-Khāil, " who indeed command(ed) the whole Kingdome," it would certainly be " repaid a thousand fould." On the 20th August, Cogan, accompanied by all other Englishmen, delivered, at the Bankshall, the royal *farman*, to the Governor (of Masulipatam) to be read, and also a particular letter from the Sar-i-khāil, in which he commanded the Governor to receive and use Cogan with respect, " which hitherto hath not been wanting." [116]

[115] The reason of sending the present privately was, as stated by Cogan, to prevent other nobles from expecting similar presen's, which Cogan could not afford to give.

[116] For the whole episode, FEF, 1637-41, 143-4, 145, 148, 162-4. See also Letter of President Fremlan at Surat to Company, Dec., 1639, *Ibid*, 200; Love I, 13-14, 14n. Andrew Cogan notes further that from other nobles he had received good respect and promises and it would seem that they would be his friends. This, however, might suggest that Cogan's opinion regarding Mir Muhammad Sa'id might be a little overdrawn, for it is too much to expect that other nobles would also be equally sincere—or it might be that the other nobles, as general with such natures, showed professions of goodwill without any real feeling. Another explanation might be that Mir Jumla's example proved contagious.

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The conquest of the Carnatic by Mir Jumla effected a great change in his career and considerably influenced his relations with the English. By 1646 he had overrun a vast tract of country, including the districts round Madras[117] and he set himself to the task of establishing complete and thorough control over the conquered country.[118] The Persian merchant-adventurer was now not only a noble and minister in the court of an independent king, but he also himself possessed a kingdom, at once rich and powerful. In fact, the English found their late commercial rival and dangerous friend installed almost in the position of their overlord. Consequently the English looked upon the Nawab's conquest of the Carnatic with mixed feelings of apprehension and eagerness to secure his favour and support. The success of Mir Jumla alarmed the English for the safety of their goods and factors.[119] The Fort St. George factors in their letter to the President and Council at Surat, dated February 10, 1646, commented on the surrender of Malay, the General of the Raja of the Carnatic, and referred to its possible effects on English trade. They complained that they had neither ships nor boat to "secure the company's estate" and they begged that a vessel might be sent without delay.[120] There are copious references in English factory records to show that fear of Mir Jumla, and the protracted wars and troubles, had a share in the rapid strengthening of the fortifications at Madras (Fort St. George), so that it would be able to carry on its commercial pursuits by sheltering the local artisans, weavers, painters, washers, etc., and to defend itself from attack, if necessary.[121]

In 1642 Cogan and his colleagues advised the Company: "In the first place, it is our opinion in regard the Moores and

[117] FEF, 1655-60, p. 4. Srinivasachari, *History of the City of Madras*, pp. 36-8.

[118] FEF, 1646-50, p. 70. Srinivasachari, *op. cit.*

[119] FEF, 1646-50, XXV, 25. Love, I. 192.

[120] *Ibid.*, 26, Love I, 76. 147.

[121] Bruce, I, 377, 378, 424-5. 430 454-55. Foster, *the Founding of* Fort St. George, 16, 16, 18, 19-20, 25. Srinivasachari, *op. cit.* 49.

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Gentues are false, and not to be trusted, and that at all times you may command your own upon all the coast, 'tis very necessary you have a place to retire to under your own command. 'Tis not only our opinions, but the opinions of your Presidents of Bantam and Surat. . . . . The Dutch saw the necessitie of it 30 years since, which made them proceed upon Pullicatt . . . ere brought to perfection." [122] As the state of the country continued to be disturbed due to the wars between Vijaynagar on the one hand and Golconda and Bijapur on the other and internal rebellions, the Fort St. George factors (consultations, 29th Dec., 1642) "latelie raised a third Bulwarke of turfe and wanting gunns to mount thereon, have resolved that the *Advice* shall spare us foure Minion for that purpose." [123]

During the year 1650-1, the English factors at Fort St. George and Masulipatam advised the Company that in order "to recover the trade at Fort St. George or at the Companies factories at Masulipatam, Verasheroon, and Pettipolee, the fort must be strengthened, and have a sufficient garrison, and the subordinate factories must either receive full repairs or the Company's trade on the Coromandal coast, be confined to Madras only." [124]

But Mir Jumla wisely refrained from manifesting any hostile designs against the English at a critical stage in his career and rather showed an inclination to be on friendly terms with the English factors on the coast. The latter, while endeavouring to defend and secure their position, naturally were anxious to get the favour and protection of the Nawab. As the importance of the Company's trade on the Coromandal coast was gradually increasing (1645-6), the English were desirous of obtaining confirmation from Golconda of all the former privileges granted by the Hindu

[122] Foster, The *Founding of Fort St. George*. 19-20.

[123] *Ibid.*, 25. See Srinivasachari, *op. cit*, 49-50.

[124] Bruce, I, 454-55.

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power.[125] From a Dutch account it appears that the English sent a mission to the Golconda court with a present of about 1,000 pardaos in spices, looking glasses, etc., and had promised at the King's request to buy the goods taken during war from the Dutch at Pulicat.[126] Moreover, realising that the dominion of the Carnatic must inevitably pass from Vijaynagar to Golconda, Ivy, the English Agent at Madras (August 1644—September, 1648), hastened to make an entente cordiale with the stronger power. Thus in 1646, when Mir Jumla formed a camp in the vicinity of Madras for the siege or blockade of San Thome, with an army of 8000 foot and 3000 horse, Ivy lent the Nawab his gunner and several of his best soldiers and assisted him in several ways.[127] Ivy's action was naturally resented by the Portuguese and Anglo-Portuguese relations became somewhat strained.[128] In return for all these acts of appeasement, the English asked for a confirmation of their existing *Qaul* and privileges and this was granted by Mir Jumla on behalf of the Golconda sovereign[129] (June 1627).

On October, 9, 1647, Thomas Ivy and William Gurney at Fort St. George wrote to the Company that Mir Jumla, the General of the King of Golkonda, "hath almost conquer'd this kingdome and reigneth as king under the title of Annabob." While repaying a loan, the English factors deemed it politic and expedient to present the Nawab a brass gun, so that he "confirm'd under the king of Golcondah(s) great scale all our former privilidges in ample manner, as it was granted unto us by the foresaid fledd Jentue King."[130]

[125] Letter of Port St. George to Court, Oct. 1, 1643. Bruce, I, 415.
[126] FEF, 1646-50, p. 25.
[127] Love, 76-77, 70. Srinivasachari, *History of the City of Madras*, 37.
[128] Love, *op. cit.*
[129] FEF, 1646-60. 25 : 1656-60, p. 4. Love I, 75-6.
[130] FEF, 1446-50, 166-7.

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Besides the English, the Dutch also became extremely anxious to remain in the good book of the all-powerful Nawab. In the autumn of 1650, the Dutch sent an envoy with a present, which was however refused, as Mir Jumla's letter to the Dutch Governor-General was left unanswered. Again the Nawab was angry at the Dutch interference with his trade at Queda and Achin. Taking advantage of his displeasure with their rivals, the English wanted to secure the co-operation of the Nawab. At the same time the King of Golconda was realising the importance of the English trade. Bruce observes : "The station of Madras having been obtained from the king of Golconda and the English trade appearing to him to be of great consequence, he made a proposal, this season, to the Agent and council, of forming a Joint stock with the company on which a coasting trade might be carried on, between the ports of his dominions and those of the other Indian powers."[131] Consequently, Agent Greenhill (1648-52) sent a broker to the Nawab with a present and then in December 1650, dispatched Walter Littleton and the broker Venkata Brahman on a further mission to him, then encamped at Gandikotta.[132]

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[131] Bruce, I, 454-55. See Srinivasachari, p. 50.

[132] FEF, 1651-4, XXV. Srinivasachari, *op. cit.*

2

INCIDENTAL REFERENCES TO POLITICAL EVENTS

In the Published Records of the East India Company (1600-1650)

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The English factors had no interest in the political affairs of India. Therefore, their references to political events are meagre. They only troubled themselves to write of these whenever they were very near the place of occurrence or when these affected their commercial fortunes. We should not expect to get out of the Company's records a connected narrative of political events. We find only disconnected references to them here and there. These accounts form an independent and trustworthy source for writing the political history of India. Whenever the factors committed errors in writing, those were generally due to lack of understanding and knowledge and not due to any prejudices. In this paper an attempt has been made to evaluate their description of every political event referred to by them with the help of the original authorities of the period or standard modern works.

Interesting light is thrown on submission of Rana Amar Singh, Mughul-Portuguese relations, the Nur Jahan Junta and court intrigues, Khasrau's death, Khurram's rebellion, Mahabat Khan's *coup d'etat*, death of Jahangir and Shah Jahan's succession, Mughul wars against the Deccan kingdoms, Mughul relations with Persia, and political events in Southern India.

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Submission of Rana Amar Singh

Early in 1614, Jahangir sent an army of 20,000 horse to subdue Rana Amar Singh. So far the Mughuls had not been able to bring to obedience the Ranas of Mewar.[1] The war ended in a victory for the Mughuls. The Rana got excused from coming to the court, but he sent his eldest son Karn with 3,000 horse to serve the Mughul King, at his own cost.[2] While Roe was at Ajmere, Karn came to the Emperor to offer submission. He was presented to the Emperor on March 12, 1616. He thrice performed *taslim* and offered to the Emperor the presents sent by his father. Jahangir embraced the young Rajput prince by the head.[3] Roe regarded the Ranas of Mewar as the descendants of Porus whom Alexander had subdued.[4]

Mughul-Portuguese Relations

The Portuguese in Surat wished to prevent other European powers from trading there.[5] When the Mughul authorities at Surat seemed to be inclined to allow the English to share the foreign trade of Surat with the Portuguese, their frigates captured an Indian ship which had returned from the Red Sea, in September, 1613, and carried her away. The ship was richly laden and was valued at £100,000 with 700 passengers.[6] Jahangir who was at Ajmere, hearing of it, ordered Mukkarrab Khan to go to Surat and seek restitution for the loss, "if not by peace, by wars."[7] Not content with this the Emperor took action

1 L. R., II, 104.

2 L. R., III, 71 (Kerridge at Ajmere to Company, March 20, 1615), *cf.* Memoirs R.B.,I., 273.

3 Roe, 127.

4 *Ibid.*, 82, 90. This is a traveller's tale.

5 L. R., II, 179.

6 L. R., I., 308-09, L. R., II, 96, *cf.* L. R., II, 104. Kerridge estimated its value at eight or nine hundred thousand dollars.

7 L. R., II, 104. *Cf.* Memoirs, R.B.I., 255.

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against the Portuguese subjects living in his dominions. It was ordered that their churches be closed and public exercise of their religion prohibited. The allowances granted to Jesuit missionaries were stopped.[8] The Jesuits at Agra said their prayers at Sir Robert Shirley's place where he stayed for about ten days in 1614.[9] Orders were issued for the seizure of the Portuguese and their property. A Portuguese died at Agra in June, 1614, and his goods worth Rs. 47,000 were confiscated.[10] The result was that the Portuguese residents left Agra and in October we find none of them except one Jesuit.[11]

Meanwhile the Portuguese towns of Daman, Bassein and Chaul were besieged by the Mughul forces. The Portuguese threatened Surat which was not well fortified.[12] But they wanted to avoid war, offering restitution for the captured junk, but to no avail. The Great Mughul wanted to destroy their political power in India and would not consent to the expulsion of the English merchants demanded by the Portuguese. They used violent methods to frighten the Mughul authorities to come to terms. Their frigates went up and down the Western cost " burning and destroying " all they could. Broach was attacked and many boats and ships were burnt. Great part of Gogo was also burnt with three Indian vessels lying at anchor there.[13]

During the period of this conflict the English were well treated and the Indians had hoped to defeat the Portuguese with the help of the English ships. Captain Downton's fleet arrived at Surat in October, 1614, and Mukkarab Khan, who

8 L. R., II, 96, 107.

9 *Ibid.*, 141.

10 *Ibid.*, 96.

11 *Ibid.*, 142-43.

12 *Ibid.*, 97, 107, 150.

13 *Ibid.*, 150, 155, 261. *Cf.* L. R., II, 229. T. Ellington, at Surat wrote on December 16, 1614 that 120 ships were burnt at Gogo and this had created fear among Indians at Surat who had requested help of the English fleet.

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was Governor of Surat, asked the English to attack the Portuguese and to defend Surat, if they came there. But Captain Downton refused to do so unless first attacked by the Portuguse, pleading royal orders.[14] Mukkarrab Khan was incensed at the refusal of the English to fight the Portuguese. He is said even to have suspected the English of complicity with the Portuguese. To win them over he showed to Captain Downton a Jesuit's letter to the effect that the Portuguese viceroy had a command from his king, first to " drive away " the English ships and then to capture Surat.[15]

But these efforts do not seem to have availed them much. In January about forty frigates came to Surat and the Viceroy arrived at the bar of Surat on January 19, 1615, with another 40 frigates and nine ships and rode there quietly for the day. On January 20, he took the foolish step of sending three ships with 35 or 36 frigates to Swally, where the English fleet under Captain Downton forced the frigates to fly. Three Portuguese ships were captured and set to fire by the English. The Portuguese fought gallantly, according to Captain Downton, but their losses were great. They lost 400 to 500 men in this fight whereas the death-roll among the English did not exceed half a dozen.[16]

After this unexpected discomfiture the Portuguese made overtures of peace to Mukkarrab Khan but the negotiations failed.[17] Meanwhile, within ten days of their defeat, they were reinforced from Diu and Daman and made shows of

[14] L. R., II, 96, 149, 168. For Downton's Commission, see F. L. B., 451. This prohibited the commencement of hostilities on his part against the subjects of other Christian powers.

[15] L. R. II, 149, 186.

[16] *Ibid.*, 296, 302-03, 186, 303-04, and also L. R., III, 7-8, 15-16, *cf.* Danver—" The Portuguese in India, II," 171. In his description of the fight he says that the Portuguese themselves set their ships on fire but it is wrong.

[17] L. R., II, 305, 312.

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attack on the English. They then twice attempted unsuccessfully to set the English ships on fire, on February 9th and 10th. Failing in these attempts the Viceroy quitted the bar of Surat with his fleet on February 11, 1615.[18] Peace was concluded between the Mughuls and the Portuguese in 1615, the Portuguese giving Rs. 300,000 as compensation for the ship taken and allowing the Indian junks to proceed to the Red Sea " without search, licence or molestation." As regards the English, the Mughuls refused to expel them as they were peaceful.[19]

During Shah Jahan's reign the Portuguese came into conflict with the Mughul authorities many a time. It was believed that the Emperor wanted to expel the Portuguese from his dominions.[20] In 1628, the Portuguese captured four Indian boats worth £7,500 at Swally, with the English pinnance *James*.[21] It seems that an open conflict between the Portuguese and the Mughul authorities would follow. But Mir Musa, the Governor of Surat, who was also the farmer of custom duties, thinking that it would prove harmful to his port, made efforts to conciliate the Portuguese. He was successful in this and concluded an agreement with them who returned the Indian boats.[22]

In 1632, the Portuguese were expelled from Hooghly by the Mughul forces.[23]

18 L. R., III, 7, 49, 83, L. R., IV, 342, L. R., VI, 279.

19 Roe, 74. *Note.*—This peace was concluded by the efforts of Jesuits, especially Father J. Xavier and Gonclao Pinto Da Fonseca finally settled it on behalf of the Portuguese Viceroy and Mukkarrab Khan on behalf of the Mughul Emperor. Father Heras has published the text of the treaty from the Portuguese Government Archives of Nova Goa. But its terms differ much from those mentioned by Roe. *Heras S. J.*- " Jehangir and the Portuguese " (Proceedings of the I. H. R. C., IX (1926), pp. 72-80, Danvers has dated the treaty as June 7, 1615. (The Portuguese in India, II, pp. 173-74).

20 E. F., III, 326-27.

21 *Ibid.*, 328,

22 E. F., IV, 88, 100, 102,

23 *Ibid.*, 308,

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Towards the end of 1638, Prince Aurangzeb, who was the Viceroy of the Deccan, sent Mir Murad with 5,000 horse and an equal number of foot soldiers to conquer the Portuguese town of Daman. The Royal troops ransacked the place. Aurangzeb asked the help of the Dutch ships so that the Portuguese might not escape by sea, but they refused to comply with this.[24]

The Portuguese stayed the *kafila* of ships going from Daman to Cambay and refused to grant passes to Indian junks. The Viceroy sent his agents to Surat to conclude an agreement with the Mughul authorities.[25] Peace was concluded in 1639 between the Portuguese and Prince Aurangjeb, through the efforts of Mir Musa and the English President. The inhabitants of Daman promised to pay a sum of £5,000 per annum, *i.e.*, one-fourth of their revenue, to the Mughul au horities.[26]

Nur Jahan Junta and Court Intrigues

Nur Jahan's influence over Jahangir and the part played by her in the administration of the country are reflected here and there in the records. She conducted all the business of Jahangir and the latter took little part in government.[27] Nur Jahans' faction was very strong and none could oppose it except Mahabat Khan, a noble of great influence and power.[28] The Emperor had five sons; *viz.*, Khusru, Parviz, Khurram, Shahriyar, Sultan Taki. Khusru had rebelled against his father and was in prison. Sultan Parviz was governor of Allahabad and Khurram lived with his father. The last two were very young.[29] Sultan Khurram was the favourite of the Empress and her associates including her brother

[24] E. F., VI, 124-15.
[25] *Ibid.*, 123-24.
[26] *Ibid.*, 214.
[27] L.R., V, 329, 332.
[28] L.R., IV, 324.
[29] L. R., V, 134. L. R., VI, 188-89.

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Asaf Khan. This made the prince very powerful. Roe writes that "he sits out in the same state as his father having a kingdom." At another place he describes him as an "Absolute King."[30] Due to the predominance of the Nur Jahan Junta, Khurram was in the favour of the Emperor. He openly cherished the ambition of succeeding his father; but it was said that Jahangir wanted the eldest Prince, Khusru, to succeed who was "loved and honoured by all." Both the factions had some great nobles on their sides. A civil war after the death of Jahangir was foreshadowed and one English factor was jubilant over the expected good sale of sword-blades in consequence.[31]

Khurram and his supporters were determined to clear his path to the throne by all means. Khusru was kept by the Emperor's order in the custody of a Hindu mansabdar Anup Rai (4,000 er). Prince Khurram's supporters, including the Empress, her father Itimad-ud-Daula and her brother Asaf Khan, took advantage of Jahangir's drunkenness, at Ajmere on October 10, 1616, and obtained his leave to place Khusru in Khurram's custody. Asaf Khan went to Anup Rai the same night for the purpose, but the faithful Raja refused to carry out the order unless he was personally asked by the Emperor. Next morning Jahangir refused to confirm the order.[32] Though foiled in this attempt, the faction continued its efforts to get hold of Khusru. The Deccan war afforded a good opportunity to impress upon Jahangir the advisability of handing over the eldest Prince to his ambitious brother. Khurram was ordered to go to the Deccan. His supporters pleaded before the King that the course suggested would increase Khurram's prestige and would be helpful in subduing the Deccanies. The King gave way and Asaf Khan took charge of Khusru, on behalf

30 L. R., IV, 15, 324. L. R., V, 332. Roe, 456.

31 Roe, 214. L. R., V, 134-35.

32 Roe, 245-46.

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of the Prince, on October 17, 1616.[33] This was bad news for Khusru's sister, and several women of the harem and the common people created a stir at the court.[34] On October 12, 1616, there was a rumour at Ajmere that an unsuccessful attempt had been made on Khusru's life by Khurram's partisans.[35]

Jahangir left Ajmere on November 2, 1616, for Mandu and Prince Khurram left for the Deccan. To the great joy of all, Jahangir took Prince Khusru from his goal with him on an elephant.[36] But he still remained in Asaf Khan's charge, who seems to have treated him with disrespect and on November 19, 1616, we find the King reprimanding Asaf Khan on that account.[37]

Khusru reached Mandu with Jahangir and it seemed that he would soon get freedom. On August 21, 1617, Roe found him taking " air and pleasure at the banquetting house." It was reported that Nur Jahan and Asaf Khan made efforts to ally with Khusru and marry the Empress's daughter to him.[38] On the other hand Prince Khurram had displeased his father by contracting a marriage at Burhanpur without the latter's permission.[39] A rumour reached Surat in September, 1619, that Sultan Khurram had been disgraced and that Khusru was released.[40]

33 Roe, 256. *Cf.* Memoirs, R.B., I., 336.

34 *Ibid*, 256-57.

35 *Ibid.*, 262.

36 *Ibid.*, 285-86.

37 *Ibid.*, 298-99.

38 *Ibid.*, 360. Writing to Surat on December 12, 1616, Roe had mentioned a rumour that Khusru was going to marry Nur Mahal's daughter and have freedom. It was never accomplished. This girl was married to Shahriyar in 1620 (R. B., II, 187-88).

39 *Ibid.*, 369. This marriage was with the daughter of Shah Nawaz Khan, son of Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan and took place on August 23, 1617 (Saxena, 14).

40 E. F., I, 123. Khushru was released on Asan 14, 1028 A. H. (1619 A.D.) Memoirs R. B., II, 107, but Khurram's disgrace is not mentioned anywhere else.

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Khusru's Death

On February 5, 1622, we find Nicholas Bangham at Burhanpur reporting to the factors at Surat the death of Khusru at that place, when Prince Khurram was out of the city for hunting.[41] This created a great hubbub at Burhanpur, Agra and the court which was at Kangra.[42] Prince Khurram was believed to be abettor of the murder, but the fact was concealed from the Emperor because of distance and " connivance of friends."[43] Khusru's dead body was burried at Burhanpur, but was taken out of the grave in May, 1622, by Jahangir's orders. The coffin arrived at Agra on June 20, and was sent the next day to Allahabad to be buried by his mother's side.[44]

Khurram's Rebellion

The murder of Khusru did not clear Khurram's path of all troubles. It rather proved disadvantageous to him for the time being. There were still in the field his nephew, Sultan Khusru's son Bulaki, and his brothers Parviz and Shahriyar. It was said that Sultan Bulaki's sight constantly distressed Jahangir because he was thereby reminded of his popular son Khusru.[45] Parviz had been disgraced in 1616, for his failure in the Deccan campaigns. He had been recalled and Khurram sent in his place. Parviz came towards Ajmire to see his father and when he came near, the King, due to the influence of Nur Jahan, commanded him to proceed straight to Bengal.[46]

But now in 1622 A.D., the situation was completely changed. Nur Jahan was as ambitious as Shah Jahan. She

41 E. F., II, 30.

42 *Ibid.*, 44. Jahangir received the news on Isfandarmux 4, 1031, A. H. that Khusru died of colic pain. Memoirs, R. B., II, 228.

43 E. F., II, 59, 65, 98, 244-45.

44 *Ibid.*, 79, 94.

45 *Ibid.*, 244-45.

46 Roe, 235.

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had married her daughter to Prince Shahriyar, a young boy whom she could control. Friction between the ambitious prince and the all powerful queen was quite apparent. Open fight took place betwen Shahriyar's and Khurram's men over the Dholpur Jagir and the roads between Agra and Gwalior became unsafe.[47] Jahangir held Shah Jahan to be in the wrong and punished the Governor of Agra for not helping Shahriyar's men in the conflict.[47] Shahriyar had been sent to Qandahar where the Persians had repulsed the Mughul forces. He had been made a commander of 30,000 horse and supplied with large sums of money for the campaign.[48]

Shah Jahan was now in disfavour with the King and towards the end of 1622 he rebelled. Gujarat had been under him since 1618. The English factory records provide us with a detailed account of the events in Gujarat on his revolt.

Shah Jahan removed the royalist officers such as Pehlawan Safid of Olpad, in Gujarat. Raja Vikramajit, Governor of Ahmedabad and Rustam Khan were promoted to 5,000 horse and ordered to go to Agra "to keep it for the Prince." The Governor of Broach and Baroda went to Mandu to join the Prince. His treasury from Ahmedabad was also despatched towards Mandu, but returned shortly.[49] Most people were at their wit's end in deciding the subtle question of preserving themselves both in favour with the King and the rebel Prince.[50]

47 E. F., 90, 94, 99. *Note.* Shah Jahan had applied to the Emperor for the Dholpur Jagir to be granted to him and thinking that his request would not be turned down had sent his men there, but Nur Jahan had already secured it for Shahriyar. Memoirs R. B. II, 235-36. Beni Parshad, 351.

48 E. F., II, 94. *Cf.* Memoirs, R. B., II, 237. Shahriyar had been granted *a mansab* of 12,000 *zat* and 8,000 *sowar.*

49 E. F., II, 176, 179-80, 181, 187-88.

50 *Ibid.*, 190.

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Shah Jahan himself went to Fatehpur Sikri and from there sent 16,000 men to capture Agra. His soldiers were successful in occupying the environs of the city and plundered it.[51] Jahangir proceeded towards Delhi, and a rumour spread that Asaf Khan was imprisoned.[52] A little later a great battle took place between the two parties. 5,000 men were slain on both sides including Raja Vikramajit, Rustam Khan and the latter's son. Shah Jahan retired hotly pursued by Abdullah Khan and Sur Singh.[53] Jahangir, shortly after, arrived at Agra and from there went to Ajmere, to consult a *pir* there in regard to the action to be taken against Shah Jahan. The latter was forced back to Mandu by the imperial army under Parviz.[54]

Meanwhile the royalists were busy in restoring the province of Gujarat to the empire. Raja Vikramajit's brother named Kunwar had succeeded him at Ahmedabad, but the Prince conferred its government on Abdullah Khan after its desertion. The latter sent his servant, Wafadar, to Ahmedabad. He reached there in April, 1623, but had some difficulty in assuming his charge amidst great disorder.[55] Shah Jahan had sent orders that his treasure and throne be sent to him at Burhanpur or Mandu with Raja Vikramajit's brother, but the Prince's fortune was rapidly declining in Gujarat. About May 23, 1623, Safi Khan, to the joy of the people, captured Ahmedabad by a trick for the Emperor and imprisoned most of the servants of Shah Jahan. Cambay, Patan and Dholka were also seized. Raja Vikramajit's brother fled but

51 E. F., II, 196-97.
52 *Ibid.*, 197.
53 *Ibid.*, 213. This was the battle of Baluchpur. The royal forces had fought under the leadership of Mahabat Khan and the battle took place towards the end of March, 1623. Abdullah Khan had deserted to Shah Jahan during the battle and Rustam Khan had not been slain (Memoirs R. B., II, 950-56).
54 E. F., II, 222, 232, 235. Mahabat Khan was the general of this army (R. B., II, 259-60).
55 E. F., II, 226, 232.

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the khazana was brought back in Ahmedabad.[56] In July, the throne was broken to pieces by Safi Khan to pay for the war.[57] Bahadur Khan captured Baroda, on behalf of the King, with 530 horsemen on May 24, 1623. The former governor and his chief men were put into prison.[58] Early in June, Abdullah Khan went to take Ahmedabad with 4,000 horse and encamped at Mahmudabad (17 miles south of Ahmedabad). Safi Khan went out of the city to oppose him with 20,000 horse and routed his force on June 14, 1623. Many of his notable captains were slain. He fled pursued by Nahir Khan. Abdullah Khan lost 3,000 men, including many of his notable supporters. On Safi Khan's side 700 to 800 were slain but none of importance.[59]

But the conflict had not yet ended. Broach and Surat were to be captured and a partisan of the prince named Raja Jadu Ray was in Gujarat with 4,000 horse.[60] Abdullah Khan reached Broach on June 16, 1623, with 2,000 men and went to Ankleswar from there. Broach was ready to receive a King's officer and denied the Prince's men entrance into the town. Malik Bakhshi occupied Broach for the King on July 7, 1623. The victorious royalists were honoured with robes and granted jagirs in those parts.[61] Meanwhile, the Khan-i-Azam and Sultan Bulaki had entered Ahmedabad on July 3, with 5,000 horse, and another large force of 9,000 was following them.[62]

The English at Surat were suspected of complicity with the rebel prince. They were accused of assisting him in escaping in their ships and keeping his junks for him which had been ordered to be brought to Gogo by the imperialists.[63]

56 E. F., II, 232, 233.
57 *Ibid.*, 245. This throne was worth five lacs of rupees (R. B. Memoirs, 262).
58 E. F., II, 236, 237.
59 *Ibid.*, 239, 240, 241.
60 *Ibid.*, 241.
61 *Ibid.*, 242, 243, 246, 249.
62 *Ibid.*, 244-45.
63 *Ibid.*, 255.

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In the middle of August, Ankleswar was occupied without resistance by Nasir Khan on behalf of the King.[64] Bahadur Khan marched on Surat towards the end of August with 500 horse.[65] The Governor of Surat, Hakim Abdullah and the captain of the castle, Jam Quli Beg, took refuge in the fort and victimised the people of Surat, by firing from the fort, because they stood for the King. But soon they made overtures of submission and sent an embassy to Khan-i-Azam at Ahmedabad.[66] On October 11, 1623, Bahadur Khan who had been appointed Governor of Surat was received in the castle, the King's drums were beaten, and his flag was hoisted; but the castle still remained in the hands of those who held it.[67] Jahangir conferred the government of Sutat on Mukkarrab Khan, but Khan-i-Azam thinking it unwise confirmed Bahadur Khan in that place on his own responsibility.[68] The Surat castle finally submitted on October 21, 1623, and the captain Jam Quli Beg came out. The Prince's property was confiscated; but the former chiefs of the castle and of the town of Surat were sent to the court of Khan-i-Azam, to be forgiven by the King.[69] Prince Bulaki and Khan-i-Azam then came to Surat, but a *firman* from the King recalled the latter to the court and the former was ordered to remain at Ahmedabad, the seat of his government. They left Surat on November 4, 1623. Safi Khan was given the title of Saif Khan and was posted with the young prince at Ahmedabad.[70]

Regarding Khurram's further movements there are meagre references. He entered the boundary of Golconda about October 12, 1623, with the intention of going to Bengal. He reached Masulipatam on November 5, 1623, with his army of 45,000 horse, 500 elephants, 10 or 12

64 E. F., II, 256.
65 *Ibid.*, 258, 259.
66 *Ibid.*, 262, 265
67 *Ibid.*, 276.
68 *Ibid.*, 282.
69 *Ibid.*, 288, 291, 297.
70 *Ibid.*, 297, 299, 329.

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thousand attendants and camels for transport. His women and those of his nobles also accompanied the camp. He encamped about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile away from the town. He had come there with the permission of the King of Golconda and had given promise not to offend anybody ; but wherever he went the people fled away in panic. Shah Jahan received 300,000 *pagodas* and 30 elephants from the King of Golconda as a present, and ordered his men not to sack Masulipatam. He left that place after five days' stay by the way he came.[71]

Meanwhile, in November, 1623, rumours were rife at Surat, that Shah Jahan had taken the province of Gondwana, slain its Rajah treacherously and married his widow. It was further reported that Malik Ambar, with a promise of assistance, had forced the prince to take his daughter in marriage. Jahangir being seriously ill, Shah Jahan had made an alliance with Parviz; by which the former was to succeed his father and the latter was to act as his *wazir*. Thus Khurrum had become very strong with a force of 25,000 strong.[72]

In 1625, Khurram being repulsed by Parviz and Mahabat Khan returned to the Deccan and threatened Burhanpur.[73] The political situation in September, 1625, was still unchanged. Shah Jahan had suffered many defeats, but was still a rebel and intended to escape to Persia, possibly to get the Shah's support against his father. Mahabat Khan and Parviz were the chief generals of the King's forces. Mahabat Khan executed Darab Khan and sent his father the *Khan-khanan* as prisoner to Jahangir; but the King forgave the old man.[74] Shah Jahan took shelter with Malik Ambar and sought reconciliation with his father.[75]

71 E. F., II, 313, 314-15. He went to Orissa (Beni Parshad, 315).

72 E. F , II, 297-98, 319.

73 E. F., III, 78.

74 *Ibid.*, 96.

75 *Ibid.*, 151. All references to Shah Jahan's rebellion stop here.

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Mahabat Khan's Coup d'Etat (1626)

Mahabat Khan and Prince Parviz had fought successfully against the rebel forces for a long time. Mahabat Khan was opposed to the Nur Jahan Junta from the beginning. The latter had married her daughter with Shahiyar and avowed his cause. She must have felt uneasy at the rising power of the already powerful general and his relations of friendship with the elder Prince Parviz, bred by their close companionship during the years of Shah Jahan's revolt. Nothing could have pleased Nur Jahan more than the separation of the eldest living Prince and the most powerful general. Asaf Khan also would have liked such a course. Orders for his dismissal were sent to Mahabat Khan at Burhanpur. He protested but started towards the court which was moving towards Kabul, with 8,000 or 10,000 horse.[76] Mahabat Khan found his opportunity when he saw that the King was on one bank of the river Jhelam with his family and a few attendants. The nobles and his army had moved to the other bank of the river. With a courageous dash he took possession of the King and took him to his own tents.[77] Nur Jahan fled away to Asaf Khan and her other friends on the side of the river by the bridge. The bridge was cut down by Mahabat Khan to stop further intercourse. Now he sent back the King to his own pavillion with due respect. Jahangir sent for the Begum to return but she refused. A fight took place in which the Begum and her supporters tried in vain to cross

[76] E. F., III, 151. Mahabat Khan had been ordered to go to Bengal or to return to the Court. He decided to proceed to the former place but laarning of certain charges made against him, came to the Court with 4,000 or 5,000 Rajput Soldiers (Beni Parshad, 400-401). *Note.*—The whole account of the *coup d'etat* is based on the letter of President Kerridge and the Council at Surat to the Company (dated November 29, 1626). Their information came from John Bangham who was with the Court with certain bills.

[77] E. F., III, 151. Mahabat Khan had not come to the Court with any such intention but the denial of the King to grant him an audience and the ill-treatment of his new son-in-law forced him to strike such a blow.

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the hardly fordable river. Mahabat Khan's forces slew 5,000 of the royal troops.[78] After this Nur Jahan joined her husband with an assurance of safety. Asaf Khan repaired to attack castle and Mahabat Khan beseiged him there. He was given an assurance of his life and surrendered. Mahabat Khan kept him a "close prisoner," though the King and the Queen tried their best to bring an accord between the two. Mahabat Khan was the real ruler now. His followers grew insolent and caused hurt to the feelings not only of the camp but to the inhabitants of Kabul,[79] who instigated by some nobles fell upon them and slew 2,000 soldiers. They in revenge committed many outrages until pacified by the King.[80]

The court again returned near the river where Mahabat Khan had so successfully carried out his *coup d'etat*. Nur Jahan planned the release of her brother. The armies of the two were on the point of clashing arms, when Jahangir was successful in making an agreement between them, by which hostages were exchanged on both sides and Asaf Khan got his release.[81]

Meanwhile, Shah Jahan had gone to Thatta with 3,000 horse with an idea to escape to Persia.[82] Parviz died at Burhanpur in October, 1626, it was supposed, of poison.[83] Khan Jahan the commander of the forces at Burhanpur was Khurram's partisan and at court Asaf Khan was his father-in-law. He was now the eldest living son of the King. All this revived his hopes and he turned back from Sind towards Gujarat. His power began to increase. His

78 E. F., III, 151-52.

79 *Ibid.*, 152. The court had moved to Kabul after the *coup d'etat*.

80 *Ibid.*, 152.

81 *Ibid.*, 152. Mahabat Khan lost all power and virtually fled. (Beni Parsad, 420-21).

82 *Ibid.*, 152.

83 *Ibid.*, 152-53.

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two opponents to the throne were Shahriyar and Dawar Bakhsh, favoured by the Queen and King respectively.[84]

Mahabat Khan with a force of brave Rajputs went into Mewar and living peacefully near Jalor corresponded with Shah Jahan. The latter did not trust him first as he had throughout opposed him; but Mahabat Khan shortly after joined him in the Deccan.[85]

Death of Jahangir and Shah Jahan's Succession

Jahangir died on 1st November, 1627, between Lahore and Kashmere.[86] Shah Jahan received the news in the Deccan and started at once for taking possession of Gujarat first. He reached Surat on December 21, 1627.[87] The King's death had been publicly declared at Surat on November 21. The chief men of the place wanted Shah Jahan to succeed. Saif Khan, the Imperial Governor of Gujarat, ordered one of his men to surprise the Surat castle. He after its possession declared for the King against the expectations of the people.[88] On Shah Jahan's arrival, Saif Khan's friends at Surat took shelter in the fort which they did not surrender. Shah Jahan in haste levied a loan from the merchants of Surat, including £2,666 from the English factors. Next morning he set out towards Broach with Mahabat Khan and 5,000 veterans.[89] He passed straight to Ahmedabad and the officers there received him well and accepted him as their sovereign. Saif Khan also submitted and ordered the surrender of the Surat castle too. Shah Jahan's followers levied taxes at Ahmedabad. He left the place on December

84 E. F., III, 153, 172.
85 *Ibid.*, 171-72, 204.
86 *Ibid.*, 206, 226. The date of death was 28th October, 1627.
87 *Ibid.*, 204-05.
88 *Ibid.*, 202-03.
89 *Ibid.*, 205.

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22, 1627, with 25,000 horse for Agra, leaving Nahir Khan as the Governor of Gujarat.[90]

Jahangir on his deathbed had taken solemn pledges from all the nobles including Asaf Khan that Dawar Bakhsh would succeed him,[91] When Jahangir died Shahriyar declared himself King at Lahore, whereupon Asaf Khan with other nobles fought against him at Lahore and imprisoned him and Nur Jahan. They proclaimed Bulaki as the King.[92] But the throne was intended to be kept warm for Shah Jahan. The English factors wrote on 4th January, 1621, that "in liklihood it does appear all is reserved for Khurram, the Governor of Agra having called him, and the young prince his councillors being the allies and favourers of Khurram ; whom the soldiers in general do love, and whose best age, warlike disposition, travel and experience in the highest detected for times had made him fittest for the rule and government of so many nations and spacious countries."[93] Another interesting report about Bulaki is to be found. Khan Zad Khan, Mahabat Khan's son, seeing Asaf Khan sitting with Bulaki omitted the customary obeisance and on being asked by the King told him that if he was the King, Asaf Khan should not take a seat with him.[94] As a matter of fact Asaf Khan never regarded him as the King.

Shah Jahan was proclaimed Emperor at Agra on 7th January, 1628. He entered the capital on January 23, but instead of going to the castle went to his old palace. Mahabat Khan was honoured with the title of the *khankhanan* for his meritorious services.[95] Shah Jahan's supporters increased rapidly but Bulaki had only a few. Khan Jahan,

90 E. F., III, 188, 189, 206.
91 *Ibid.*, 232-33.
92 *Ibid.*, 206-07, 226.
93 *Ibid.*, 207, 226.
94 *Ibid.*, 232.
95 *Ibid.*, 228, 229.

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the governor of Broach stood for him and his son proclaimed Bulaki Emperor at Broach.[96] Agra yielded completely to Shah Jahan and he was crowned on February 4, 1628.[97] To make his position secure on the throne Shah Jahan caused the murder of all the possible contestants. Shahiryar, Bulaki, Bulaki's younger brother (Garshasp), Tehmuras and Hoshang (sons of Daniyal) and Prince Parviz's young son were all put to death. Asaf Khan was the plotter of all these heinous crimes. Dawar Bakhsh's mother committed suicide in grief,[98]

Asaf Khan arrived at Agra from Lahore on March 1, 1628, with the three sons of Shah Jahan and other *Umaras*. Nur Jahan also returned to Agra and lived a secluded life in the fort.[99] Now Shah Jahan turned to the reorganization of the distracted kingdom. Khan Jahan had broken into open rebellion at Burhanpur. New provincial governors were appointed, the *Umaras* were sent to different parts of the country and *Jagirs* allotted to them. Khan Alam was appointed governor of Behar and Khan Zad Khan, son of Mahabat Khan, was sent with an army towards Mandu and Burhanpur to subdue Khan Jahan. These territories were granted as *Jagir* for Mahabat Khan and his son.[100] Peace was established within a short time and most of the *Rajas* and nobles recognised Shah Jahan as their sovereign.[101]

Mughul Wars with the Deccan Kingdoms

(*1*) *Jahangir's Reign*

The English had established a factory at Burhanpur, the Mughul headquarters in the Deccan. We find occasional

96 E. F., III, 232, 233.
97 *Ibid.*, 234, 235, 240.
98 *Ibid.*, 240, 241 42.
99 *Ibid.*, 247.
100 *Ibid.*, 240-41, 271.
101 *Ibid.*, 327, 336

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references to wars between the Deccan principalities, *i.e.*, Ahmednagar, Bijapur and Golconda, many times complaining about unsafe ways. In 1615, Roe found Prince Parviz with his court at Burhanpur. The Khankhanan Mirza Abdur Rahim, was his guardian there and general of the Mughul Army consisting of 40,000 horse.[102] The Mughul forces fought unsuccessfully in 1615-16 against Ahmednagar and Golconda. The Khankhanan was not trusted by the Mughul Emperor and was accused of complicity with the Deccanis. Jahangir recalled Parviz in disgrace, in 1616, and sent Khurram to the Deccan with a large amount of money and a big army. The Khankhanan was also asked to return, but he refused and advised Jahangir to send his younger son to the Deccan. Jahangir, however, decided to follow himself to be near the scene of struggle.[103] Jahangir and Khurram left Ajmere on November 2, 1616.[104] By easy marches and long halts the King went towards Mandu while the Prince hastened towards the scene of action. Roe accompanied the King's camp which reached Mandu on March 3, 1617. Due to the scarcity of water the camp at Mandu was in great trouble.[105] Jahangir remained at Mandu for more than seven months. Prince Khurram arrived there on October 2, 1617, and contrary to Roe's expectation he was warmly received by his father. Evidently he had been successful in the Deccan and had returned leaving the Khankhanan there.[106] Roe's account of this conquest is rather scornful. He wrote to the English Ambassador at Constantinopole on August 21, 1617, from Mandu, that "the King is at present in that they call an army, But I see no

[102] Roe, 69-70.

[103] L. R., IV, 39. Roe, 171-72, 179, 242, 243, 244.

[104] Roe, 283-84.

[105] *Ibid.*, 353, 354-55. L. R., V, 335, 342.

[106] Roe, 385-86. *Note.*—Bijapur submitted and Malik Ambar made peace by surrender of territory to the Mughul. Khurram was given the title of Shah Jahan on this occasion. (Memoirs R.B., I, 393.)

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soldiers though multitudes entertained in the quality. The purpose was the oppression of the united Deccan Kings, who are persuaded to part with some rottten castles, that may pretend a shadow of yielding somewhat for which they are pleased due to an honourable conquest.'' [107] Jahangir left Mandu for Ahmedabad on October, 24, 1617, followed by Roe a couple of days later. Khurram also accompanied the royal camp.[108] Jahangir decided to go *via* Cambay, but Roe took the direct route to Ahmedabad and reached there on December 15, 1617. The Emperor reached there on January 8, 1618.[109]

A letter written from Petapoli, towards the end of 1618, gives a rather interesting piece of information. Mughul soldiers numbering 1,500,000 (?) were reported to have entered the coast of Jengele, in Golconda territory. They were under the command of a woman and were reported to have captured a strong fort in the country.[110]

War broke out in 1620 again. Malik Ambar advanced northwards, beseiged Burhanpur and took possession of the country round about. An English caravan coming from Agra to Surat was ordered not to proceed beyond Mandu unless a safe conduct was obtained from the general of the Deccan forces.[111] There were differences among the Deccanis and many desertions took place. Raja Jadu Roy, one of Malik's *wazirs*, and Mansur Khan came to Prince Khurram and were well received. Peace was concluded in 1621 and the Deccanis agreed to pay a tribute.[112] Afzal was sent in 1622 to Bijapur by Shah Jahan as his ambassador.[113]

107 L. R., VI, 298.
108 Roe, 404, 425. L. R., VI, 128, 140.
109 Roe, 421-22, 425. L. R., VI, 213, 227.
110 E. F., I, 49. Mathew Duke at Petapoli to the Company, December 9, 1618.
111 *Ibid.*, 207, 210, 211, 217-18.
112 *Ibid.*, 267, 306, 317, 318, 332, 333.
113 E. F., II, 54.

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(2) *Shah Jahan's Reign*

Khan Jahan having rebelled went into the Deccan and operations against him bore little success in the beginning.[114] Shah Jahan himself came to Burhanpur in April, 1630, and after a short stay there advanced into the enemy's territory, to conduct the war. Asaf Khan was also there with a large force, making efforts to make peace with the great Umras of the Deccan by underhand means.[115] Realising the common danger, the three kingdoms of the Deccan, Ahmednagar, Bijapur and Golconda composed their differences and stood against the enemy.[116] Khan Jahan pursued by Abdullah Khan died in an encounter in 1631.[117] At this time a trouble arose in the north which induced Shah Jahan to conclude peace in the Deccan. A son of Daniyal "Balsumer" the only survivor from the royal blood who had fled to Tartary laid claim to Multan and Kabul and was assisted by his father-in-law.[118]

After a spell of silence for five years, we again hear, in 1636, of Shah Jahan at war in Bijapur territory. Peace was soon concluded. Shah Jahan received a rich present worth 40 lacs of *Huns* and returned from the Deccan.[119] He reached Mandu in the beginning of September, 1636, and left for Agra towards the end of the same month.[120]

Mughul Relations with Persia

The Mughul Empire had constant intercourse, both political and commercial, with Persia. But we see that the two powers were more in conflict than at amity. Their differences

114 E. F., III, 241. E. F., IV, 109, 159.

115 E. F., IV, 23, 90, 92.

116 *Ibid.*, 160.

117 *Ibid.*, 159-60.

118 *Ibid.*, 160, 165.

119 E. F., V, 193, 195, 262-64. *Cf.* Lahori Badshahnama Elliot and Dowson, VII, 57. It was worth 20 lacs of rupees in jewels and elephants.

120 E. F., V, 279, 280, 287.

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generally centred over the possession of the strategic town of Qandahar with its strong fort.

(1) *Jahangir's Reign*

The former Persian Governor of Qandahar named Mirza Rustam was at the court of Jahangir.[121] Though Qandahar was in Mughul possession, the Governor there was passing a difficult time. Rebellion was rife in the surrounding area.[122] While Jahangir was at Ajmere, an ambassador from Persia, named Muhammad Raza Beg, came to his court on October 19, 1616. He came with great pomp and show and was well received. He was presented to the Emperor the same day in the after-noon *darbar*. He performed *taslim* and *sijdah* which none of his predecessors had done. He brought rich presents for the Mughul Emperor and in return the latter honoured him with robes of honour and a grant of Rs. 20,000 for expenses. Roe was of opinion that the Persian ambassador was not received well and that he was given a lower place in the *Darbar*.[123] The Persian ambassador was thought to have come to seek the Mughul Emperor's monetary help against the Turks. Others conjectured that he had come to make peace between the Mughul and the Deccan Kings who belonged to the Persian sect of Islam.[124]

In 1621, the Shah of Persia's forces attacked Qandahar and also entered the territory of the Uzbegs. Khan Jahan, the Mughul Governor, fled before them.[125] Qandahar came into the possession of the Persians in 1622. An attack on Sind by the Persians was even expected.[126] Jahangir, who was in Kashmere, on receipt of the unlucky news appointed

121 Roe, 266, 280. He had surrendered Qandahar to the Mughuls in Akbar's reign.
122 *Ibid.*, 322.
123 *Ibid.*, 247, 258, 259, 260, 264.
124 *Ibid.*, 259.
125 E. F., I, 333.
126 E. F., II, 94, 99, 108.

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Prince Shahriyar a commander of 30,000 horse, furnished him with a sum of a crore of rupees and sent him with a veteran army towards Qandahar. A great offensive was under contemplation against the town. Selected *Umras* from the Deccan were asked to return and steps were taken to guard Thatta. The English factors feared that help from them would also be asked for.[127]

(2) *Shah Jahan's Reign*

In March, 1627, Khariat Khan, Lord Admiral of Persia, reached Surat in a boat. He came as an ambassador to the Mughul Emperor and brought many horses as a present.[128] He returned in 1628, in an English vessel.[129]

In October 1636, we hear from Ispahan of the Shah of Persia's reception of a Mughul ambassador who—it was reported—had been in that country for three years but had not so far been granted audience by the Persian King.[130]

Qandahar was besieged in 1639 by the Persians. Shah Jahan had been to Kabul in 1638, but again intended to go there to be nearer the scene of Mughul-Persian conflict.[131] The differences between the two countries led to the temporary stoppage of the overland Indo-Persian trade and encouraged European trade by sea.[132] In 1642, Shah Safi of Persia died while proceeding towards Qandahar and was succeeded by Shah Abbas II.[133] In 1643, an ambassador of Golconda to the Persian King returned in an English vessel.[134]

127 E. F., II, 94, 112, 115.

128 E. F., III, 166.

129 *Ibid.*, 300-01.

130 E. F., V, 307.

131 E. F., VI, 201. *Note.*—Qandahar had been surrendered to the Mughuls by the Persian Commander Ali Mardan Khan in February 1638 (Saxena, 217).

132 E. F., VI., 211.

136 E. F., VII, 83.

134 *Ibid.*, 73-74, 116.

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In 1646, Shah Jahan was successful in subjugating Balkh and the Uzbeg territory. Their chief, Nazar Muhammad, who was at civil war with his son, being forced to leave his country, sought protection in Persia. Asalat Khan was appointed as the Mughul governor of Balkh for the winter of 1646-47.[135] In 1648, the Persian King advanced towards Qandahar for the recovery of that town. He carried with him an impostor Sultan Bulaki who laid claim to the Mughul Empire. Shah Jahan appointed Prince Aurangzeb to march to Qandahar to check the advance of Persians and himself prepared a *lashkar* to follow.[136] Qandahar was captured by the Persians early in 1649. The Mughul forces again laid siege to the fort, after their failure. But the severe cold of the winter season forced the Mughul Army to raise it. They again besieged Qandahar in 1650.[137]

Political Events in South India

The collapse of the Vijayanagar Empire and the civil wars among the semi-independent chiefs, called the *Naiks*, are reflected here and there in these records.

In 1626, the young Naik of Armagon captured a fort which rightfully belonged to him but had been handed over by its commander during his father's reign to another captain who held it. The Naik had in his service 24,000 soldiers for the siege.[138]

In May, 1626, we hear from Armagon of a rebellious Naik who even threatened to attack that town.[139]

"The Great King of the Gentiles," *i.e.*, the King of Vijayanagar, grew powerful again by August 1629, having

135 E. F., VIII, 50, 51, 52.
136 *Ibid.*, 207-08, 220, 223.
137 *Ibid.*, 262, 266-67, 269-70, 311.
138 E. F., III, 120, 121, 128, 133.
139 *Ibid.*, 132.

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subdued many of his rebellious *Naiks* and conquered most of his former territory.[140]

In 1639-40, the King of Bijapur sent an army against the King of the Carnatic, *i.e.*, Vijayanagar.[141] In 1642, attack on the Hindu kingdom came from Golconda. The Naiks were divided among themselves and regarded themselves free from any obligation towards their sovereign. Under such circumstances, it was not possible to save the tottering Hindu Empire from further destruction. A part of the Armagon territory was occupied by Golconda forces, but the greater part came in the hands of "Raylawar" (*Sri Ranga Rayalu*). A conflict between the two could not be avoided.[142]

The civil war among the *Naiks* seemed to have come to a close in 1642, by the death of "the old king"; [143] but the new King, Sri Ranga Rayalu, imprisoned the Naik of Madraspatam in 1642, because he offered help to Muslim invaders and seized a great part of his territory. The Naik's brother and kinsmen prepared to rescue him with the help of the Muslim forces.[144]

In 1643, the civil war in Vijayanagar continued and the King requisitioned help from Bijapur by a payment of 15 lacs of *pagodas*.[145] In July 1644, the Golconda forces laid siege to Pulicat and asked the Dutch Governor to surrender the fort; but the Hindu forces came to their rescue and put the Golconda army to flight.[146]

Trouble attended the Dutch at Pulicat in 1645 because of their difference with a rich merchant named Chenana Chetti the Malaya. Open war broke out between

140 E. F., III, 346 47.
141 E. F., VI, 231. The King of Vijayanagar was Venkatapati.
142 E. F., VII, 44, 45, 50, 80.
143 *Ibid.*, 67.
144 *Ibid.*, 70, 80.
145 *Ibid.*, 115-16.
146 *Ibid.*, 184.

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the two. The Malaya was in great favour with the King of Vijayanagar and he secured orders from the latter to all his governors for the seizure of the persons and goods of the Dutch in the country. The English at Madras purchased these goods through the native merchants.[147] The King of Vijayanagar asked the English at Madras to supply him with artillery, ordnance and shot.[148]

The siege of Pulicat was started in August 1645, but the wars with the King of Vijayanagar and the three great Naiks did not allow the former to send a large force against the Dutch Fort. Towards the end of 1645, Mir Jumla was sent by the King of Golconda against Vijayanagar with a great army. The Hindu King collected 50,000 soldiers and sent them under the command of the Malaya to check Mir Jumla's advance. Out of the 4,000 soldiers besieging Pulicat 3,000 were recalled. Only a thousand soldiers remained before that fortress. Seeing this, the Dutch made a bold attempt with 200 Hollanders and 500 Mesticoe's to capture the King's artillery, but were repulsed badly. Peace could not be concluded unless the Dutch at Pulicat paid 60,000 *rials* demanded by the Hindu King. Mir Jumla continued his advance and captured three forts of Vijayanagar by February 1646. The forces of Bijapur harrassed the kingdom on the other side.[149] Vijayanagar was unluckily visited by a famine during this period. Both the calamities—war and famine—raged furiously in 1647. Mir Jumla advanced steadily and took over the government of Pulicat and St. Thome.[150]

By October 1647, the whole of the kingdom of Vijayanagar lay under the feet of Mir Jumla and he ruled there as

147 E. F., VII, 279-80.
148 *Ibid.*, 285.
149 E. F., VIII, 25-26.
150 *Ibid.*, 70.

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Viceroy of the King of Golconda under the title of "alnawab." The King of Vijayanagar had fled.[151]

The war and famine came to an end in 1648, but another was expected. The victorious armies of Golconda and Bijapur lay within two days' journey of each other, to prey upon the "miserable and distracted or divided people."[152] The Bijapur army consisted of 8,000 freebooters who received no pay, but plundered whatever they could. They further devastated the already desolated country, especially the cloth markets of Tegnapatam, Porto Novo and Pondicherry, causing great loss to trade.

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151 E. F. VIII, 166.
152 *Ibid*, 166.

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3

SOME UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF RAJA RAMNARAIN RELATING TO SHAH ALAM'S INVASIONS OF BIHAR

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Dastur-ul-Insha,[1] the unique collection of correspondence, both public and private, of Raja Ramnarain, Deputy Governor of Bihar, 1752-1761, which was discovered and exhibited at the Patna session of the Indian Historical Records Commission in 1930 and has been frequently[2] utilized by the present writer, contains among others more than fifty letters relating to the invasions of Bihar in 1759-61 by Prince Ali Gohar, better known by his Imperial title of Shah Alam II. These letters are found scattered throughout the fairly big MS. of about 392 folios, written in *shikast* character, and damaged to some extent by white ants, for it was copied as far back as 1201/1786 from an original dated 1183/1769. In a few cases one misses the names of addressees, and only 10 of these letters contain dates (including days and hours) which are very valuable in that they can supplement and, at times correct, some of the dates found in the existing Persian chronicles. As the MS. was originally meant to serve as a guide for the young learners who wished to cultivate the

1 The MS. belongs to Rai Mathura Prasad, B.A., Vice-Chairman of Patna Municipality and a representative of Raja Ramnarain.

2 *Vide* Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XIV and XV, 1938-39; paper read at the Allahabad Session of the Indian History Congress; paper contributed for the December issue of the Journal of Indian History.

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epistolary art, and compiled from the scattered papers of a relative[3] of Raja Ramnarain after his overthrow at the hands of Alijah (Mir Quasim) in 1175/1761, we naturally find these letters very much disarranged and lacking in some essential links and events. Though we cannot get a full picture of all the important events concerning this particular phase of Bihar history, with which Raja Ramnarain was so intimately connected, the letters, found in the collection, furnish interesting details—and at times new information—about the actions and movements of the Prince-Imperial and his supporters—Hindus and Muslims, the French and the Marathas, from 1759 to 1760. There are some original and revealing documents available in the copies of correspondence between Raja Ramnarain and Nawab Sadiq Ali Khan, *alias* Miran, Raja Beni Bahadur,[4] Raja Balwant Singh[5] of Benares, Nawab Shuja-ud-Dowla and Nawab Bukshi-ul-mamalik[6] of the Imperial Court. There are some letters of Raja Ramnarain which contain the outpourings of the heart of the writer and bring into prominence his relations with the Nawab of Bengal and the English gentlemen. On the

[3] Rai Mansa Ram, a first cousin of Basant Ram, the son-in-law of Raja Ramnarain, was a faujdar of Tirhut. He was reckless enough to resist a force of Mir Qasim and was therefore killed in 1175/1761. Munshi Bijay Singh, son of Kesari Singh of Lucknow, and a dependent of Mansa Ram, gathered together his scattered papers.

[4] A poor Brahman of Baiswarah who rose to be the Naib of Nawab-Wazir Shuja-ud-Dowla. Though he did not possess the ability to read the official Persian letters (*Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh*) he was very clever and became all-powerful in the Court of Oudh. His treasonable attitude on the occasion of the battle of Buxar, noticed by many contemporary authorities, was justly punished by his irate master. Read his life in Imad-us-Saadat (Lucknow text), p. 80.

[5] Spelt throughout in the *Dastur* as 'Barwand.' A Gautam Brahman, and son of Mansa Ram, the founder of Benares Raj. He was really, as Raja Ramnarain puts it, "one of the cleverest (wisest) men of his age." See *Tuhfat-Taza* and *Balwand Nama* (O. P. L.) for his life and activities.

[6] By this is meant, in all probability, Nawab Ahmad Khan Bangash, a protege of the notorious Wazir, Ghazi-ud-Din Imad-ul-mulk, who appointed him as the premier noble of the Court in place of Najib-ud-Dowla. At any rate, the trend of the letter shows unmistakably the hand of Imad in the affairs.

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whole, the importance of this group of letters lies in the fact that we get much about the political affairs of Bihar during the year 1759-60, from a principal participator in the events. The letters constitute "an invaluable primary source," to quote the word of Sir J. N. Sarkar,[7] "for names and dates," for "military operations," "for the diplomatic moves and events in and outside Patna" and the insight they afford into the working of the mind of a Bihari Kayastha Rajah who did so much towards paralysing the efforts of a scion of Taimur and Akbar and facilitating the establishment of the British Empire on the ruin of the Mughuls.

The earliest information, in this collection, of the advance into Bihar of Shah Alam and Muhammad Quli Khan,[8] is available in the unfortunately undated letters which Raja Ramnarain wrote to Iraj Khan,[9] Muhammad Amin Khan,[10] and Jagat Seth (218b, 211b, 154a, b). They tell us, among other things, that "though the Prince had no money, yet people were daily flocking round him in the hope of getting Mansabs, Jagirs, and handsome allowances;" that "many were showing a cynical disregard of all sense of justice and equity in that, though attached to the existing government, they harboured evil designs and were secretly keeping up correspondence with the other side;" and that though the writer "had been sending reports for some time yet no reply was forthcoming except that the news had been

[7] Fall of the Moghul Empire, Vol. II, p. 538.

[8] The first cousin of Shuja-ud-Dowla, and the imperial governor of Allahabad, whose character has been very badly painted by the interested author of *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*. His correspondence with the English, dated October 13 and December 13, 1759, (C. P. Corr.) suggests that the episode he was connected with requires fresh light.

[9] Father-in-law of Nawab Siraj-ud-Dowla of Bengal, satirized justly by Karam Ali, the author of *Muzafar Nama*.

[10] The maternal uncle of Miran who was killed by Qadirdad Khan's arrow during the fight with Shah Alam on 17 Rajab, 1173, *i.e.*, 23. 1. 1760 (see *Ibrat Nama* 1, 66, a).

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received." In one place the greatly perturbed Raja requests the addressee "to bring home to His Excellency, (Mir Jafar) on behalf of the helpless one, that the safety and security of the province of Murshidabad (Bengal) depended entirely upon his hold on the Subah of Bihar. He had written these few lines in a great agony of mind and had no hope of remaining alive."

Let us now pass on to the majority of these letters—as many as 24—which Raja Ramnarain wrote to his younger brother, Rai (later Raja) Dhirajnarain, during the time the latter was left in charge of Patna, or was absent, campaigning[11] under Miran and Major Caillaud in North Bihar, and stayed for some time at Murshidabad. The letters to Dhirajnarain are naturally silent regarding the first assault of the Prince on Patna in 1759, for, at that time he was assisting his brother in defending the fort against the invaders. But the flight of the Prince and Ramnarain's raids into Pahalwan Singh's[12] country under Miran and Colonel Clive have been described in these letters in a way not generally met with elsewhere (48, 42a, b, 55a, b, 67a etc.). Some interesting informations, such as the payment of 80,000 to Murad Khan,[13] the taking of the receipt from Mr. Amyatt (for money paid to him), the movement of Beni Bahadur from Benares and near Bihar frontier (42, a, b), "the delight of Nawab Shuja-ud-Dowla at this victory," Md. Quli Khan's ruin[14] and disgrace, and his forced march "under the custody of 50, horsemen of Beni Bahadur" and

[11] Ironside's Narrative, etc., says that "the brother of Ramnarain was nominally joined with Major Caillaud in the command after the death of Miran" (Bengal: Past and Present, Vol. VII, 1911).

[12] The famous Bhojpur Raja of Nokha and Chainpur in the Bhabhua subdivision of Shahabad Dt. His strongholds were taken and plundered by Raja Ramnarain.

[13] He was the son of Bahram Khan Baloch, and a trusted officer of Raja Ramnarain (*Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, O.P.L., 357a).

[14] See *Siyar* (Lucknow text, 671).

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the virtual "imprisonment of his followers[15] by Raja Barwand Singh" find mention in these letters (55b-56b).

We also get Raja Ramnarain's version of certain incidents connected with the subsequent invasions of Bihar by the Shahzada and his French and Maratha[16] supporters. Neither the defeat of the Raja at the hands of the Imperialists at the battle of Masumpur,[17] early in February, 1760, nor the repulse of the Imperialists by Major Caillaud at the battle of Sherpur,[17a] at the end of the same month, has been noticed in any of the letters. But reference to the preparation for the battle of Masumpur is not entirely wanting. We do not get any detailed information about Shah Alam's sudden and unexpected march to Bengal, by way of hills and jungles of South Bihar, but two envelopes of Dhirajnarain, dated 16th and 17th Shaaban, Year I, (89b-91a) written from Mangal Kot (20 miles north from Burdwan) and acknowledged by his sick brother, on 26th of the same month, speak of the interview of the two Nawabs (Mir Jafar and Miran); of the movement of the 'Shahzada,' of Ramgar, Pahalwan and the Zamindar of Bettiah[18] and of a letter which had been despatched to Nawab Mubariz-ud-Dowla Bahadur. Saif Jung (Major Caillaud). The account of the repeated assaults (3 especially described here) on the fort of Patna up to the

15 But Zainul-abdin, the brother's son and son-in-law of Md. Quli Khan (Imad-us-Saadat, p. 69) and a number of brave Afghans made a spirited stand against Balwand Singh who was compelled to let them go (S. M., 672; T. B. N.)

16 One of the letters says that during the second siege of Patna (1760) there were about 1,000 Marathas according to the estimate of the English but the besieged were informed that there were 6,000 Maratha horsemen present in Patna (*Dastur*, 47a). Munna Lal (O.P L.MS.) mentions Khande Rao as the name of the Maratha Sardar of the Imperial pickets (240) but Sheobhatt's participation on behalf of Shah Alam has been noticed everywhere, Sarkar's F.M.E., I, pp. 639-40.

17 Sarkar's Fall of the Mughul Empire, II, pp. 539-40.

17a *Ibid.*

18 Ironside's Narrative informs us of the Major having stayed for a few days at Bettiah and compelled its Raja to pay some arrears of revenue due to the Nabob (B.P.P.).

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midday of Thursday, the 21st Ramzan (1760), and an estimate of the invading forces, Mughul, French and Maratha, the havoc wrought by them in Mohallas Alamganj,[19] Sultanganj, Mahendroo, and Dargah of Shah Arzan[20] is very detailed and interesting (44a-47a). Similar is the case with another long letter, dated morning of 27th Ramzan, of which one feels tempted to give a complete[20a] translation (60b-63a).

Besides the references in more than one place to the opportune arrival of the relieving force under Captain Knox and the defeat he and Shitab Rai inflicted upon the forces of Khadim Husain Khan of Purneah (119b-121a, 204a), we get frequent mention of energetic actions of Major Caillaud and Miran with whom was associated the addressee, Dhirajnarain. In a letter, dated 7th Ramzan, Year 1 (1760), while acknowledging his brother's letters, despatched from Gopalabad, on 26th Shaaban, the Raja wrote the following sentences which deserve special attention " I have learnt from the letter of my friend, Khan Saheb (?) that the two Nawabs entered Murshidabad and my patron, the Nawab (Miran), after taking rest for a day or two, would resume the pursuit of the fugitives (Shah Alam and others) in the company of Nawab Saif Jung Bahadur (Major Caillaud). That personage (Shah Alam) is staying with Namgar and the Marathas in Birbhum. A certain person writes that my Lord, the Nawab (Miran), marched a distance of 30 Kos and entered Murshidabad,

[19] These Mohallas were situated outside the old fortified city and extended westward of the English factory up to the present university area. They still bear the old names and are probably much more populated and flourishing than before.

[20] Shah Arzan, surnamed Diwan-i-Daulat, was a great saint who took his residence in an old (perhaps Buddhistic) site outside the city fortification towards the South-West. According to an inscription on his mausoleum, built in 1072/1661, he died in 1038/1618. The Dargah, which has got a big endowed property attached to it, is in the possession of Shah Hamid Husain who claims to be the 11th Khalifa of the saintly and pious Shah Arzan.

[20a] See pages 993-1001.

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leaving behind him His Excellency. I don't know how to account for this precipitate march to the city—when the fugitives are bent upon moving towards Azimabad (Patna). May God make the after-results well and good! I, the poor man, have repeatedly written about my condition without exaggerating or minimising it. . . For some days I was in[21] an awful state of mind owing to the approach of Moosi Las (Mons. Law) but the danger passed away . . . As regards the injunction to keep guard over the fort, I shall not be found negligent till there is a breath of life in me . . ." (56b-58a).

The letters, in this group, include also some which speak of the accidental death of the young Nawab, Miran, by lightning, which happened on the 2nd of July, 1760;[22] of the futile attempts to observe secrecy; of the arrangements made by the Maharaja (Rajballabh) through the native and Dutch boats to convey the corpse to Murshidabad; of the various letters written by Major Caillaud, especially one, condoling Raja Ramnarain on the demise of his patron and others concerning the steps to be be taken to prevent ill consequence; of the return of the Major and his "questions and answers" with the "artful Zamindar of Bettiah;" of the difficult situation arising from the insistent demand for the one lakh arrear pay of the soldiery and of the differences between Rajballabh[23] and Ramnarain on the question of realising Rs. 20,000 from Raja Dhusi Ram,[24] the Faujdar of Saran

[21] See S.M., p. 681. Mons. Law committed a grievous mistake in not attacking fthe ort of Patna but marching away, *via* Lohanipur and Tulsimandi towards Bihar town, for, the fort was at that time practically denuded of men, and could not, therefore, stand against Law's onslaughts.

[22] Ironside's Narrative (B.I.P.).

[23] See the letter, in Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. I.

[24] He is described as "one of the best chieftains of Miran 's army" (I. N. 122) and as the "Faujdar of the Sarkar of Saran" (*Dastur*). Recommended for the title of Raja by his friend, Raja Ramnarain.

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43a-44b, 49a-52b, 64a-66b, 69a,b). It is apparent from these letters that Raja Ramnarain's grief at the premature and accidental death of Miran was sincere and genuine, for the latter appears to have been already converted [25] to his views by his astute Naib. The following sentences are significant :—"How can I quarrel with my fate ? That the lightning has burnt down the harvest of my patience and strength is due to my ill-luck" (51b); "The personality of this young man had raised many hopes in my breast. Look at the vicissitudes of fortune that just when I had made him really friendly towards myself, the lightning burnt down the whole harvest of my hopes" (69a, b).

Not the least in importance, in the letters to Dhirajnarain, is the fairly detailed account of the battle, fought on the other side of Maner, against such supporters of Shah Alam as "Ali Bukhsh, [26] the Zamindar of the Sarkar of Saran," "a Mughul Sardar [27] whose name will be communicated afterwards," "the accursed Pahalwan" and "the sons of Umar Khan," [28] many of whom had been threatening

25 Ramnarain had been raised from the post of a mere clerk of Rs. 5 to the exalted office of the Deputy Governor of Bihar by Alivardi. Naturally he was always looked upon as a suspect by the usurper, Mir Jafar, who might have replaced him by his brother, but was always prevented from doing so by the English. Miran himself had tried to create a false alarm, Nov., 1757, about Ramnarain's liaison with Shuja-ud-dowla and Mons. Law against the new regime of his father (Broom. 170).

26 A brave Shaikhzada of Siwan (in the Dt. of Saran) which was named after him as Aliganj (a MS, in Dargah Shah Arzan's library). The author of *Hadiqat-ul-Aqalim* found him a hospitable, generous and learned man who was a patron of poets and men of piety.

27 The name given of this Sardar by Munna Lal and Fakir Khairuddin is Mahmud.

28 A valiant Rohilla of Gorakhpur who served Alivardi very faithfully but was ordered by his grandson, Siraj-ud-dowla, to be imprisoned in the garden of Jafar Khan (Patna) where he died. His sons, Asalat Khan and Diler Khan (not mentioned in *Dastur*) were mainly responsible for the victory of the Imperialists at the battle of Masumpur. But in throwing themselves on the cannon of the English they lost their lives. The tombs of these extraordinary gallant men of Bihar lie on the road-side between Bakhtiarpur & Futuha (I. N., S. M.).

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to " ravage the estates and possessions of Babu Gajraj Singh,[29] Omrao Singh and Babu Jagannath Singh." When the news of the enemies crossing the Ganges and of the operations of Ali Bukhsh in Chapra arrived, Dhoosi Ram was sent with his whole force of the Sarkar of Saran. He was accompanied by 500 cavalry from Patna and was further reinforced by two ' Companies ' and 1 cannon which Captain Knox insisted on being sent along with him (Dhoosi Ram). An engagement took place on Friday,[30] the 7th Shawwal (23. 5. 1760), 3 hours after dawn, resulting in the victory of Dhoosi Ram and the death of Ali Bukhsh, the two sons of Umar Khan and the Mughul Sardar of the King's army.". Many persons of the royal army were drowned in the river " and a great commotion arose in the Camp of the King at Maner. Pahalwan Singh was forced to retire from the field " (63a-65b).

The last incident, in connection with the Shahzada's invasion of Bihar which we find in this group of letters, addressed to Dhirajnarain, is the encampment of Shah Alam at Suan,[31] $1\frac{1}{2}$ kos from the *jheel* Akberpur, where Raja Ramnarain and the Major Saheb (Carnac) had arranged their troops in battle array. The Raja expresses his dissatisfaction at the

[29] Gajraj Singh and Umrao Singh were the sons of Udwant Singh of Jagdishpur (Bhojpur) and ancestors of Raja Kunwar Singh of the Mutiny fame.

[30] The battle has been mentioned by Munna Lal and Khairuddin, but not by Ghulam Husain. But neither the details nor the dates are available in them (T. S. A. 33b, I. N. 72).

[31] Suan is 6 miles west of Bihar town (Sarkar, II, 542). Another letter to Dhirajnarain refers to the Prince's excampment near Suan and to the restless anxiety of Major Saheb (Carnac) for the engagement; the letter mentions the names, Khudadad Khan, Rao Shankarlal, Abdulla Khan, Shaikh Ibrahim who were exhorted to do their duty by Raja Ramnarain. Others whom the Rajah wished to be enjoined upon to reach soon were the Mewatis, Shah Bukhsh, Bhimsen, Mahta Hulas Ram. Other names worth mention are those of Babu Bhario Singh, Syad Fateh Khan, Mir Roshan Ali, Raja Fateh Singh, Babu Mathura Mal, Lutf Ali Khan, Murhdhi, found in the letter (*Dastur* 68-69).

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attitude of the " Feranghis " and of Nawab Ahmad [32] Khan (54a, b).

The letters of Dhirajnarain contain, as has been mentioned above, numerous references to Ramnarain's activity against the Rajputs of Bhojpur and Sasaram. Pahalwan Singh is a historical figure and his dubious relations with the Patna Raja and the support he gave to Shah Alam are found in the pages of all the contemporary writers, Persian and European.

The new things, in the present letters, consist in the wealth of information about the affair, and in the relations of certain other Bhojpur chiefs, such as Siddhistnarayan, [33] Gajraj Singh, Sambhal Singh, Bishud Singh, etc., with Raja Ramnarain. An interesting and an entirely new information which is gleaned from the letters is about the substitution of Nawab Ahmad Khan (Quraishi) by Pahalwan Singh in the control of Bhojpur affairs, as a condition precedent to the submission of the latter to the Raja of Patna (58a-60).

Of the petitions (Arzis) and letters, written to Nawab Mir Jafar, some are to be noted only for the recommendation they contain of certain persons, such as Dhoosi Ram,

[32] A great-grandson of Nawab Daud Khan Quraishi, the conqueror of Palamoun; we learn from a rare newly discovered unique MS. (analysed by the present writer for the ensuing session of the I. H. R. C.) that Ahmad Khan had been put in charge of the affairs of Shahabad by Raja Ramnarain, his friend. In the present letter the Raja says that he expected much from Ahmad Khan but was disappointed.

[33] Son of the notorious Dhir of Bhojpur who caused so much trouble during the reign of Aurangzeb and his successor. Siddhistnarayan is described by Wilson as the chief of the Ujjaiynia clan, who with 14,000 horse and 80,000 foot, held command of all the way to Sasaram but had assured Nawab Ghairat Khan, Governor of Patna, in 1714-15, and the English that he would not touch the King's presents (Wilson, Annals of Bengal, II). Siddhistnarayan was defeated " and all his 5 forts and other 130 smaller strongholds were captured and a great conquest gained " by Nawab Sarbuland Khan Bahadur, Governor of Patna, who had marched against him at the head of 20,000 horse and 30,000 foot in 1129-1716 (Kamgar Khan's History, T. S, Ch. Kujhwa MS.). That Siddhist was active and alive as late as 1760 is a new fact we get here.

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Muralidhar, [84] Bharat Singh, [85] Banwari Lal, [86] Dhirajnarain, Basant Ram,[87] etc, for the titles of Rajas and Raias, in recognition of the services rendered by them to Raja Ramnarain in fighting against the 'Shahzada' (103b, 104a, 110b, 111a). More important, however, are the letters on Folios 203b-204a, containing an account of the engagement at Hajipur, between Captain Knox and Shitab Rai and Khadim Husain, Khan of Purneah; on folios 175b, dated Friday, the 8th Jamadi II, year 1 (January 25 or 27, 1760) referring to the readiness of the Raja, Captain Cochrain, Raham Khan, [87a] Gholam Shah and other Sardars to engage the Prince Imperial (at the battle of Masumpur) [88] on the next day; on 110b, mentioning the exchange of correspondence with Shuja-ud-Dowla through the medium of Raja Beni Bahadur and of Barwand Singh.

Indeed, the letters written by Mir Jafar, by his son Miran, and by Raja Ramnarain to Raja Beni Bahadur, and that written by the latter to Ramnarain, as also the letter of Miran to Shuja-ud-Dowla which was replied to in a letter, addressed to Ramnarain, and the correspondence with Balwant Singh, and with Nawab Bukhshi-ul-Mamalik [89] form very interesting readings and are among some of the most original and important documents in the MS.

That the first movements of Beni Bahadur from beyond Benares at the end of 1759 caused a good deal of

[84] A Brahman of Bihar who was the head of the spy department and the right-hand man of Raja Ramnarain. He gave invaluable help to the English, and though imprisoned by Mir Qasim in 1761 he outlived the overthrow of the latter and held posts under Raja Shitab Rai, 1765-73.

[85] Described in the *Dastur* as the Zamindar of Magha and elesewhere as that of Arval, which falls within Magha.

[86] Sister's son of Raja Ramnarain *Dastur*).

[87] The husband of the only daughter of Raja Ramnarain.

[87a] Munna Lal, *Ibrat Nama, Siyar-ul-Mutakherin.*

[88] Described as "Rais and Risaladar of Darbhanga." (*Dastur*).

[89] *Vide* the note above.

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alarm and uneasiness in the mind of the Patna Raja is apparant from these lines:—" People say that he is coming to put the prince under arrest. Would to God that he is not coming to assist him.....I have written these few lines in a greatly disturbed state of mind " (42b). But very soon after the things changed, thanks to the " relationship with Rai Saheb....Rai Basant Ram, and to the friendship of Lala Saheb, Lala Gulab Rai [40] " who seem to have wielded some amount of influence with the Naib-Wazir of Oudh, owing to their intimate relations with him. Letters of friendship were despatched to Beni Bahadur and replies thereto were requested for through the Lala Saheb (Gulab Rai), although the intermediation of the friendly Raja Saheb, Raja Barwand Singh, already existed and would continue " (100b, 101a, 55a).

The astute Raja of Benares, however, played a very important, though unostentatious, part. In a letter addressed to him, Nawab Nasir-ul-mulk (Miran) wrote :—" Received your letter...you must have already got what I sent to you....That whatever was absolutely necessary for wishing well for my state, you did and would continue to do, has been learnt from the submissions of my dignified brother, Maharaja Ramnarain Bahadur....He has also sent a reply to the letter received recently from Beni Bahadur written in a way so as to show the warmth of affection which will strengthen the foundation of friendship existing between us.....I am perfectly convinced of the friendship of your dignified self and the virtues of Raja Beni Bahadur are a source of much gratification to me....The Prince has gone towards Ghazipur (U.P.) and Md. Quli Khan has proceeded towards Nawab

[40] For the first time we learn from the *Dastur* that Gulab Rai, an inhabitant of Lucknow, was the father of Basant Ram, the son-in-law of Raja Ramnarain. He must have been a man of considerable importance to exercise influence on the Brahman Naib of the Nawab-Wazir of Oudh.

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Shuja-ud-Dowla....The firm friendship of the said Nawab with His Excellency (Mir Jafar) and ourselves is ever on the increase.....Rest assured that nothing would be done from our side which would go against the rules of constancy.....Do inform my dear brother, Maharaja Ramnarain and Babu Murlidhar if anything there might breed mischief on both sides of the frontier so that immediate action should be taken....I have written to Raja Beni Bahadur to authorize you by a Parwanah to act in concert with my worthy brother, Maharaja Ramnarain Bahadur, in suppressing disorders on both sides of the frontier.....''(98a-99a). The whole of this letter, and that following, as also Ramnarain's letter to Balwant Singh, which is in the same strain and brings in the names of Shuja-ud-Dowla, Beni Bahadur, the Prince and Pahalwan Singh, deserve a literal translation.

Such is the case also with the letters of Miran to Beni Bahadur and to Shuja-ud-Dowla (97a-98a, 95b-96a). The following extracts speak for themselves :—" As I learnt of your virtues sometimes ago, from a letter of Raja Barwand Singh Bahadur, in my eagerness, I myself took the initiative in opening up correspondence with your dignified self.....The intimate relations existing between His Excellency (Mir Jafar) and Nawab Shuja-ud-Dowla need no recounting.....From the letters of my worthy brother, Maharaja Ramnarain Bahadur, you must have already learnt of these things..... You say that you allowed the followers of the Prince to go away safely, for they asked for quarter.....Whatever you have done, in accordance with the direction of Nawab Shuja-ud-Dowla Bahadur, to bar the roads and passages of the vanquished forces and to disperse them on all sides, has given me great pleasure and satisfaction. But you, the elevated one, must look to the issue of things for yourself also, and consider whether it is not bad to give quarter to, and let go, those whose profession it has become to create mischiefs.

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I, your friend, and Nawab Sabit Jung [41] Bahadur (Col. Clive) have arrived on the Karamnasa, [42] at the head of our forces. The Prince, in all probability, has gone towards the side of Zamania and Ghazipur (both in U.P.) and Pahalwan Singh, attended by a few men only, is present in these regions but is greatly confounded and perplexed. If God will, a thorough chastisement will be inflicted upon Pahalwan.....You should, in view of your friendship, take all possible measures to prevent Pahalwan from entering your frontier. The presence of the Prince too, on the side of Zamania and Ghazipur is inadvisable. I believe that as regards this affair Nawab Shuja-ud-Dowla Bahadur has certainly issued the necessary directions to your dignfied self " (97a-98b).

In his letter to Shuja-ud-Dowla, Miran wrote :—" Your Excellency knows full well what sincere friendship my father bears to your exalted self, and the kindnesses shown to, and pledges [43] and compact made with him by Your Excellency are also well-known. These days when the Prince, without order from His Imperial Majesty, and Muhammad Quli Khan joined him against [44] your will and threw the whole

[41] Broom says that " Col. Clive with his whole force accompanied by the Nawab's army under Miran, reached Patna on the 8th April, 1759, and in a few days marched with the whole of the English force and the Nawab's army, and marched with this force including the whole of cavalry, to the banks of the river Karamnasa, to clear that part of the country from the detached parties of the enemy, which were still wandering about, subsisting by plunder. Having reduced these dusting to the order, he moved towards the Southen hill districts, where Pahalwan Singh and some other Zamindars were still in arms, and having brought them into a state of submission, partly by intimidation and partly by negotiation, he returned to Patna in the end of April." (History of Rise and Progress of Bengal Army, p. 259.)

[42] This river formed, in those times, the boundary between Bihar and Oudh.

[43] Does it refer to the post-Plassey affairs? We do hear of correspondence between the Oudh Nawab and the rulers of Bihar and Bengal. See Orme and Broom.

[44] According to the authors of *Ibrat Nama*, *Siyar* and other authorities, Shuja-ud-Dowla himself encouraged his cousin, Md. Quli Khan, to take up the cause of the Prince and he promised to follow him later, for he wanted to get Allahabad for himself. What appears to be a fact is that the Nawab of Oudh felt jealous of the growing importance of his cousin whose attitude at his accession, and whose siding with and meeting the Prince, could not but alarm his cousin (Imad-us-Saadat, 66-69).

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subah of Bihar in disorder and confusion, I, the humble self, came to Bihar, with Nawab Sabit Jung (Col. Clive), in order to quell this disturbance. In the meanwhile, whatever exertions were put in by Maharaja Ramnarain must have reached Your Excellency's ears through sources other than mine. For the present, in compliance with the orders of my father, I am reaching the frontier of the Karmanasa. You are also my master. Whatever your exalted self considers necessary may be enjoined upon Raja Beni Bahadur who has arrived in these regions. Orders may be issued also to Raja Barwand Singh who is standing on the frontier. The copies of the documents received from the Court (Imperial) have been sent for Your Excellency's perusal. His Excellency, my father, and my humble self hope for your favours and the regards of dignities and observance of promises and pledges made in the past are accepted and impressed on our hearts" (95a-96a).

In this connection the letters, which Nawab Shuja-ud-Dowla wrote to Raja Ramnarain, also deserve consideration :—

"The letter, which you had written to the noble, exalted and worthy Raja Beni Bahadur, was seen by me. The sincerity and purity of intention of your dignified self impressed me indeed. In view of the friendship which really exists between me and my brother, Mir Mohammad Jafar Khan, I make no difference between his dependents and my own. In particular, I regard your worthy self as one of my well-wishers, and I am convinced that the rules of purity and sincerity, which are inherent in the disposition of all faithful well-wishers, will always be observed by you as a principle of attachment. The beloved, prosperous and exalted Nasir-ul-Mulk (Miran) and your dignified self desire the renewal and re-establishment [45] of the relations of concord.

[45] This is altogether a new information which, if true, is interesting and requires further light.

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There is nothing better than this that whatever is settled and agreed upon between the above-mentioned Raja (Beni Bahadur), who is one in whom confidence is reposed for a very long time,[46] and who is familiar with my disposition and temperament, and the prosperous beloved one, and your worthy self, should be daily on the increase, so that it might bear fruits and produce good results, both for the present and the future."

One of the letters to Nawab Bukhsh-i-ul-mamalik reads as follows :—" I have to submit that I received your noble Parwanah, sent to me, the dutiful one, through Shah Mohammad Shakir,[47] enquiring about the arrival of the Prince of the world and the condition of your sincere one. It ennobled and exalted me. Whatever happened through the grace of God was due to the favour of your excellent self. God had a great mercy upon the weak condition of your devoted slave. I am hereby availing myself of the good fortune of presenting my Nazar. Your faithful one had become remiss in sending Arzdashts on account of the arrival of Nawab Nasir-ul-mulk (Miran) and Nabab Sabit Jung (Col. Clive) with their army and artillery, and because of his advance in company with the two Nawabs, up to the limits of the frontier. But the intensity of devotion has never left him even for a moment. Now the Nawabs have returned, considering it inadvisable to stay any longer on the frontiers of the provinces. Shah Muhammad Shakir has

[46] Beni Bahadur first entered the service of a high and trusted official of Nawab Burhan-ul-Mulk, the Founder-Viceroy of Oudh. He was introduced to Shuja-ud-Dowla by his diwan, Mahanarayan (Imad, 80).

[47] This man under the names of Shakir Khan, Shah Md. Shakir, and Shukrullah Khan, has been frequently referred to in the Calendar of Persian Correspondence. In one of the letters that he addressed to Major Adams, dated 7th October, 1763, we get a significant sentence :—

" The Major must have heard of the services rendered by me in conjunction with Raja Ramnarain and Nawab Nasir-ul-Mulk (Miran)." No wonder he was appointed *Bukhshi* and *Waqa-i-Migar* of Bihar.

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been a constant companion of my humble self during these disturbances and conflicts and I considered his company as a sign of your good fortune casting its shadow upon me. The details will be submitted by Shah Saheb....." (109a).

Time and space do not allow even such cursory glances as the above on all the letters, in the *Dastur*, which show the relation between Raja Ramnarain and the English. One letter, directly addressed to Major Caillaud by the Raja, which speaks of Shuja-ud-Dowla, Barwand Singh and Jugal Kishore, [48] almost concludes with the following significant expressions :—".....You know, Azimabad (Patna) is not a heritage of this slave.....If there is any desire to retain possession of the subah be pleased to come soon to Azimabad, and on no account, you should proceed to Purneah. Now I have neither patience nor strength to come out unscathed from a double attack on two sides . . . . I believe you have already been supplied with the details by my friend, Mr. Amyatt Bahadur, Shamshir Jung . . . . " (202a-203b).

In conclusion, one feels inclined to give the literal translation of almost the whole of two characteristic letters of Raja Ramnarain one of which he addressed to his brother, Dhirajnarain as follows :—"Your letter dated 19th came to hand on the 27 Ramjan. . . . . I have very closely followed all that you have written about the arrival [49] of the Prince, the anxiety felt on my account and concerning my family and dependents; about the crying out for justice before our lords and masters; about the questions and answers of Nawab Mubarij-ud-Dowla; about your anxieties and

[48] He was the agent (wakil) of Bengal and Bihar in the Imperial Court from the thirties to the fifties of the eighteenth century. Later he transferred himself to the Court of Oudh. He was a poet of Persian and had adopted the pen-name of Sarwat (*vide* the Paper on Ramnarain in I. H. Q., xiv).

[49] This refers to the assault on Patna fort by Shah Alam, on his return from the abortive Bengal adventure, in April, 1760. "All the English garrison except some Sepoys, left for the protection of the factory, having been withdrawn after the battle of Sherpur," The situation of Ramnarain became really critical (Ironside's Narrative).

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perplexity; and hint that the gentlemen, there, deliberately and cleverly avoided giving you permission to leave, because they were under the impression that I, the poor man, was contemplating going over to the Prince; about your resolve that in the event of such an alarming eventuality unfortunately happening you would take poison; and lastly about earnest prayer to God that I, the poor man, should fight against the Prince and retain possession of the fort till these gentlemen came with the relieving army. The suspicions of my masters about my joining the Prince were not entirely groundless and your great anxieties were not without justification. If somebody else—may be, Muhammad Kazim Khan, brother of the Nawab Saheb (Mir Jafar), and Mir Qasim Khan Saheb, son-in-law of the Nawab—had been at such a time, they would have sought the audience of the Prince, might have been captured or defeated or having surrendered the city they would have betaken themselves to His Excellency. There is absolutely no doubt in this. It is I, the fool as I am, who, without any rhyme or reason, allowed everything belonging to me to be destroyed, and keeping my life in my palm, made myself the opponent of the Prince until a whole world was ranged against me. I would never leave my place but let the gentlemen of Murshidabad do justice in the matter. I have been fighting for the last two years against the ruler of India, the seeker of Bengal, and the protege of Nawab Shuja-ud-Dowla; and in discharging my duties towards them, I have wasted the lives and properties, and spent money, left and hoarded by another Sarkar. What appreciation have I received? What concession have been made by the moneyed people of Bengal whose safety and protection has been safeguarded by my exertions? What right have they to expect anything from me, in the face of all these care, aids and concessions? All these efforts of mine were due to my innate goodness, otherwise, very often it occurred to me that I should get

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aside and surrender the city to these demanders of death. I have been crying aloud and making frantic appeals for help for the last 6 months and hardly any one responds to me. 'Praise be to God!' is the only thing that occurs to me .... You, who are better than my own life, should not bother yourself. I have now had enough of the patronage. Through the grace of God, and by the blessings of my elders, I have fought four big battles and invariably come out successful. I have broken their teeth in a way so as to deter everybody else from turning his attention any more towards this side. I offer my thanksgiving to God that all these battles have been won by me through the efforts of my Hindustani subordinates, without any aid of Captain Knox. Moosi Lass (Mons. Law) trembles at your (my) name and Kamgar and Marathas have lost their sleep and appetite. Kale Khan Jham Jham, Zainul-abdin Khan Wazir and Yahya Khan, son of Zakariya Khan,[50] who had brought M. Lass (Law) suffered wounds and went to the hell to-day. On the whole, about 4,000 of them were killed in these 4 engagements. Besides 10 to 20 persons who suffered martyrdom on this side, the most regrettable is the loss of Purdil Khan,[51] and about 200 persons are wounded. Taken as a whole, about 3,000[52] persons of the vanquished army must have been wounded and 150 are about to proceed to the hell. By the grace of God, I have gained an achievement which it is not possible for any one, on your side, in Murshidabad, to achieve. There has been nothing for which you have to hang your head down. The Feringhis

[50] Governor of the Punjab after the death of his father Abdus Samad Khan, the conqueror of the Sikhs, in 1726. Yahya Khan, however, does not seem to have died on this occasion for we hear about him in after years (*S. M.*).

[51] This valiant man was an inhabitant of Jaunpur and he did much, in association with Dr. Fullerton towards repelling the invaders who had already made a breach in the wall and were about to get into the city through ladders (*Ibrat Nama* 71*a*).

[52] We must not take these figures very seriously for the reports supplied to the Raja may or may not have been correct.

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(Europeans),[53] too, admit that even a fort made of iron could not withstand the terrific onslaughts of M. Lass. As for Captain Knox, he came after the fight had been practically finished, though it is true that his arrival did, to a certain extent, animate our men. His Excellency and my lord (Mir Jafar and Miran) were my masters and had they sent even one man to know what was happening or given even a rupee for the expenses of the war, and instead of favours, if they had supplied to me only a handful of lead and powder or one rocket, I, the heart-broken and disspirited one, might have been infused with fresh courage. You had seen last year how much lead and powder were spent and it was double of that which was spent this time. The rockets fell as showers of rains on both sides. They must show a sense of justice and realise how so much implements of war could come into my hands except through the favours of Hanuman Jiw.[54] The grace of God has enabled my broken hand[55] to break their loins. If you can succeed in bringing the Nawab Saheb (Miran) soon, it will serve his purpose, otherwise I may have to depart from this world. What do I care for what will take place after my death? It is the morning of 27th Ramzan when I am penning this letter. The vanquished army is keeping to that very place and I, the poor man, am vigilant and watchful in the garden of Ismael Quli Khan.[56] Rumour is strong about fresh reinforcements and there is a threat of the approach of Nawab Shuja-ud-Dowla too. If His Excellency is really serious about showing his

[53] Mark the contemptuous tone. The word occurs only in 3 places throughout the whole MS.

[54] The name of the monkey who headed Ramchandraji's forces against Ravana, and consequently revered by the devout Hindus as one of their war-gods.

[55] Kamgar cut off four fingers of Ramnarain in the battle of Masumpur (*Ibrat Nama*).

[56] The author of the *Siyar* has drawn a pen-picture of the condition of the Raja when he visited him in this garden (S.M. 683).

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favour, I must await the same. I postpone sending an Arzi to him. You must show this letter to my kind friend Khan Saheb, and to Raja Saheb, your uncle, and sharer in your sorrows, or you may convey only the contents hereof to them. Who am I, and what valueha s my writing? May your life and prosperity increase!" (60b, 633a).

The following letter, written after the first assaults on Patna, again shows the bitterness of feelings of Raja Ramnarain at what he deemed to be the apathy of the authorities in Bengal towards the affairs of Bihar :—

"My intimate friend and sympathiser.....A note indicating my condition and disposition is sent separately.....You will please recall that in the beginning you took the trouble to come over[57] to Azimabad (Patna) and after taking pledges and assurances from me, you left me overwhelmed in troubles connected with the Deputy-Governorship of the province. I thank God that I have not failed in observing those pledges and I have ever proved true to the salt of the Sarkar which I ate. Nevertheless I have heard how the people were unsparing in their disapprobation and taunts when the news of my seeking the audience of the Shahzada (Prince) became noised abroad and reached Murshidabad. As you, the sharer of my grief, were looked upon as my patron by them, they showered the blame upon yourself too. As that too was inevitable and the whole thing arose from the expectancy of help from the Sarkar, I submitted to the necessity of digesting such things. Now that God had mercy upon me, neither the disposition of my lord is restored to its former state,—nor have the people of that assembly any sense of justice so that I may be rendered what is due to me. Let us see what happens afterwards and what other

[57] The addressee may be identified with Raja Durlabhram, the agent of Ramnarain at Murshidabad. He had accompanied Clive and Mir Jafar to Patna in 1758 (M. N.).

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Rustum [58] and Isfandyar [59] draw their bows and arrows and unsheathe their swords.....His Excellency had told me to spend whatever amount was absolutely necessary and that the whole thing would be repaid after the victory. In this hope, and owing to my fidelity, I swear by my life that I neither spared my house nor did I leave my acquaintances without a share. As regards the promises made, they are beyond recounting. Now that it has happened so, I consider my ruin better to result in the loss of my senses and understanding. But the payment of the debts of the bankers and the friends is binding. If I do not fulfil the promises I made to each one of them, how can they abandon me. These include many zamindars who came to my assistance. I paid two lakhs and fifty thousands plus another fifty thousand rupees by way of allowance for subsistence. The troops and the attendants have to be paid two and a half lakhs by way of reward for one and a half month. The *Sebandi* of the Sarkar (militia soldier) whom I employed, according to the order of the Sarkar, must be paid more or less four lakhs of rupees, and about ten to twelve lakhs of rupees have been already paid to liquidate the arrear pay af the soldiery. What should I say? The arrear revenue is not realised from the Subah. The affair of Fateh Singh [60] is in this wise and of Pahalwan Singh is in such a position. It is not a fact that realization cannot be made but the rainy season stands on the way and Fateh Singh has received a mandate. I seek justice from you. Nawab Shahid Jung [61] finished Mustafa Khan and received 50 elephants and 12 lakhs from Murshidabad

58 The celebrated warrior of Iran and Turan whose combat has been immortalized by Firdusi in Shahnama.

59 Ditto.

60 A Raja of Tikari and nephew of Sunder Singh. There are references in the *Dastur* to the orders to Ramnarain not to realise the revenue from the state of Fateh Singh.

61 This refers to Haibat Jung's victory over the rebellious Rohilla in 1745 (Sarkar's Bihar and Orissa during the Fall of the Mughal Empire).

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treasury.....I have noted only one out of thousand, little out of many. My condition is going beyond the state of madness. Whom shall I show my fall here and before whom shall I have my sighs ? Can I get aside ? Even if I wish to present myself before His Excellency, will the army and the money-lenders allow me to do so ? You may do what you consider to be proper but do not give up solicitudes for me. Neither these ways nor this device will conduce to the prosperity of the State. Please tell the Nawab Saheb that it is easy to kill me but nothing can be done after my death. Nawab Safdar Jung, inspite of his great power and strength, failed to achieve anything after the death of Nawal Rai;[62] the whole empire failed against the Marathas after the death of Raja Gidhar Bahadur[63] and there was no remedy but to accept virtual imprisonment and wholesale massacre[64] of people after the death of Khan-i-Dauran.....I swear by my Dharam,[65] and by the holy Ganges, that in taking care of preserving or informing about the Subah, I have not been deficient. As regards what happens afterwards, neither the blame nor the disgrace will attach to me therefor. Verses :—He did not listen to my lamentation : I sealed my lips : He did not exercise his sagacity and I became mad."

62 The battle of Khudaganj, 1750, Sarkar, F.M.E., I.

63 Governor of Malwa and the only notable Hindu chief who refused to join the Hindu revivalists in befriending the Marathas (Sinha's Rise of the Peshwas).

64 The sack of Delhi by Nadir Shah, the Persian invader, in 1740. (Irvine's Later Mughals, II).

65 Raja Ramnarain was very orthodox, as has been pointed out elsewhere (I. H. Q., XV).

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4

THE BIRTH OF AKBAR, THE PRINCE, OCTOBER 15, 1542 A.D.

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Humāyūn stayed in Amarkot from August 22 to October 11, 1542 A.D. He had discovered that Rānā Visāldēo, though a petty chief, had a personal grudge against Shāh Hussain Arghan, who had killed his father, and was prepared to support him against the Arghan Chief. So on *Rajab* 1,949 A.H. (October 11) he set out on his expedition. He had only moved 15 *cos* towards Sindh when he was conveyed the glad tidings of the birth of a son by Tardī Bēg.

The son, known as Muhmmad Akbar, was born on Sunday, *Rajab* 5, (October 15) in the early hours of morning.[1] But an assertion had been made by Kavi Shyāmal Dās[2] and it was accepted by Vincent Smith that *Rajab* 5 is a fictitious date[3] and that the prince was actually born on *Sha'bān* 14. As both of them based their statements mainly on Jauhar's writings, Jauhar's statement may be taken first. He says :—

وقت تولد حضرت شهزاده ماه شعبان چهاردهم روز شنبه برد
ماه شب چهاردهم را بدر میگویند پس شهزاده محمد اکبر غازی

1 Gulbadan's *Humāyūn-nāma* (*G. H. N.*) calls it سحر and others شب

2 See the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for the year 1886.

3 See V. Smith : *Akbar* (*V. S. A.*), p. 14. It would be fair to mention that Jafar Sharif, writing in 1832, makes a similar assertion. See his *Islam in India* (*J S.I I.*), translated by Herklot, edited by Crooke and published by the Oxford University Press.

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بدرالدین والدنیا هردوعالم افروز در خانه تشریف آورد و خطاب جلال الدین و بدرالدین یکی -

The prince's birth took place on Saturday, *Sha'bān* 14. The moon of the fourteenth night is called Badr. So prince Muḥammad Akbar *Ghāzī*, the ful moon of the faith and the world, the illuminator of both the worlds, came into the house (*i.e.*, was born). The titles, Jalāluddīn and Badruddin convey the same meaning.

Comment on the quotation

From the above quotation, it is clear that Jauhar assigns the name of Muḥammad Akbar to the prince[4] and that he thinks Badruddīn as well as Jalāluddīn to be a title. The point is that Jauhar does not state that Badruddīn or the later Jalāluddin to be the principal part of the prince's name.

Also, Jauhar distinctly states that the prince was born on the night of Saturday, *Sha'bān* 14.[5] Since it was a full-moon night, the word بدر had been, incidentally, so to say, brought in.

When we turn to our tables of dates, we find that the 14th *Sha'bān* is a full-moon night but a Thursday. Almost all the contemporary or later historians[6] are agreed that Akbar was born on a Sunday. To give one rather striking illustration, Jahāngīr in recording the eleventh of his 12 coronation edicts[7] says, ". . . . . they should not slaughter

[4] Abdul Ghanī in his book *A history of Persian language and literature at the Mughal court*, part III, p. 5., suggests that the name was given in honour of the child's grand-father 'Alī Akbar. This will be in accordance with Jāfar Sharif's remarks on p. 28 of *J.S.I.I.* For the distinctions of *'alam*, *kumiyat*, *laqab*, etc. see the latter book, p. 29,

[5] And not on Thursday as stated by *V.S.A.*, p. 14.

[6] Among the writings may be mentioned, *Akbar-nāma* (*A.N.*), *Ma'āsir-i-Rahīmī* (*M.R.*), *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (*T.A.*) *Muntakhāb-ut-Tawārīkh* (*M.T.*), *Tārīkh-ī-Sindh* (*T.S.*), *Ferishta*, *Tarīkh-i-Khāndān-i-Timārīa* (*T.K.T.*) *Tārīkh-i-Salātīn-i-Afāghine* (*T.S.A.*) and many others.

[7] See *Tuzu'k-i-jahāngīrī* edited by Rogers and Beveridge, p. 9.

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animals. Two days in each week were also forbidden, one of them, Thursday, the day of my accession, and the other, Sunday, the day of my father's birth."

So we are agreed that the date which agrees with a Sunday will be the likely date.

Now let us again turn to the 14th *Sha'bān*. It is a full-moon night. But Jauhar does not explicitly state that Akbar was *born on a fullmoon night* and no other writer mentions that Akbar was born on such a night. Next, Jauhar says that the two titles, Badruddīn and Jalāluddīn, have the same sense. Badruddīn would mean the full moon of religion or faith and Jalāluddīn, the glory of religion or faith. It would thus appear that very early in the prince's infancy—possibly in the first week of his birth[8]—the title of Badruddīn had been given to him and that slightly later it was substituted by Jalāluddīn. Jauhar consoles himself by pointing out that the two titles have almost the same connotation and the substitution of one for the other would not signify any change in meaning.

It may be asked here, why Jauhar makes a mention of the 14th *Sha'bān* at all, if the date had nothing to do with the birth of the prince. The simple answer to it is that it was the 40th day since the child's birth. The 40th day of a new-born babe is an important day and the 'Aqīqa or tonsure ceremony is performed on that day.[9] Music and dancing are held the whole night. It being a full-moon night, Jauhar remembered it well and 45 years later, while writing about Akbar's birth mixed up the two occasions, Akbar's birth on the 7th lunar night and the full-moon night of the 14th Sha'bān. To conclude, it must be emphasized that neither of the titles, Badruddīn or Jalāluddīn indicated the phase of the moon on the night of the birth.[10]

[8] See *J.S.I.I.*, p. 28.

[9] It may be performed also on the sixth day.

[10] It was a *Saptamī, Śuklapakṣha*, the 7th lunar night.

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Why was the title of Badruddīn chosen for Akbar ?

An explanation may be given for the choice of the title of Badruddīn for Akbar. It is possible that the mother, Ḥamīda Bānū and Maulānā Chānd, who had been left behind to take care of her, chose it because to them Akbar's birth appeared like a full moon amidst Humāyūn's gloom.[11] The name would appear especially appropriate on the 'Aqīqa night, when there was a full moon in the clear sky of November.

Reason for the choice of Jalāluddīn

But afterwards, either when Humāyūn was informed of the child's birth or when Ḥamīda Bānū and Maulānā Chānd joined him some six weeks later, he remembered that the title of Badruddīn would not do because already more than two years back[12] he had decided that his first son should be named Jalāluddīn. So the change was duly made.

Gulbadan Bēgam's date for Akbar's birth

There is another writer who differs from the traditional date of the 5th of *Rajab* and she is Gulbadan Bēgam, Humāyūn's sister. She was at the time of Akbar's birth with Kāmrān, but the point in her favour was that while she was writing her book,[13] she had the benefit of consultation with Ḥamīda Bānū.[14] According to this writer, Akbar was born on Sunday, the 4th of *Rajab*, 949 A.H. The question which date is correct will have to be settled in the light of the other

[11] According to *J.S.I.I.*, p. 26, the new born babe should be named in the 1st week or even on the very day of birth as the mother, otherwise, would not get a drop of water to drink.

[12] On 31st October, 1540 A.D. ; see the author's article : *Humāyūn's flight to Lahore*, 1540 A.D., published in the *Journal of U. P. Historical Society*, Vol. XI, Pt. II, December, 1938.

[13] 45 years later, in the year 995 A.H. (1587 A.D.).

[14] As is clear from the authoress's statement in *G.H.N.*, fol. 39 a. She actually quotes Ḥāmīda Bānū's words.

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known fact that it should be a Sunday. According to the mode of calculation at present in vogue, the date would be 5th *Rajab*. If there be a different system of calculation, *i.e.*, if the previous day was to end only with the sun-rise of the next day, the early hours of the morning would form a part of the previous date and hence might be dated 4th *Rajab*.[15]

There are one or two minor details which might be presumed to corroborate the accepted date. The three dates that have been given by *Akbar-nama*,—*viz.*, the date of Humāyūn's departure from Amarkot, October 11; of Akbar's birth, October 14; and of Ḥamīda Bānū's departure from Amarkot, November 20;—all agree with one another[16] and with the date of Humāyūn's arrival at Amarkot, August 22. We do not think there is much sense in agreeing with V. Smith that all these dates have been fabricated in order to make them agree with the fictitious date of birth, *viz.*, *Rajab* 5.[17]

The chief argument against Humāyūn's prolonged stay at Amarkot is the exhausted state of Humāyūn's purse and Visāl's inability to supply provisions to the Mughuls without payment. It was this lack of funds that compelled Humāyun to leave his wife, though she was on the eve of confinement.[18] Again, it was the inability of the Rānā to support the Mughul guests any further that made Hamīda Bānū start in less than six weeks of her child's birth for her husband's camp. Suppose we were to reject October 15, as the date of Akbar's birth and accept November 23, the date suggested by V. Smith for the event, we are at a loss

[15] There is not much in this argument for in that case the day should be put down as a Saturday and not a Sunday as pointed out by Beveridge on p. 55, n. 3 of *A. N.* But his reasoning is slightly different. According to him a Muslim day begins with sun-set. Jauhar also states that Akbar was born on a Saturday. V. Smith on p. 132 of *V. S. A.* states that Akbar's birth day was a Sunday. In either of the statements the difficulty of reconciling *G. H. N*'s date and day remains.

[16] All these events occurred in 1542 A. D.

[17] See *V. S. A.*, p. 14 and p. 15, n. 1.

[18] Humāyūn's poverty was so great that he could not adequately reward Tardī Bēg who brought the welcome news of the birth of a son to him.

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for the prolonged stay at Amarkot of the Mughul party especially of the ladies from August 22 to November 23. They would be embarrassing the Rānā as well as themselves if adequate reasons for their prolonged stay be not forthcoming.

V. Smith's reason for the choice of his date

Again, let us consider V. Smith's reason for the choice of November 23 as his date for Akbar's birth.[19] He thinks that it was a practice with the Muslims to hide the actual date of birth in order to avert the evil eye and that the official date of Akbar's birth was transferred to the 5th of *Rajab*, it being the reputed day of the conception of the Prophet and the actual date, 14th *Sha'bān* (23 November) was suppressed. His authority for the statement is Jauhar who was with Humāyūn when the news of the prince's birth reached him and whose informtion is therefore first hand.

Refutation of V. Smith's reason

We have shown above that Gulbadan Bēgam, Humāyūn's sister, in giving the date actually consults the mother of the child[20] and so must be considered more reliable and therefore Jauhar's statement would seem to carry less weight. Again, have we any reason to suppose that the practice of hiding the actual birth day, as stated by V. Smith, was so general that it must be presumed to apply in the case of Akbar also? What other examples have we got of such a suppression of dates? Or, are we to assume that the dates of birth as given in mediaeval history of India are all fictitious dates?[21]

19 Of course Jāfar Sharī and Shyāmal Dās suggest the argument to him.

20 Gulbadan Bēgam is not always careful to check her facts and is wrong in many of her statements but here she is correct.

21 Say, for example, the dates of birth of Humāyūn, Muḥammad Ḥakīm M., Jahāngīr, Murād, Dānyāl and other later princes.

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Comparison of G. H. N. and Jauhar as authority for the date of birth

Again, let us compare Gulbadan Bēgam's *Humāyūnnama* and Jauhar's *Tazkirat-ul-wāqiāt*. Both were written[22] at Akbar's invitation in or after the year 995 A. H. (1587 A.D.). Both of them might be mistaken in the narration of facts or assignment of dates as they were writing several decades after the events actually took place. But it may be reasonably supposed that at least with regard to one incident, *viz.*, the birth of her child, Ḥamīda Bānū's memory would not fail. If our assumption is correct, Gulbadan Bēgam's narration, being written in consultation with the Bānū, is essentially correct.[23]

Let us consider now a few other details of the event. An old picture in Alwar State Library, re-produced here, is supposed to represent Ḥamīda Bānū, riding a horse during her journey to Amarkot. The painter is Dal Chand. The figure on horseback clearly shows signs of delicate condition and therefore, suggests the lady mentioned.

Akbar is believed to have been born at about 2 o'clock under very auspicious stars.[24] Abul Faẓl has given detailed description of Akbar's four horoscopes; one drawn by Maulānā Chānd, in whose care Ḥamīda Bānū had been placed, in accordance with the Ulugh Khānī tables or with the Greek astrolabe; the second by Jōtik Rāi[25] in accordance

[22] And two other writings, Bayazīd Biāt's *Tārīkha-Humāyūn Bādshāh* and Abbās Sarwanī's *Tuḥfah-i-Akbar Shāhī*. See British Museum Catalogue, vol. I. by Rieu, pp. 242, 246, 247 and India Office Catalogue by H. Ethe, p. 95; Gulbadan Bēgam, Jauhar, and Abbās wrote in 1587 A. D., and Bayazīd 4 years later.

[23] Notice that both Jauhar and *G. H. N.* slightly differ from the other historians. Jauhar calls the day of birth a Saturday and *G. H. N.* dates it 4th *Rajab*. Unless we know more clearly the mediaeval practice of dating a particlar night, it is not safe to try to explain the differences.

[24] Born at an auspicious moment which occurs only once in a thousand years. For a description of the details see *A.N.*, p. 18.

[25] This horoscope was drawn in Akbar's reign. Jōtik Rāi indicates a title, *i.e.*, one who was the chief among the Hindu astrologers.

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with the astrologers of India; the third by 'Azududdaulah Fatḥullah Shīrāzi[26]; and the fourth by Maulānā Ilyās Ardibīl, one of Humāyūn's courtiers who drew the horoscope in accordance with the Ilkhānī tables.[27]

Humāyūn, as we have already seen, had left Amarkot four days earlier and was encamped 15 *cos* further westward[28] when Tardī Bēg Khān,[29] so long left behind, along with Maulānā Chānd to look after Ḥamīda Bānū, took the news of the prince's birth to him.[30]

Amidst Humāyūn's continued disappointments and privations, the birth of a son was a source of extreme consolation. He received the Amīr with delight and by way of reward and largesse for the tidings forgave all his past offences[31] and held a *durbār* where the musicians sang songs in honour of the occasion.[32] Putting aside Abul Faẓl's pompous description of the festivities, let us content ourselves with Jauhar's simple description. As soon as Humāyūn was informed of the event, he offered prayers to the Almighty and then appeared before the people that had gathered to congratulate him. A pod of musk was brought by Jauhar *Āftābchī* to him. He opened it and distributed the contents among his audience with the remark, that the distribution was to celebrate his son's birth. Jauhar adds in his

[26] As he reached Akbar's court only in 1583 A.D., he could not have drawn the horoscope earlier.

[27] See Beveridge's note on the horoscopes in *A.N.* tr., p. 126.

[28] *G.H.N.*, *A.N.* and Jauhar differ.

[29] *G.H.N.* calls him Tardī Muḥammad Khān.

[30] There is an excellent picture depicting the rejoicing at Akbar's birth in the ms. copy of *T.K.T.* in the Bankipur library. The picture is reproduced in Mrs. Beveridge's edition of *G.H.N.*

[31] *G.H.N.* For other details see *A.N.*, pp. 20-1.

[32] How foolish Abul Faẓl looks when he makes the modest tent of Humāyūn the 'spacious hall of audience' and describes the simple rejoicings in words like, 'the drum of joy and rejoicing raised a sound like the exultation of ,Kaiqubād.' The passage too long to be quoted here, may be read in *A.N.*, p. 21.

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memoirs, "O friends, that sweet odour (of the musk) yet fills with fragrance the four corners of the world."[33]

One or two other details may be given in connection with the birth. The selection of the wet-nurse was made with meticulous formality. Humāyūn had lately promised to Shamsuddīn Atkah Khan that as a reward for his faithful service immediately after the defeat of Qanauj,[34] his wife, Jījī, would be appointed nurse when the child would be born. But those who were her seniors in service could not be ignored altogether and so after the child's birth, when the mother had suckled the babe, she gave him in succession to *Dāya* Bhāwal, to Fakhrunnisā, the wife of Nadīm *Koḳah*,[35] to Bhāwal *Anagah*, wife of Khwāja Ghazi,[36] to Jījī Anagah and after her, to Koki Anagah, wife of Tōgh Bēgī, to Bībī Rupā,[37] to Khāldār *Anagah*, to Rījā Jān *Anagah*, wife of Khwāja Maqsud Herātī and to several other ladies of the palace. After everyone had been honoured thus with, so to say, the mother's privileges, Jījī was appointed his permanent wet-nurse.

Abul Faẓl has taken great pains to describe the miraculous incidents connected with Akbar's birth. We have already referred to one of them, that the child was born under a combination of stars supposed not to happen oftener than once in thousand years. But the full narration has not yet been given. The writer goes on to say that the mother had the travail of child-birth for some hours and it appeared likely that the child would be born at an inauspicious

[33] His actual words are

پس ای عزیز همان خوشبو در ربع مسکون چهار کن عالم معطر است

[34] See *A.N.*, p. 166.

[35] *G.H.N.* speaks of her as Nadīm *Koḳah's* mother.

[36] Beveridge thinks it possible that Bhāwal *Anagah* bore also the title of Māham *Anagah*. See his note on p. 134 and agenda nos. 48 and 50.

[37] Beveridge thinks her to be a Hindu girl.

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moment. But the fear passed away and the lady fell asleep and Akbar was born at the desired auspicious moment.

We have referred to Humāyūn's dream,[38] dreamt on *Rabī'-ul-awwal* 4, 947 A.H. (July 10, 1540 A.D.) more than two years back. When he woke up, he was convinced that his wife's saintly ancestor had actually come to assure him in his dream of the future greatness of his son and that the saint had actually chosen the name of Jalāluddīn Muḥammad Akbar for his son. We pass over other similar incidents which all foreshadowed Akbar's greatness, *e.g.*, while travelling in the Rajputana desert, Ḥamīda Bānū had a desire to possess a pomegranate and actually got it; Shamsuddīn Muḥammad *Atkah* Khān's dream[39]; the light on Hamīda Bānū's brow; Jījī *Anagah's* noticing a great light enter her bosom; the rays of 'divine light penetrating the room' where Humāyūn was making astrological calculation about the expected birth; Humāyūn's seeing a brilliant star filling the whole sky at the time of the actual birth of his son.[40] It is probable that many of these incidents are after-thoughts or exaggerations. They were put down by Abul Faẓl, the chronicler because he believed in them and also because he thought that his master would approve of their insertion in his writings.[41]

[38] See the *Journal of U. P. Historical Society*, Vol. XI, pt. II, December, 1938, p. 24.

[39] *A.N.*, p. 14.

[40] These are all described in full in *A.N.*

[41] For Akbar's miracles in his infancy see chapters XXVIII and LII. How silly some of them are may be illustrated by the following: Shaham Khān Jalair relates, 'when I went, I found him (Akbar) lying down. His lustrous countenance was serene and he looked as if he were asleep. In truth he was holding converse with the holy ones of heavenly court. His left hand moved occasionally.....From time to time there fell from his pearl-dropping tongue such expressions as 'God willing, I will bring the cream of earth's surface under my sway and fulfil the desires of the sorrowful of the seven climes.' Akbar was then in his 10th year.

We choose to make the following general remarks on the rites and ceremonies as observed among the more orthodox classes of Muslims in Mediaeval India—

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(*a*) Many of the Muslim rites in India being borrowed from the surrounding Hindus varied from province to province.

(*b*) There was a good deal of dependance on *istiḳhārah*, amulets, and other charms against the evil eye. To provide against barrenness, women visited the shrines of famous saints, e.g., of Muī'nuddīn Chishtī, of Nizāmuddin Awliā, Salīm Chishtī, Shāh 'Ālam of Ahmadābād. Sometimes Hindus also visited them. A gold or silver coin of Akbar was often used as an amulet. It is rather curious that while Akbar is denounced by the Muslims as a *ḳāfir*, his coins are extensively used for pious purposes. The use may be explained in two ways (i) because they bear the names of the first four Khalīfas clearly engraved (ii) because they had a large percentage of the precious metal, *i.e.*, of gold or of silver. *Āīn*, 5, (see Blochmann, pp. 18) calls them superior to tho e of the preceding kings.

(*c*) Reading of the Qurān, recital of the *Fātihah*, of the *Azān* or of the *Takbīr* was an essential part of some of the ceremonies. At the time of delivery the woman's head was laid towards the north and her feet towards the south; for in case she was to die in child birth, such is the position in which the Muslims are buried with face towards Mecca.

(*d*) Superstition had a strong hold on the mediaeval Muslim woman and many of the superstitions were borrowed from others, e.g., she or her relations must not eat during the eclipse; on the *Diwālī* night she was to bathe with water collected from seven wells. Dislike for a daughter was very marked; for 'she was considered little more than a gift to a neighbour.' The Qurān also expresses the dislike of pre-Muslim Arabs for a daughter See verse 16:58. Muhammad tried to remove the prejudice but the Indian surroundings again revived it. During the period of gestation (pregnancy), up to the ninth month no decoration on person or use of jewellery was permitted. Collyrium was freely applied to the eyes of the mother and of the babe as a remedy of the evil eye. Sometimes, just after the birth of the babe, a copper coin or a piece of copper was swallowed by the mother, for the act was supposed to help in the expulsion of the placenta. The knife used to cut the cord is kept by the mother's side for forty days.

(*e*) Once the state of pregnancy was announced, festivities were held at certain fixed intervals. The occasions varied in different parts of the country; still those two which are common may be mentioned: one occurring in the seventh month called *satmāsa* and the other in the ninth months known as *naumāsa*.

After the birth of the babe, the important occasions were

(1) the third day known as *petīt* when the hair of the mother was parted,

(2) the sixth called *Chhatī*,

(3) the fortieth day known as 'Aqīqa day when the tonsure ceremony was held.

Other festivals were held when the child was four months and seven months old. On the latter occasion *firnī* or sweet porridge was given to the child, a practice probably borrowed from the *khīrchatāī* ceremony of the Hindus.

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5

THE BIRTH OF CALCUTTA THROUGH WAR WITH AURANGZEB

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1. *Introductory*—The policy of peaceful trade had come to an end by 1684 and that of militant commerce and political domination was to be inaugurated by the English. Several causes conspired to bring about such an important change in the life of the Company. Its adoption and early success led the Company to ultimately transform itself from a commercial concern into a political organization fraught with the imperialistic idea of founding an empire in India.

In this article I propose to discover the motives for the alteration of the policy, the methods adopted to fulfil the aims in the initial stage, the first fruits of the new policy, and the birth-pangs of Calcutta as the capital of the British Empire in India.

Seven objects of the war stand out prominently :

(1) To secure trade in Bengal without paying taxes and charges ;

(2) To check the growing power of the Dutch in India;

(3) The Company's political ambitions;

(4) To aquire a fortified settlement in Bengal;

(5) To possess a fortified town on the Malabar Coast;

(6) The transference of the presidency from Surat to Bombay ;

(7) To establish an English dominion in India.

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We will take up each one of these serially and give documentary evidence to support the same.

2. *Trade without charges and impediments*—It is alleged that the adoption of the aggressive policy was due to the oppressive treatment meted out by the Mughul officers to the English merchants. From Bombay a trumpet call was sounded by Gerald Aungier, Governor from 1669 to 1677, in the words:—'The name of the Honourable Company and the English nation, through our long patient suffering of wrong, is become slightened; our complaints, remonstrances, paper protests, and threatenings are laughed at . . . In violent distempers violent cures only are successful, *the times now require you to manage your general commerce with your swords in your hands.*'

Similiarly, for some years continuously, Hedges in Bengal and Sir John Child at Surat had repeatedly urged the Company to have fortified places for the protection of their trade in Bengal and elsewhere. The former has thus expressed his opinion in one place:

"The Company's affairs will never be better, but always grow worse and worse with continual patching till they resolve to quarrel with these people, and build a fort on the Island Sagar at the mouth of this river, and run the hazard of losing one year's trade in the Bay, in $\frac{1}{4}$ of which time there's no fear of bringing these people to our conditions. If this be not speedily taken in hand by us, there is no doubt to be made but 'twill soon be done by the Dutch, who talk of it freely, as often as we meet with them and then we must expect to be soon turned out of this country."

When the Mughul was engaged in a war with Bijapur and Golconda, the Company determined to initiate their new policy of aggressive militarism. Hence, it was not industrialism but militarism, not commercial functions but martial spirit, which began to have supremacy in the period commencing in 1686.

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Mr. Wilson has made pregnant remarks on the new era. "This second period is the antithesis, the contradiction, of the first. In it industrialism is checked, and at last overcome, by militarism. Provoked by the vexatious exactions of the local rulers, the English were led to abandon their peaceful attitude and seek to establish their trade by force. The men, who in 1661 apologised for seizing a small boat, in 1685 waged war upon the Mogul, capturing his ships and burning his ports.

Is this antithesis, this contradiction, accidental? On the contrary it is necessary . . . The first period put forward the policy of entirely peaceful industry. The second exhibited the opposition between this policy and the policy of force and retaliation. The third period gives us their reconciliation."

In the preceding remarks Wilson has justified the use of force for removing the vexatious exactions of the local officers. The import duties, transit dues, and a few other cesses were levied on all merchants alike. The officers were justified in demanding these from the English, but the latter pleaded immunity from these on the basis of a Governor's *Nishan* or the Imperial *Firman*. Both these were of questionable validity, since no *Firman* conferred immunity from customs, while the governors' orders were obtained by bribes against imperial grants. Hunter too has given his adherence to Wilson's view. The English had really no inherent right, but being sovereigns of the sea, they desired to wring by force special privileges from the Indian rulers. The use of the mailed fist was made against Aurangzeb.

3. Restriction on Dutch Power—Secondly, Wilson has also ignored the more potent cause for the adoption of the policy of force. The Company were whipped to action by the fast-growing power of the Dutch, who had built up an empire in the East on the ruins of the Portuguese, and

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steadily pursued the policy of monopolizing the trade of their possessions and other places under their control. Every European nation was excluded by them from the spice and pepper trade of the Spice Islands, but the English, being the only rivals in the Eastern seas and islands, had to suffer most from the growing power of the Dutch. They had been forced to withdraw from Amboyna, Banda, Sumatra and other islands after the massacre of Amboyna in 1622. Since that tragic event they had continued to hold a factory at Bantam and thus to enjoy some share in the pepper supplies. But after 1665 their pepper trade even on the Malabar coast was mightily threatened by the Dutch conquests of the Portuguese settlements of Cochin and Quilon, Cananore and Cranganore, as well as by the transference of the allegiance of the princes of Calicut, Cochin and other places to the Dutch Company.

The cup of humiliation was filled to the brim in 1682 by the expulsion of the English from Bantam. The king of Bantam and his son quarrelled in 1682. The English sided with the father and the Dutch with the son. The old king was vanquished and imprisoned. The English were consequently expelled by the victors from Bantam. In its wake followed many other insults which have been given vent to by John in his Surat Letter of 20th September, 1684, addressed to His Most Sacred Majesty. " The oppressions and grievances of your subjects under the Dutch and Portuguese are many and indivisible, which two nations regardless at this distance trample under foot the law of God, Man, Nations and your loyal subjects."

4. *The Company's political ambitions*—An extract from a Company's letter is of exceptional interest in revealing its political ambitions and methods. " If it should be asked, How the Dutch can maintain 170 forts and fortified places in India, while 2 or 3 can hardly by supported by the English Company ?

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The answer is the same : All the Dutch Stock would not maintain their 170 Forts one year but for the ingrossment of spice, and their skill of making their natives pay the charge of their greatness and power : For how have they engrossed Spice but by fortifications ? And how have they maintained their fortifications, but singly by that skill which we now recommend to your invitation."

We have to go deeper into the despatches of the time to get the real reflection of the inner mind of the Company on that vital question. They will reveal to us the coping-stone of the future history of a corporation that succeeded in conquering an empire which is more extensive, prosperous and powerful than any which the ancient or modern worlds have possessed. In their letter dated 26th August, 1685, the Company put the matter boldly in these terms : " It is our Ambition for the honour of our king and Country, and the good of Posterity, as well as of this Company, *to make the English Nation, as formidable, as the Dutch, or any other Europe Nation, are, or ever were in India ; but that cannot be done, only by the form and with the method of Trading Merchants,* without the political skill of making all fortified places repay their full charge and expences."

This remarkable declaration of the new policy, it should be remembered, precedes its adoption only by a few months. Again, in another letter it is asserted that " *the Dutch have now convinced us that we must either doo as they doo, or leave all India to their disposal.*"

Again, " God be praised we are not now in such a posture in India that we need to sneak, or put up with palpable injuries from any Nation what-so-ever in India."

There could hardly have been such an emphatic and explicit announcement of the new policy of imperialism thirsting to obtain political power like the Dutch and the Portuguese. Only these two nations had made themselves formidable in Indonesia. The English now resolved to

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follow their methods and outstrip them in the imperialistic race. Charles II and James II had converted the Company a into state within the state for the conquest and governance of the acquired places. In 1687 Sir Josia Childe felicitously observed that " His Majesty has been pleased by his Royal Charters to form us into the condition of a sovereign state in India." Such an unequivocal evidence cannot be ignored because only a few passages of this type exist. Hunter has rightly concluded that [1] there had thus grown up within the realm a body standing apart from the nation, yet wielding in India the national powers of coining money, levying taxes, building forts, maintaining troops, and making war or peace.

5. *A fortified settlement in Bengal*—The main object of the war was to have a fortified place in Bengal.

" We shall be exceeding glad to hear you have obtained a fortified Settlement in Bengal, which if it please God to grant us, we would have you cultivate with all the vigour and strength you can, that we may be well fixed and settled in a good posture of *defence before the Dutch can form any designs to drive us out*; which may be a means to prevent any attempts from them, as well as to secure our interest if they should attempt to disturb us under any colour or pretence, which they seldom want invention for, when they have a mind to injure their neighbours in India."

6. *A Fortified Town on the Malabar Coast*—To secure themselves in the pepper trade of the Malabar Coast in face of the increasing menace of the Dutch, the Company was anxious to have a fortified place. Therefore the Directors issued peremptory instructions in their letter of 11th September, 1689, since the object had not been fulfilled by that time.

" That Fort at Retorah in the Queen of Attinga's countrey is of mighty concernment to the Company and this Kingdom

[1] A history of British India, Vol. II, p. 275.

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in generall, and therefore we hope you do vigorously pursue the fortifying of it; for tho we have and hope we may continue to have peace with the Dutch, yet we must in prudence never look otherwise upon them in India, than as an emulous and ambitious neighbour, and make such provision in peace, as we may be able to defend ourselves in war, whenever it shall happen.

The increase of our Revenue is no less the subject of our care, and must always be yours as much as our trade, 'tis that must maintain our force, when twenty accidents may interrupt our trade, *'tis that must make us a nation in India, without that we are as a great number of Interlopers,* united by his Majestys Royal Charter, fit only to trade, where nobody of power thinks it their interest to prevent us."

7. *Transference of the Presidency to Bombay*—A cursory study of the letters preserved in the Original Correspondence Series makes it evident that one of objects of the war was the transference of the trade and prosperity of Surat to Bombay. The Directors were determined to make Bombay as 'an independent settlement, and the seat of the power and trade of the English in the East Indies.' The Mughul Emperor threatened to put a stop to all English trade throughout his empire, if they made Bombay their seat of power and commerce by deserting Surat and attracting merchants, artisans and weavers to their own island. The English began to bide their time and saw clearly that they could not realize their object without a war with the Emperor. An extract from a London letter will throw sufficient light on the point.

"Now you are at Bombay and our Trade settled there, we know the Banians must and will follow your money as naturally as crowes resort to carrion, and the place must grow exceeding populous, which we hope you will improve to the doubling of our revenue in a very short time, which *is as absolutely and indispensably necessary to*

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support that English Dominion in India, as Armes, powder, and Shott."

The reasons why the English did not like to return to Surat after the termination of the war have been very candidly stated thus: " Although the Moguls would not onely abate their new imposed Customes, and other incroachments upon us, but let us be custom-free even at Surat itself if we could be drawn again into that fools paradice of sojourning at ease in their countrey with the best part of our estate and our servants in their possession which were but as so many hostages given them to abuse us at their pleasure."

It is now evident that they wanted to deal blows to the Mughul without being given blows in return. They had passed over the period of tutelage and dependence, and now made up their minds to establish and develop trade in their own cities.

8. The English Dominion in India—More significant still is the despatch to their President and Council at Fort St. George on 12th December, 1687, which will prove beyond doubt that the war was commenced for establishing English dominion in India. " *That which we promise ourselves in a most especiall manner*, from our new President and Council is that they will establish such a politie of Civill and Military power, and create and secure such a large Revenue to maintain both at that place, *as may be the foundation of a large, well-grounded, sure English Dominion in India for all time to come.*"

Such was the wild dream then cherished for the acquisition of an extensive, secure and strongly-founded English Empire in India which would last for all time to come. The dream was realised and the prophecy fulfilled to the wonder of all nations within seventy years. The declaration of the policy of political aggrandisement is made in unambiguous terms. Yet Sir Shaafat Ahmad Khan does not

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accept the obvious meanings of these declarations. According to him the words 'political' and 'dominion' are loosely used by the Directors and that "political meant, of course, commercial to them." Who can believe that a shrewd body Directors including a genius like Sir Josia Childe could not distinguish between the words political and commercial ? His assertion, unsupported by evidence, is not convincing. Further on he says that it is not 'fair to detach a few phrases from some of the grandiloquent dispatches of Childe and to regard them as expressing the policy to which he was devoted.' Sir Shafaat has tried to show the two-fold policy of having forts as necessary for the safety of trade and of imitating the Dutch in their policy of raising revenue in India but not in their methods of plantations.[2] These purposes do not exclude the acquisition of dominion. Childe wanted to have forts and sufficient revenue to meet the expenses of fortifications. It is evident that political aggrandisement preceded, and succeeded in, the acquisition of fortified places. This policy involved the English in wars with the European and Indian powers. The unsuccessful nation would have been wiped out of India. The English were determined to found a lasting English dominion in this country. Consequently they bided their time and were always vigilant to take advantage of the weakness of the foreign and country governments.

The Court of Directors was resolved for the future to maintain the honour of the king and nation, in no place to submit to worse terms or usage than the Dutch had. Hence orders were sent to proclaim those princes and peoples enemies who were not prepared to allow them as good usage as to the Dutch. They also *agreed to have a fort in every prince's dominion with whose subjects they traded.*

[2] East India Trade, p. 198.

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How has the ideal been boldly expressed in clear and unambiguous terms, how the great hopes cherished in those days have moulded the future destinies of England and India, is a matter of common knowledge. The embers of Dutch and English rivalry were re-kindled fifty years later on the fair fields of the Karnatak in the form of Franco-British enmity. Soon after, these burst forth into a conflagration on the rich plains of Bengal, so that the Dutch, French and Mughul dominions were consumed in the flames created by the English.

9. *Instructions to English Fleet*—They sent one fleet to take, plunder and destroy all Indian vessels on the western coast and another formidable fleet with troops to Bengal to capture the King's salt houses, to surprise vessels of the Mughuls in the Bay of Bengal, " to seize and take the town, fort and territory of Chittagong by force of arms, and to make the place as strong as the wit and invention of man can extend to." In anticipation of their success, the Court appointed Job Charnock to be " Governor of our Fort, Town and Territory of Chytegam." They further commissioned their factors to make friendship with the king of Arrakan, surprise Decca, take possession of the town and restore it to the Nabob if he paid the demanded war-indemnity, secured the payment of the Company's debts, confirmed to them for ever the city and territory of Chittagong and also all their ancient privileges in Bengal. The Company were so sure of the success that all arrangements for the government of the conquered places and the terms of several treaties of peace were forwarded by the Secret Committee to their servants in India.

On the western coast of India, they wanted to capture Salsette from the Portuguese, and coerce the Queen of Attinga to allow them to build a fort in her territory.

The operations of this war were confined to Bengal and the Malabar coast. The skirmish began at Hughly where

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the local governor prohibited English soldiers from resorting to the market for buying victuals. Their factory was burnt down, but the English were able by way of reprisal to inflict far more damage on Hughly by their severe cannonading. The intervention of the Dutch brought about a cessation of war. The English withdrew to Sutanuti. Twelve stipulations were agreed upon between the Nabob's representative and English factors and sent for the acceptance of the Nabob.

10. Failure in Bengal and on the Coast—These demands were looked upon as insolent by the Nabob and rejected. The English decided to show more force. In 1687 they took Thana Fort[3], occupied Hijli, ransacked Hughly, burnt and beleaguered Balasore, captured or set fire to ships of the people and worsted the Nabob's troops at Hijli in several skirmishes. Negotiations were resumed from Sutanuti through the governor of Hughly, but the articles were not confirmed up to 1690. Troubles arose again in Bengal when war broke out on the West Coast. This time the English miserably failed on the Ganges as well as in their expedition to Chittagong. Bengal had altogether to be abandoned. Their factories in this province and their establishments at Masulipatam, Madapolam and Vizagapatam on the Coromandel coast were seized, their agents and servants were made prisoners and even several of them were slain.

In spite of admonitions of the Court and preparations of the factors in the Bay, the expedition to Chittagong in January, 1687, proved abortive. Instead of surprising the place, they decided that "it was for divers reasons highly requisite to write to the Nabob and advise him of our arrival there with our fleet purely to serve him."

[3] They stood on each side of the river below Calcutta.

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11. Bombay captured by the Mughul Fleet—As to the war on the Malabar Coast, the English captured the fleets bound to Mocha, Basra and Persia; robbed, plundered and destroyed the Mughul subjects on these fleets; extended their depredations to the whole coast, fearlessly seized in the Indian Ocean a fleet laden with provisions for the Mughul army, and then by threatening Surat caused disturbance in the Indian trade. They had soon to pay very heavy penalties for levying an insolent war. Siddi Yacoob of Janjira, the Mughul Admiral, besieged the town and castle of Bombay. We are told that this unwelcome guest left the marks of ruin and destruction so 'deeply engraven as we believe may require a good competency of time to wear out.' The Mughul Governor of Surat seized the English factory in the city, imprisoned the Company's factors, and obliged them to pass through the streets with irons about their necks. With the capture of the greater part of the Bombay island, notwithstanding the naval strength of the English, the war came to an inglorious end. The Company had lost all their factories and commercial privileges in Bengal, Gujarat and in all the places on the Coromandel coast, excepting Madras. Their trade was in a complete deadlock.

12. Submission of the English Commander-in-Chief—The most submissive petition submitted in dire distress to 'Oran Zeib the Great Mogull' from the Bombay Castle by Sir John Child is a very amusing document in Indian history.

"The petition of the least of your servants Sir John Child, General of the English Nation, like a graine of sand and with the greatest reguard to your Majestie's person, Amberlike influence, Lord of benificence and Liberalitie, Soloman-like Throne, Epitome of Priesthood, Scanderbeeg-like wisdome, heavenly Judgment, Potentate of the World,

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Center of security, Emperour of the earth, and of the Age, Object of all sublunary things, the Divine shadow of the holy prophett Mahomett, Oramzeib whose person and kingdom the Divine Powers long prosper and continue, that his rightousness and justice may spread over the whole world, and everlastingly continue for the benefit of its Inhabitants, Representeth after due recommendation of servitude and vassalage, with humility and lowliness of mind kissing the floor of all servile offices with lips of respect and obsequiousness, and with a head bowed downe to your Fame and Greatnesse how that I humbly addressed myselfe to your Majestie by the way of Mucteer Cann Governour of Suratt more than a yeare agoe and then gave in a particular account of the great Grievances my Nation lay under, and was in hopes long before this to have had redress from your Majestie's usuall justice to all, but Mucteer Canne as he abuseth every body, soe hath deceived and abused me, bare I did much with him but lately his covetousness and naughtiness has exceeded human patience and I well know much contrary to your Majestie's Royal will and pleasure, having contrary to his Coole imprisoned my people and seized a great Estate in money and goods, and having endeavoured always under the sun of peace to no purpose as is well knwone to many thousands at Surat and other places I have now no way in appearance left to fly immediately to your Majestie whose wisdome and justice exceeds your greatness, being placed by the Almighty Providence to governe a great part of the World. I have sent my Agrievances in a paper aparte and humbly leave all to your Majestie's pleasure, not desireing the harm of any, my only hope is that I may be righted where wronged and enjoy for the future your Majestie's gracious Phirmaund that my Nation may enjoy the priviledges they have had for many years in all parts of your Dominions and not be imposed on and abused by any hereafter, and that the peace may be

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lasting that your Majestie would be pleased to order whom you shall think fit about your person to receive any future complaints from any of my Nation, and see they be righted suteable to your Majestie's great justice that speaks you as Glorious as you are great in the World.

I have this opportunity given me by Mahmud Raizah, God preserve your Majestie."

13. The Imperial Firman in 1687—Though humbled and humiliated, the English deceived Aurangzeb with sweet words of submission and secured almost all the objects for which they had prosecuted the war. In 1687 Aurangzeb granted a *Firman* to the English which they have named Treaty of Peace. In it we should particularly mark the rights of paying 2% duties on merchandise and treasure excepting provisions and Mocha goods, and the right of minting Mughul coins granted to the Company. They were to have their own mint apart to themselves in the Royal Mint at Surat and thereby save a great deal of expense. These privileges made them the most favoured nation in Western India, while the nationals were denied such low duties.

14. The Terms of Peace—The renewal of the *Firman* became necessary because the English had resorted to hostilities against the Emperor up to 1689. Having expressed their submission with humility, servitude and vassalage with lips kissing the floor and head bowed down to the Emperor's greatness, the English sent an embassy to the capital for imploring pardon for their deeds. The two ambassadors sent by the Bombay factors were given a strange reception at Agra. When they were led into the presence of Aurangzeb, their hands were tied by a sash before them, and they were obliged to prostrate themselves before the throne. The "mild and wise prince"

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who could and ought to have revenged himself for all those unprovoked depredations, pardoned all their faults, removed his armies from Bombay, and on 27th February, 1690, even renewed his *Firman* on the conditions that (1) they should follow the ancient customs of the port and 'behave themselves for the future no more in such a shameful manner'; (2) a fine of Rs. 150,000 be given him, (3) Sir John Child be turned out and expelled from India, and that (4) satisfaction should be given to his subjects on account of debts contracted and robberies committed, (5) all other losses and damages to be made good.

But Child was beyond expulsion or disgrace, as he had died at Bombay on 4th Feb., 1690. This peace has been styled ignominious. It was really not so. The Company was morally and legally bound to fulfil the 4th and 5th conditions.

The stipulation regarding Child seems to be humiliating, but since he had been the cause of war, it was stipulated that he should be replaced by another man. In fact, in 1687, Bombay had been made the chief seat of the English in India and Sir J. Child was appointed the first Governor and General[4] of the English Settlements. As the *Firman* did not raise objection to Bombay having been made the chief seat of the English, the object of the war on the Western Coast was fulfilled.

The news of disturbances caused by the English at Hughli and Balasore highly incensed the Emperor. He exclaimed "the English had greatly abused him, spoiled his country, taken fort and thereafter all these injuries to quitt or pardon them would be loss." Yet he magnanimously restored them to their former privileges in Bengal.

[4] Bruce (Annals, II, 568, 585, 587) repeatedly styles him Governor-General, a title which was officially given to W. Hastings in 1773.

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15. Privileges in Bengal—The principal demands in the original petition were for custom-free trade, establishment of a Government mint at Hughly and for the lease of Ulumbera or Ulubaria to build a factory on the same privileges as the Dutch had at Barnagur. The custom was commuted by a single payment of Rs. 3,000 per annum, a mint for their use was established at Hughly and the village of Ulumbera was granted to them for building a factory. Some time after it was overflowed with water; the English were consequently allowed to remove their establishment to Sutanuti.

16. Settlement at Calcutta—The Company very frankly adjudged the value of their achievement by remarking that "no great good was ever attained in this world without throes and convulsions and therefore we must not grudge at what is past." On confirmation of the articles by the Nabob, Charnock was to deliver the ships and goods of Indian merchants captured by the English and to return to the factories for carrying on trade. He with his Council and Factors, escorted by thirty soldiers, arrived at Sutanuti on 24th August, 1690. The party found the place in a deplorable condition since all the former buildings had been destroyed. For sometime they lived in boats, then in temporary houses of mud walls and thatched roofs. Such were the humble beginnings of the capital of the British Empire in India.[5]

Charnock had tried Hughly, Ulubaria and Hijli, and found each of these unsuitable for a fortified centre of English trade. He selected Sutanuti, a place as secure for a naval power as the others were insecure. It was surrounded by swamps on its eastern and southern sides and was situated on the bank of a broad river on which English

5 Wilson, Early Annals, p. 124.

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ships could freely come and go. Near it was another ancient centre called Calcutta which was the growth of many centuries and was an excellent commercial place at the end of the seventeenth century. Such a town was selected by Charnock for a fortified factory. He died in 1693 and his remains were buried at Calcutta which had then no fort to defend it. His successors continued to improve it as strategically the safest and commercially the best place in Bengal.

But Charnock stands out not only as the founder of the British capital in India, but as the type of the new policy that *firmans* must be upheld by force, and that a fort is better than an ambassador. According to Hunter the war had four permanent results :—(1) The English were convinced that a land-war against the Mughul Empire was beyond their strength. (2) They could force the Great Mughul to their terms by their sea-power. (3) The policy of unarmed trade in fenceless factories gave place to the result of that of armed trade in fortified factories. (4) The fourth result of the war was Calcutta.[6]

17. The policy of political domination continued— The English had obtained villages of their own choice for having a factory, but had not the right to fortify them. Even the French and the Dutch who had prosperous factories near Calcutta did not have the privilege of fortification. In fact, no government worth its name would ever allow foreigners to have fortified towns in its territory under their foreign governments. This would have amounted to conferring the right of resistance to the foreigners and even the opportunity to upset the native government by their forces brought from sea to the fortified towns. The English were bent upon making themselves a martial nation in India. Therefore, they were on the look out for an opportunity to

[6] A History of British India, Vol. II, p. 271.

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fortify Calcutta. The study of their subseqnent despatches makes it clear that the policy of aggression or political domination was to be continued in India. Two passages will abundantly illustrate the point.

In one letter the Director pointed out :—"It's great folly to go faintly, weakly, or slowly about any warlike affair in India as our people did in Bengall slowly and you weakly at Mergee, *whenever you go about any such affair again, do it roundly, secretly and strongly at once, and keep as close as possibly* you can to our orders as our general did it at Bombay, and then it's ten to one with God's blessing but you will succeed to the honour of your country and ours and your own satisfaction."

More significant are the following instructions to "*Our General of India* and our President and Council of Fort St. George."

"*Though our war be over, you must continue to train and exercise in arms all our Factors, Writers and English Servants of all degrees from the highest to the lowest according to our former orders, because we must ever hereafter keep ourselves a martial Nation in India.*" [7]

18. Favourable opportunities—Fortunately for the Company, this martial spirit which they were anxious to promote was fanned by the gathering storms of internal strife that now and then burst forth in the later years of Aurangzeb's reign. In the plentitude of his power the Emperor was strong enough to force compensation for any injuries inflicted upon his subjects on sea or land by any European nation. At every delinquency, the privileges of trade enjoyed by European companies were suspended for all alike, sometimes their factors were imprisoned and their properties seized till full satisfaction was tendered to the Government.

[7] Bombay Papers Unav. XI, p. 121. London Letter, 27th Aug., 1688.

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But these reverses could not deter the English from their ambitious schemes. "Now," wrote the Director, "we are established by a Parliamentary authority, we esteem it a duty incumbent upon us, to England and to our posterity to propagate the future interest of our nation in India."

The English in India were fully aware of the coming chaos, and they were anxiously awaiting opportunities for assuming the offensive. Just read the interesting communication of the Directors to their servants in Bengal on November 29, 1700. "You cant be insensible the Mogull is daily drawing nearer his end which will probably give birth to many intestine commotions before his Successor be quietly settled his Throne during which the time All Rich Unfortified Places will be a tempting bait to those perfidious people."

19. Fortification of Calcutta—It has been seen that one of the causes of the war with the Mughul was to secure fortified places in Bengal. At the acquisition of Ulubaria they had expressed the wish that it might "in time become a famous and well-governed English Colony." Hence attempts were to be made to obtain a *Firman* from the emperor for holding the place with the same immunities and privileges as were enjoyed at Madras. The Great Mughul could not be persuaded to grant such a dangerous privilege. Yet in 1696, when several of the hereditary landlords headed by Sobha Singh declared themselves independent of the Government, and started plundering expeditions, the English like the Dutch and the French, with great professions of attachment to the Nabob, fortified their settlements under the pretence of self-defence. Thus arose the walls of the Dutch fort at Chinsura, the French fort at Chandarnagur, and Fort William at the English settlement of Calcutta. These were the first which the Mughul Government suffered foreigners to build in any

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part of their empire. The Company feverishly urged the Bengal factors to profit by the revolt. "Now or never must be your time to put in execution our repeated orders for many years past to secure a fortified settlement in Bengal."

In their letter to Fort St. George on 26th Jan., 1698, the Ditectors lay down the policy to be followed on such occasions. "Write to them to secure themselves to get their fortifications well strengthened and regularly made having so good an opportunity. And if possible to offend neither party, nor side with either, but carry it swimmingly towards both, and if necessitated to declare themselves to do it in such a manner as will admit of a fair excuse to other party, if ever they happen to question for it." [8]

No comment is necessary on these passages. The Company were anxious to secure a fortified place, and they did get it at the earliest opportunity by their diplomatic measures. They were allowed in July, 1698, by paying a bribe of Rs. 16,000 to the avaricious prince, Azim-us-Shan, who had been appointed Nabob of Bengal to quell those disturbances, to purchase Zamindari rights of the districts round the Fort, to the extent of about one mile and a half square. Thus in Nov., 1698, the Company obtained the Zamindary right for the three villages of Sutanuti, Calcutta and Gobindpur in return for the payment of about £150 per annum as quit rent.[9] They had obtained the Prince's authority "for a firm Settlement in this place with the rent of the three towns which will be a revenue sufficient to bear the charge of the Garrison, etc."

20. Conquest to pay its own expense—These lines are of capital importance, as they reveal to us the first beginnings of a policy which was invariably followed

[8] *Cf.* Other passages given in Wilson's Old Fort William in Bengal, Vol. I, p. 29.

[9] Wilson, Old Fort William in Bengal, Vol. I, pp. 41, 45.

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by the Company in India. It was due to this that every settlement used to pay its own expenses; so, commercial income was not riddled with the expenses of keeping those fortified places. The Despatches of the Company are full of instructions on making every settlement self-dependent.

Finally it should be remarked that the Company were so much pleased with their late successes that they declared Bengal a presidency and named the fort Fort William.[10]

21. Growth of the capital—Calcutta began rapidly to grow in population and commerce. The English withdrew their factories from Patna, Rajmahal and Balasore with a view to concentrate all their trade at Calcutta. Here trade was no longer subject to those impediments and exactions which were usual before the acquisition of such a fortified place. In 1699 the English fort was considered to be stronger than the Dutch one, while two years later it is reported to be 'strong enough to resist any attempts of the natives.' The population of Calcutta is stated to be between 10 to 12 thousand about 1706 by Hamilton, but Wilson thinks it to be an under-estimate and puts it at 22 thousand people.[11]

The Indian historian of Bengal has paid a glowing tribute to the just and encouraging government of the English in Calcutta. "The mild and equitable conduct of the English, in their new settlement, gained them the confidence and esteem of the natives; which joined to the consideration of the privileges and immunities which the Company enjoyed, induced members to remove thither with their families; so that in a short time Calcutta became an extensive and populous city."[12]

10 General Letter to Bengal, Dec. 20, 1699.

11 Vol. 3, p. 193.

12 Gladwin's Bengal, p. 88.

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6

RISE AND FALL OF MAHARAJAH BENI BAHADUR, 1759-1767

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Maharajah Beni Bahadur, Shuja-ud-daulah's deputy in the provinces of Oudh and Allahabad, played a very important part in the negotiations between the English East India Company and the Nawab-Wazir before the battles of Panch-Pahari (3rd May, 1764) and Buxar (23rd Oct., 1764) and also after Shuja-ud-daulah's retreat to Faizabad. Abandoning his master's cause, he joined Major John Carnac when the Wazir's power was completely shattered and when he was a fugitive flying for protection to his erstwhile enemies of Ruhelkhand and Farrukhabad; but on learning that Shuja-ud-daulah was going to make another and a desperate effort and this time with the assistance of the Marathas to regain his dominions, Beni Bahadur slipped away from the English camp to rejoin the Wazir.[1] This is all that was known about this notable Indian politician and administrator of the early years of the second half of the eighteenth century. For the first time an attempt has been made in the following lines to construct the career of Beni Bahadur from the contemporary sources, Persian and Marathi, English and French.

A man of obscure origin, Beni Bahadur had, by dint of natural talent (*fitrat zerak*), industry and tact, risen from poverty to power, and become the virtual head of administration and the first citizen and officer in the two Mughul *subahs*

[1] *Tabsiat-ul-Nazirin*, 675.

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of Oudh and Allahabad. His father Khem Karan, a Brahman resident of Baiswara in the modern Unao district in Oudh, practised as an ordinary physician in the time of Saadat Khan Burhan-ul-mulk (1723-1739),—a profession in which he was not destined to prosper.[2] Impoverished and overtaken by adversity, he migrated to Farizabad, which seemed to offer better prospects for earning a living. Here after a short duration of unsuccessful career as a doctor he was visited by blindness, and had therefore to adopt begging as the only means of subsistence for himself and his family. His son Beni, then aged about ten, would conduct him to the house of Saadat Khan's diwan, Atma Ram, who used to give away much in charity to poor Brahmans and beggars of other denominations, and the boy seating his blind father in the midst of the crowd of beggars would go out for a chat with the menial servants of the diwan's son Ram Narayan. Possessed of handsome features, marked intelligence and probably a sweet tongue too, Beni was liked by the servants who managed to get him appointed as a member of their order. When Beni was 15 or 16 years, he was recommended by a dancing girl of whom Ram Narayan was enamoured. "Beni is a Brahman," she said to the diwan's son, "and it is not proper for you to take from him the work of a menial servant." As a result Beni was raised to be a trooper in his master's body-guard, came in direct touch with him and soon became his favourite [3] (c. 1739). Atma Ram's death having occurred those very days, Ram Narayan succeeded him as Diwan with the title of 'Rajah', and this was followed by Saadat Khan's suicide (March, 1739). In 1748 his successor Safdar Jang deputed the

[2] Chahar Gulzar-i-Shujai (p. 469 b) gives Lucknow, which is unlikely as, the diwan lived at Faizabad which was then the capital. Imad-us-Saadat (p. 80) says that Baiswara was the place of his residence.

[3] A contemporary historian, who seems to be a little biased against Beni, writes that the Rajah was in love with the boy. (Chahar., 470 a).

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Rajah to manage his frontier districts of Shahabad (in Hardoi) and Shikohabad (35 miles south-east of Agra), nominating his son Maha Narayan to officiate as diwan. Accompanying the Rajah to Shahabad, Beni was there elevated to be the manager of his household and by virtue of his new respectable position became known as Beni Prasad.

This proved to be a turning point in his career, and although poverty had denied him formal education in his boyhood and in fact he continued to remain illiterate to the end of his life (*sawad khwandan na dasht*),[4] he now made the best use of the opportunity and grew up into an experienced and clever man of business. He discharged his duties with greater honesty, thrift and efficiency than others and consequently found his way to the Rajah's heart. His good management in the marriage of his master's youngest son Hirde Narayan, celebrated at Lahore, earned him reputation as a successful organiser, and his judiciously spending a portion of his slender savings in the wedding of an indigent friend's daughter—an act considered as one of pious charity—enhanced his character as an unselfish philanthropist.[5] His star was now on the ascendant, and soon after Suja-ud-daulah's accession he was introduced to the court by his master's son Maha Narayan, now head of the revenue and finance departments, and as the father and the son were badly addicted to sexual pleasures, usually spending their nights in drink and debauchery and days in sleep, much of the administrative work of the diwan's office fell into Beni Bahadur's hands, and what was more important still, he became a medium for the transaction of business between the diwan and the Nawab. Once Shuja-ud-daulah stood in immediate need of three lakhs of rupees, which, however,

[4] *Khulasa-ut-tawarikh* by Kalan Singh, p. 123 b.

[5] Imad-us-Saadat, 80.

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could not be furnished in time by the voluptuous diwan, while Beni, when called upon to do it, managed for it without delay, and was in consequence appointed faujdar (magistrate) of Khairabad (modern Sitapur) district, of course, in compliance with his own request. Here too he acquitted himself with credit by freeing the district from the refractory Mughuls who had held a part of it in assignment, increased the crown land and augmented the revenues.[6] From his subsequent career it seems very likely that he sowed dissention between the diwan and his aged father on the one hand and the young Nawab on the other, and in fact he is held responsible for it in no uncertain terms by a contemporary historian of standard authority.[7] However this may be, from this very time Ram Narayan and Maha Narayan fell out of favour and were eventually ousted from office by their *protege* Beni Prasad who was in due course nominated first as diwan with the title of 'Bahadur' and then as Naib (deputy-governor) of Oudh and Allahabad (c. 1759) and entitled Rajah Beni Bahadur, soon magnified by the superlative, Maharajah Bahadur.[8]

From this place onward Beni Bahadur's career and activities have been noticed in detail in my *Shuja-ud-daulah, Volume I* (Navayuga Granth Kutir, Bikaner) and they need not be repeated here. From the very beginning of Shuja-ud-daulah's connection with the Company, the Rajah was the leader of the pro-English party at Faizabad, while his jealous rival Salar Jang was in favour of a struggle with the English and poisoned the Nawab's ears against the Rajah whom he

6 Imad, 81.

7 Chahar, p. 470b.

8 Chahar, 469b-470b; Imad, 80-81; Tabsir; 675 (brief but accurate). We get the first notice of Beni as Naib in July, 1760, when Shuja left him in charge of Oudh at the time of leaving for the Abdali's camp. Other authentic and early references of him are in Selections from Peshwas' Dafter, XXVII, 263 dated 14-5-1761, and a letter from Ellis, dated 9-1-1762, *vide* Ben. Sel. Com. Progs, 3-2-1762. A Marathi letter dated 3-3-1754 mentions one Beni Bahadur, son of Daya Bahadur, who is most probably another man (see SPD., XXVII, 81).

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mis-represented as being anxious to grind his own axe in pressing upon the Oudh court the policy of peace and inactivity. Shuja-ud-daulah became highly suspicious of his connection with the English, and the main charges preferred against him by the rival party were that he intrigued with the enemy, remained inactive at Buxar and allowed them a passage from his side into the entrenchment of the Wazir.[9] He is also said to have been friendly with Colonel Richard Smith of Allahabad and entered into some sort of agreement[10] with him. Beni Bahadur's pro-English attitude and his inactivity at Panch-Pahari and Buxar are undoubted, but it is doubtful whether his inertness was due to his collusion with the enemy for which we possess conflicting and vague evidence or to his sense of humiliation[11] to which he was subjected by the Wazir's eleventh-hour refusal to follow his sane advice after it had been accepted and by the bitter calumny of his rivals at the court for which there is no lack of evidence, or to his own deficiency as a soldier in which capacity he did not distinguish himself in any battle even before the Nawab's break with the Company. It seems probable that the last two causes together were more responsible for his conduct in the late war than the first one. The Rajah was surely loyal to Shuja-ud-daulah; but, like all shrewd and ambitious men, more loyal to his own interests than to those of his master and it was to retain his post and power that he had abandoned his master's cause to join Carnac after Shuja-ud-daulah's power had been shattered and he had become a fugitive, reverting to allegiance on learning that the English demanded his women as hostages for his fidelity and that the Nawab-wazir was going to renew

9 Chahar, 470b. Others like Imad (96), Khair-ud-din, Maadan, T.M., etc., are not very definite and allude to his complicity with the English. Gentil (*Memories Sur l' Indostan*, 237) charges him with treachery.

10 *Ibratnama* of Khair-ud-din, 173.

11 Imad, 95; *Khulasat.*, 132a Gentil, p. 237, admits that Beninaing jealous of Salar Jang's influence on Shuja hindered the capture of Patna, etc.

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the struggle with Maratha assistance. After the peace of Allahabad, he loyally co-operated with his master, but he continued his personal friendly relations with the English, especially with Smith, which was obnoxious to Shuja-ud-daulah whose suspicion had deepened with the lapse of time. Since his restoration, the Nawab was anxious to chastise the Rajah and after his interview with Clive at Chhaprah where he secured the latter's permission [12] to punish those of his disloyal officers who were under the English protection, he only waited for an opportunity and a pretext to execute his resolution.

Beni Bahadur's dereliction of duty on more occasions than one furnished the Wazir with his long-sought opportunity. Through his laxity or negligence escaped from prison Balbhadra Singh of Tiloi, patriotic but rebellious baron of Oudh, whom Shuja had placed under the Rajah's custody. He failed to punish another powerful zamindar, Bijai Singh of Bahraich, who had treacherously slain Bande Ali Khan, son of Khadim Husain Khan, collector of his district, had created disturbance in the Rajah's own district of Khairabad (Sitapur) and defeated and put to flight his agents Din Dayal and Haji Beg. The situation became so alarming that Beni himself had to proceed against the rebel; but he displayed marked pusillanimity and entered the town of Khairabad only after Bijai Singh had retreated beyond the river *Sarain*. Again the Rajah is said to have instigated another rebel chief, the Muslim Rajah of Muhamadi,[13] (62 miles N. W. of Sitapur and now in the modern district of Kheri-Lakhimpur) to withhold his submission,[14] although he had signified his intention to do so and

12 *Ibratnama* of Kair-ud-don, 173.

13 For a brief history of Muhamadi Estate see Oudh Gazetteer (original ed.), Vol. II, 518.

14 Chahar, 471 a. For Bande Ali's murder see T. M. 252b also. Shuja-ud-daulah wrote to the English governor of Fort William (letter received at Calcutta on 4th Feb., 1767) that he was marching to Khairabad and Sandi to settle some important affairs there. See Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. II, 16, 31.

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Shuja had marched to Muhamadi to receive it. Having taken offence, the Nawab decided to arrest the Rajah by a stratagem, as he was too powerful to be easily overpowered by mere force, and the time being favourable as owing to the Abdali invasion of the Punjab (Dec. 1766-July 1767) the attention of the English, Beni Bahadur's protectors, was diverted by the danger from the north-west, he quickly turned back towards Khairabad at the head of a thousand fleet horse, and leaving the main part of his force behind, entered the premier's camp outside the town with barely 2,000 of his men about mid-day on 5th February, 1767. The Rajah ran out to welcome him, conducted him into an inner apartment of his tents and placed before him a variety of sweets, well-dressed meat and other preparations. After rest and *zuhar* prayer (2 p.m.), Shuja expressed his desire to go out to hunt a tiger which had made its appearance in the vicinity and seating the Rajah on his own elephant on the pretence that he wanted to consult him on an important matter, set out in the direction of Muhamadi. On reaching the main division of his army the Nawab called for another elephant and asked the Rajah to take his seat on it, and although Beni Bahadur could now smell his master's evil designs, he had no option but to obey. On a hint from the Wazir the driver pulled down the ropes and in an instant huge curtains covered the *amari* and made the Rajah a prisoner. A demand of thirty lakhs of rupees (according to Ashob, 35 lakhs) was now made from him on the ground of misappropriation of the state revenue, but the charge was hollow and intended to silence public criticism of the arbitrariness of the Wazir's action. While continuing his march towards Muhamadi, Shuja-ud-daulah immediately sent the main detachment of his army to Khairabad to obtain possession of Beni's treasure and effects and to announce that his troops and servants should consider themselves transferred to the Nawab's service. Some of the Rajah's followers, who had reasons to be dissatisfied, rejoiced over his fall and joined

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the Nawab-Wazir, while others, specially Mughuls, whose livelihood and influence had depended upon the ex-premier's patronage, were filled with gloom and in perturbation of mind fled towards the jungle, leaving much of their baggage and some of them even their horses to be taken possession of by Shuja's men. Beni Bahadur's own property, including a vast treasure, furniture, tents, artillery, 1,300 horses (according to another account 1,700) and 185 elephants was declared escheated[15] to the state.

Beni Bahadur was confined in the house of eunuch Nawish Khan at Faizabad, and a pension of twenty rupees a day was allotted to him from the state. But Zuqi Ram Agarwala, superintendent of the Wazir's treasury and notorious for his niggardliness, and his equally stingy colleague Kallu, once a menial servant of Shuja-ud-daulah's household, meanly withheld a part of this daily allowance, and even suggested that five rupees were more than enough. The Wazir, however, indignantly rejected the proposal and confirmed his original orders.[16] Considering it dangerous to keep such an influential officer clapped up in jail and apprehensing lest Colonel Smith should move the Calcutta Council to effect his release, about which there were strong rumours, real or concocted, Shuja-ud-daulah decided to make the Rajah impotent for evil. Accordingly on 2nd March, 1767, iron nails were pierced into both his eyes, which rendered him blind. In this condition the ex-premier continued to live for some years more. From almost the unanimous testimony of contemporary historians, it is clear that the Rajah was a great philanthropist and a real friend of the poor and besides giving away something

15 Chahar, 470b-471b; Ibrat., 172-3; Imad. 99-100. Imad says that the incident took place near Madion, a few miles north of Lucknow. I prefer Harcharan's version who was present at Lucknow. Regarding the details (except here and there, for example, according to it it was summer, which it was not) I follow Imad which is substantially supported by Ibrat and is correct.

16 Chahar, 472 a & b.

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in charity every-day and helping charitable institutions, he opened free kitchens (*langar-khanahs*) at Lucknow, Benares and other places during the days of draught or famine, where cooked food and ration were distributed to the suffering humanity.[17] His fall was, therefore, greatly regretted by the common people.

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[17] Chahar. 473b; Tabsir. 674-5; Ibrat. 173-4; Imad. 101; T. M. 252b. Regarding the blinding of Beni Bahadur, Har Charan maliciously remarks that he duly got the inheritance from his father who too was blind.

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Humayun in Rajputana

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7

HUMĀYŪN IN RAJPUTANA, 1542 A.D.

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Humāyūn started for Uch on *Muharram* 21, 949 A.H. (May, 1542 A.D.); reached there in the beginning of *Rabī-' ul-awwal*;[1] started from there on *Rabī-'ul-awwal* 14 (June 29);[2] and four days later reached Dilāwar,[3] about 26 miles south-east of Uch; halted there for 3 days;[4] and two days later encamped at Wasilpur,[5] on *Rabī-'ul-ākhir* 17, (July 31). Humāyūn encamped 12 *cos* from Bikaner.[6]

Before tracing Humāyūn's journey, it will be necessary to give a brief account of the Rāthōrs and their ruler, Rao Māldeo of Jodhpur. The Rathōrs or Gahawārs[7] originally

1 Which begins on June 15, 1542 A.D.

2 See Beveridge's remarks on *A.N.*'s dates on p. 331, n. 2.

3 Dilawar is at present in Bhawalpur State. In *A.N.* text, it is put down as Dīwarawwal. *G.H.N.* and *Jauhar* mention it as belonging to Maldeo. It is possible that in reaching Dilāwar, Humāyūn had crossed some of the lands belonging to Jaisalmer State. This will explain *T.A.*'s words; براہ جیسلمیر متوجہ مالدیو گشت would indicate traversing the lands belonging to the Jaisalmer State. See also *G.H.N.* It would appear from *T.A.*, that there was a good deal of fight between the Mughuls and the Bhātīs of Jaisalmer.

4 Jauhar. He mentions that Shaikh 'Alī Beg requested Humāyūn to grant him permission to capture the place, but the latter refused, observing that the possession of Dilawar would not make him the monarch of the world.

5 There are several variants of the name.

6 *G. H. N.* seems mistaken when it makes Humāyūn go to Jaisalmer. Gul Badan was not present in Humāyūn's camp but writes from hearsay. *T. S.* makes some of Humāyūn's men go to Bikaner.

7 See V. Smith, *Early History of India; Rajputana Gazetteer*, p. 53. *C. H. I*, Vol. III, denies that the Rāthōrs and the Gaharwārs are the same. See p. 513.

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resided in the present United Provinces, with their capital at Qanauj. In pre-Muslim times, Qanauj had a glorious history and had formed a cultural centre for the Hindus of North India and it was the Brahmans and Kayasthas of Qanauj that carried the torch of Aryan civilization to Bihar and Bengal. Jayachandra, the ruler in the time of Muhammad Ghūrī, was also noted as a patron of learning.[8] After his death at the battle of Chandwār,[9] the Rāthōrs under his grandson, Sīājī,[10] retired to Marwar or Māruwār,[11] the land of death,[12] conquered Kher in Mallani district and the whole of the Pali district ' planted the standard of the Rāthūrs amidst the sand-hills of the Lūnī in 1212 A D.' From the commencement of the 13th century to the present day the Rāthōrs have been the ruling clan in Jodhpur. The government is conducted on a feudal basis, in which the Rāthōr and the other Rajput clans, *i.e.*, Oswals had a share.[13] The ruler, known at first as Rāo, then as Rājā and lastly as Mahārājā, acts as the head of the Rāthōr community.[14]

[8] But his feud with the more famous Prithvī Rāj of Delhi and Ajmēr, the abduction of his daughter by his rival, Prithvī Rāj on the day of her *swayamvara* and the occupation of Hindustan by the Muslims after his defeat and death, have tarnished his fame and lessened the merits of his more peaceful achievements.

For a glimpse of the glory of Qanauj under Jayachandra see Tod's *Rājasthān*, Vol. II, p. 6. Reu calls him Jayachandra, Jaitrachandra or Jayantīchandra.

[9] Near Firuzabad. See *C. H. I.*, Vol. III. Bisheshwar Nath Reu's *History of the Rāshtrakūtas*, p. 127, calls it Chandāval.

[10] Some prefer to call him Jayachandra's nephew. We have followed Reu. See p. 133 where he spells Sīājī as Sīhājī.

[11] Generally known as Jodhpur State from its headquarters.

[12] It is also stated that Marwar is derived from Madhyawar, or central region, Jodhpur being the Central Rajputana.

[13] Every State in India now is adopting a more popular form of government.

[14] Amidst the long list of the rulers of Jodhpur, a few only may be mentioned here:—

(*a*) Rāo Sīājī, the grandson of Jayachandra of Qanauj. He along with his brother, Saitrām migrated from Qanauj and after a brief but most momentous journey settled in the Maltani and the Pali districts of Marwar, 1212 A.D.

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Its most illustrious ruler was Rāo Māldēo [15] who ascended the throne by killing Rāo Jōdhājī's great-grandson, Gangājī, in 1531 A.D. Immediately after his accession, he began the conquest of the numerous petty chiefs that lay on his borders. Thus we find a mention of the following places among his conquests: Sojat, Nagor, Ajmer, Merta, Jaitaran, Bitara, Bhadrajun, Mallani, Siwana, Didwana, Pachbhadra in Marwar; also the larger half of the state of Bikaner. From Jaipur State he took the districts of Jalgor, Tonk, Toda, Malpur, Chersu, Kosli, and Bahu.[16]

(*b*) Rāo Ranmaljī succeeded to the throne in 1409 A.D. The capital had already been removed by his predecessors to Mandor, so named after a local Rishī, five miles to the north of the present Jodhpur. But Ranmal, who had married his daughter to Rānā Lakhjī or Lākhājī of Mewar, chose to reside at Chitor in the reign of Rānā Mōkaljī, Lakhajī's son. Ranmal was 'in stature almost gigantic and was the most athletic of all the athletes of his nation.' He was also highly ambitious and made an attempt to supplant his grandson from the throne of Chitor. The attempt failed and he was murdered. Ambitious as he was, he had the reputation of an administrator and was credited with such reforms as the equalisation of weights and measures in Jodhpur State.

(*c*) Rāo Jōdhājī transferred his capital from Mandor to Jodhpur in 1459 A.D. at the behest of a *yōgī*, who desired him to settle five miles to the south on the projecting ledge of a range of hills. The ledge had been so long called *Baḳurchiria* the birds' nest, but the *yogī* christened it Jōdhāgīr, the hill of Jōdhā. The palace within the fort is an imposing structure and serves as a striking example of mediaeval Rajput architecture. Jōdhājī ruled for 30 years and died in 1489. The sculptures at Mandor were mostly carved in his time and at his orders. At Jōdhājī's suggestion, one of his descendants, Bhīkājī, was able to found the Bikaner State in the very year that his father, Jōdhājī, ascended the throne and maintained its separate existence.

15 The Muslim writers did not recognize the independence of the Hindu Rajas and called them *Zamindars*. With regard to Rāo Māldēo the following sentence from *T. A.*, p. 52 may be quoted;

مالدیو کہ یکي از زمینداران معتبر هندوستان بود و دران زمان بقوت و جمیعت او در هندوان دیگری نبود

16 See. S. R. Sharma's article entitled, *Shēr Shāh and Māldēo* in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. V, 1927. Tod's list in *Rājasthān*, Vol. II, pp. 19-20 is much longer.

To-day a traveller meets with numerous relics connected with Rāo Māldēo. We shall content ourselves with the mention of only a few of them.

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Rāo Māldēo and Shēr Shāh

That between two such mighty conquerors as Māldēo and Shēr Shāh there should be friction is nothing to be surprised at. The following causes of friction may be traced in their relations with each other :—[17]

(*a*) Their common boundary. After Ajmer had been included in Marwar State and Shēr Shāh had also taken Agra and Delhi, the territories of the two conquerors met at several places. The indefiniteness of the boundaries was bound to lead to misunderstanding and quarrels.

(*b*) Shēr Shāh had noticed that Māldēo had obtained his throne by killing his master, Rāo Gangājī, and considered the example of an official stepping to the throne by killing its occupant a dangerous one.[18] But the incident had happened eight years before his own accession and it was too late in the day to make war on that account.

(*c*) Rāo Māldēo had recently completed the conquests of Ajmer and Nagor. Both the districts had belonged at one time or the other to the Muslim kingdom of Delhi. Shēr Shāh interpreted these conquests as Māldēo's challenge to his Muslim neighbours. But since he had no direct dealings with the Rāo and also because just then he was occupied in other directions, he showed no outward sign of resentment. Even Māldēo's conquest of Merta in 1539 A.D. from Rāo

(*a*) The fort, though founded by Rāo Jōdhājī, was largely extended in Rāo Māldēo's time and the Amrit *pol* or gate situated near Amrit *talāo* and also the Loha *pol* were built by him. The latter was not completed in his life-time.

(*b*) He is also connected with a few beneficial works. Patalia *Bera* was sunk by him and Rānī *Sāgar* though built by a Rānī was included within the fort by Māldēo.

(*c*) His cenotaph known as *Rāo Māldēo ka dēwal* was built after his death in 1562 A.D. by his grandson, *Mōtā* Rājā Udai Singh, in 1591 A.D. It is situated near the *bāorī* also associated with his name.

17 See S. R. Sharma's article.

18 In contradistinction to this, Shēr Shāh's loyal services to his community and his election to sovereignty by his compatriots may be mentioned. See Abbās Sarwānī's *Tārīkh-i-Shēr Shāhī*.

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Bīramdēo, who among the Rāthōrs was only second to the ruler of Jodhpur, had not stirred Shēr Shāh to any immediate action.

(*d*) After Shēr Shāh's conquest of Delhi, Rāo Māldēo dispossessed Rāo Kalyān Mal of most of his territories including his headquarters of Bikaner, April, 1541 A.D.[19] Rāo Kalyān Mal sent his brother Bhōjrāj to Shēr Shāh, where had already proceeded Rāo Bīramdēo. The two Rāthōrs appealed to the Afghan ruler for a redress of their wrongs. *Now*, Shēr Shāh thought that he had a legitimate cause and a suitable opportunity to take up arms against the Jodhpur ruler.

(*e*) Rāo Māldēo too must have reflected that a war with Shēr Shāh was now inevitable and so he thought of strengthening his cause by befriending Humāyūn. He looked upon the latter as the leader of those Indian Turks, whose achievements under Bābur had resounded throughout India. Probably he also considered Humāyūn personally a friend of the Rajputs and was aware of his relations with the Sesōdias of Mewar.[20] All this had led the Rāo to believe that Humāyūn's expulsion from Delhi was only temporary and that his cause would ultimately prevail. So he had entered into a correspondence with him and invited him to Jodhpur, promising to support him in regaining Hindustan.

Let us now turn to Humāyūn. We have seen him last encamped 12 *cos* from Bikaner. It had been only recently occupied by Māldēo and probably there was some unrest due to a change of ruler. It would be natural for Humāyūn to

19 Rāo Kalyān Mal ruled from 1541-71. Tod wrongly puts down Samvat 1603 (1546 A.D.) as the date of accession. I follow the *State Chronicles* of Bikaner and the *Rajputana Gazetter*. After Māldēo's occupation of Bikaner, Kalyān Singh had shifted his headquarters to Sirsa. He actually took part in Shēr Shāh's engagement with Māldēo at Ajmer in 1544 A.D.

20 For Rajput tradition of Humāyūn's relations with Mewar see *Rājasthān*, Vol. I, pp. 251-2; also the author's book on *Humāyūn Bādshāh*, pp. 114-1.

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stay at a distance from the turmoil and so he stopped for a few days where he was. Now when Humāyūn had actually arrived in the Rāo's territory, he became aware of the nature and the extent of Māldēo's ambition and conquests and his followers too "became apprehensive of the deceit and perfidy of Māldeo and represented this to His Majesty."[21] They advised caution and so Humāyūn sent Mīr Samandar, one of his nobles, to meet the Rāo and to suggest privately what should be the Mughul chief's future course of action.[22] The Mīr went and quickly returned and made an unfavourable report about the intentions of the Rāthōr chief but left the choice of future action to his master.

The Mughuls had found their journey from Uch to the outskirts of Bikaner one of fatigue and privations. "Neither corn nor grass was to be had"[23] and several among his followers died of thirst or of the hardships of the journey. Sometimes their march had to be continued until they found a well or a lake and then their halt also had to be for a longer duration in order to allow sufficient rest to the men and animals. For example, on one occasion,[24] the journey started when two *pahrs*[25] of the day had remained. The party travelled for the remaining portion of that day, for the whole night, and for three *pahrs* of the next day. Still water was not to be found. But it was not possible to travel any further. So a halt had to be made. There was a thorough search of the neighbourhood for water and the search, fortunately for the party, was not unsuccessful and a tank full of water to the brim was discovered. There was general rejoicing and everyone hastened to satisfy his thirst. Next, they filled their leather bags and water flasks; those that had dropped on the way

21 *A. N.* tr. p. 373.
22 *Ibid.*
23 *G.H.N.*, fol. 45 a
24 Jauhor.
25 A *pahr* would indicate 3 hours or so.

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owing to thirst were relieved[26] and brought to the camp and those who had died were entombed with proper ceremonies. When everybody had refreshed himself and had taken ample rest, the party restarted. The next stage was at Bilpur and from there they reached Phalodi.[27] Here the Mughals, after another spell of privation, obtained ample provision and they were able to satisfy their hunger generously. From Phalodi Humāyūn wrote a letter to Māldēo, which the latter acknowledged by sending to the Mughul chief some fruits but made no definite promise of aid which could inspirit the Mughuls. One of Humāyūn's door-keepers, Rājū by name, fled to Māldēo and supplied him with the information that Humāyūn carried with him a number of precious stones and rubies and this information was confirmed by a second deserter, Jān Muhammad Ishaq Āqā. On hearing this, Māldēo stirred himself and sent one of his confidants, Sankāī of Nagor, who visited the Mughul camp in the guise of a merchant, and expressed a desire to purchase the diamond that the Mughul chief possessed.[28] The latter was not satisfied with the *bona fides* of his interviewer and in reply reminded him that such rare diamonds cannot be had for money but are obtained with the help of a sword or as a free gift from a monarch.[29] Since the man was in Rāo Māldēo's confidence, the interview prejudiced the Mughul chief, who thought that Sankāī's behaviour confirmed Mīr

[26] Jauhar relates how Humāyūn took advantage of a Mughul's distress, obtained a cancellation of a bond of debt in the presence of three witnesses and then only satisfied his thirst. If correct, the story casts a slur on Humāyūn's character.

[27] It is one of the districts of Jodhpur State. See the map attached to the book entitled '*A brief Account of Jodhpur* published by the State. Phalodi town, according to *T. S.*, is more than 30 *cos* from Jodhpur, and is situated on a salt marsh.

[28] Beveridge thinks it to be the stone that Bābur had presented to Humāyūn after the battle of Panipat. See *B. N.* edited by Mrs. Beveridge, p. 477. There is no further mention of the rubies reported to Māldēo.

[29] Humāyūn here refers to the possession of the diamond by Bābur after the victory at Panipat and also to Bābur's free gift of it to his son.

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Samandar's report against the Rāo. Still hoping against hope that he might be mistaken in his opinions about the Rāthōr chief, he sent a second messenger and this time a Hindu, Rāi Mal Sūnī by name, to report to him about the Rāo. It was arranged that if he be unable to communicate to him in writing, he was to do so by prearranged signals.[30] If Māldēo's trustworthiness was to be indicated, the messenger was to clasp all the five fingers of one of his hands but if hostility and hypocrisy were intended, only the litttle finger was to be clasped. After Rāi Mal Sunī's departure, Humāyūn did not entirely discontinue his march, he only slowed down his progress.

The Mughul camp moved on two or three stages beyond Phalodi and it was pitched at Kāl-i-yōgī,[31] (the recluse's pond). Here Rāi Mal's courier arrived and clasped his little finger. In Abul Fazl's words ' it clearly appeared that the thoughts of this black-faced scoundrel were deceit and perfidy and that he had an evil intention in sending a large body of men under pretence of setting off the welcome.' Abul Fazl, in his loyalty to his master's family, is vituperative towards the Rāthōr chief; but even then he is not wholly blind to his difficulties. He indicates that the Rāo was diverted from his good intentions either by the smallness of the Mughul army or over-awed by Shēr Shāh's threats. Information must have reached the Rāo of Shēr Shāh's thoroughness as ruler, especially of his reforms in Bengal,[32] and of the steps taken

30 *A. N.*, p. 180.

31 According to Jauhar, Sankāī met Humāyūn at Kūl-i-yōgī.

32 Shēr Shāh had

(*a*) dismissed Khizr Khān Bīrak, one of his eminent generals;

(*b*) made military sub-divisions of the Bengal Province;

(*c*) maintained the administrative unity of the province in revenue and justice by the appointment of a *Qāzi*.

These reforms had been completed in 7 months, from June, 1541, to January, 1542 A. D.

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to introduce peace on the Jhelam frontier in the Punjab.[33] Shēr Shāh had also conquered Malwa and had returned to Agra towards the end of June, 1542 A. D., leaving the work of appeasement of the province to his chief lieutenant, Shujā'at Khān, assisted by Hājī Khān, Junaid Khān and others. Now at Agra, he was carefully watching the political horizon of Rajputana and postponed his cherished scheme of proceeding to Malwa once more and of passing on to conquer the Shia States of the Deccan.

During his halt at Agra, he had been fully informed of all that had passed between Humāyūn and Rāo Māldēo.[34] He was noticing now Humāyūn's day-to-day march towards Jodhpur.

But really speaking, Humāyūn had missed his opportunity. Instead of accepting Māldēo's invitation at once in June, 1541 A. D., when Shēr Shāh was occupied elsewhere, he frittered away his time and energy in useless adventures in Sind and now some 13 months later when he had failed in his other projects, decided to turn to Rajputana. In this period the Mughul chief had grown weaker and his army had melted away.[35] Shēr Shāh, on the other hand, had extended his kingdom. So Māldēo revised his reading of Delhi politics and hesitated to carry out his promises made more than a year ago.[36]

33 Shēr Shāh
(*a*) built a fort on the Jhelam to keep the Khōkars in check; (It was known as Rohtasgarh Benaras in contradistinction of Rohtasgarh of Bihar.)
(*b*) organised systematic raids into the Khōkar territory; (In one of the raids, Rāi Sārang, the Khōkar's daughter, was carried away.)
(*c*) though usually against the concentration of a large number of troops under individual generals, he made an exception of the Punjab. See Abbās Sarwāni, the principal biographer of Shēr Shāh.

34 According to Qanungo's *Sher Shah*, these negotiations were opened by Māldēo in June, 1541 A. D., where the Afghān king was absent in Bengal.

35 Qanungo thinks Humāyūn had less than 3,000 followers.

36 *T. A.* is very clear on this point, as the following sentence will show; see pp. 52-53.

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Whether Māldēo having once invited the Mughul could establish himself again in Shēr Shāh's confidence is an interesting question and we would like to make a few observations in this connection. First of all, one should remember that in Medieval India no ambitious ruler would allow his neighbouring prince to live in peace unless the latter acknowledged his suzerainty. Even Akbar, who possessed many virtues, destroyed the gallant and virtuous Rānī Durgāvatī of Chauragarh because she ' did not submit herself at the threshold of the Shāhinshāh.' [37] Again a Hindu prince did not always ensure permanent security even by submission.[38] When to all this was added a conquering ambition in the non-Muslim chief, a clash with some Muslim neighbour was inevitable. Thus in medieval Indian politics, two active chiefs like Shēr Shāh and Rāō Māldēo, independent of each other and living in peace, was an impossibility. And Māldēo had laid himself bare to the Afghān attacks by his advances to the Mughuls.[39]

But it does not appear that Māldēo was aware of the full consequences of his own move; for he still continued to hope that either Shēr Shāh was not aware of his correspondence with Humāyūn [40] or that the Afghān chief with a multitude of work in other quarters would be prepared to condone it.[41] So when he found Humāyūn approaching him with a miserable army, he stopped short in order to take his bearings anew,

[37] See *A. N.*, Vol. II, p. 210. For the same reason Akbar destroyed Ahmadnagar and Khandesh.

[38] According to Kennedy's article on the *Hidaya* in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain*, 1835, there could not be a permanent treaty between a Muslim and an ' infidel ' State.

[39] See *supra* for all the causes of friction between the two rulers. Of course, Humāyūn was to be made ruler of Hindustan, Māldēo to act only as a king-maker.

[40] Which, with our full knowledge of Shēr Shāh's spy system, we can affirm not to be the case.

[41] Shēr Shāh, the administrator, would not allow such a hostile move to go unpunished.

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forgetting the fact that the alienation of the Mughuls would not necessarily bring him into favour with Shēr Shāh.

Shēr Shāh's conduct at this time requires close attention. During his stay in Agra (June, 1542 A.D.), he was organizing his resources. He had been confident that with Malwa and Ranthambhor in his possession, a surprise from the direction of Rajputana was impossible. But a closer inspection of Mewar and Delhi regions disclosed to him the extent of Māldēo's dominions ; for he discovered, so to say, that in Jhajjar[42] Māldēo possessed a town situated at a distance of only 30 miles from Delhi. And now he found that in addition to the extensive conquests, the Rāo was coquetting with Humāyūn and the latter had been allowed to enter Marwar. So the Afghān ruler, who had waited so long, now decided to act and act quickly. Celerity of movement was a strong point with him and in August, 1542 A.D., he entered Māldēo's territory and was actually marching upon Nagor.[43] After 3 or 4 marches, he just gave one more opportunity to Māldēo to mend his ways. He desired him to drive the Mughuls out of Marwar or to capture Humāyūn and hand him over to the Afghāns and for either of the acts, the Rāo was to be rewarded 'with Nagor and Alwar and whatever place he asked for.'[44] Of course, if neither of the alternatives suited the Rāthōrs, the Afghāns would meet them on a battlefield, as they actually did sometime later.

[42] Situated in Lat. 28°35', Long. 78°43', it was in the early nineteenth century the capital of an English adventurer, George Thomas.

[43] For Qanungo's remarks on Shēr Shāh's march, see p. 75 n. He rightly rejects *T.A.* when it mentions the occupation of Nagor by Shēr Shāh.

Nagor, situated in Lat. 27°10', Long. 73°50', was a town of considerable importance in Medieval India. *Thornton's Gazetteer* mentions that its income from *sayer* or commercial imposts alone was at one time Rs. 75,000 or more. Its chief to-day is a feudatory of the ruler of Jodhpur. The town is famed for its cows and bullocks.

[44] *G.H.N.*, fol. 45 b. and *T.S.* Of course Nagor already belonged to Māldēo but Shēr Shāh might have claimed it for his Delhi kingdom on the ground that in the past sometimes it had belonged to the Muslims.

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But Māldēo with a sense of Rajput chivalry and hospitality was unable to carry out Shēr Shāh's desire ; neither could he make up his mind to act as the protector of the Mughuls. So he adopted the dubious course of preventing the Mughuls from approaching his headquarters and if possible to scare them away from his dominions but he did not announce this intention so openly as to convince Shēr Shāh of a complete change in his political outlook.

Humāyūn meanwhile had pinned his hopes on Māldēo and would not be satisfied with Rāi Mal Sūnī's report against the Rāo. So he sent a third agent, Shamsuddīn Atkah Khān[45] and waited for his return[46] and report. Atkah Khān was actually in Jodhpur when Shēr Shāh's envoy had reached there[47] with a letter from his master in which promises of reward had been made for Humāyūn's capture or expulsion from Jodhpur State. Atkah Khān during his stay actually saw the departure of a Rāthōr army[48] towards the Mughuls with instructions of capturing and handing them over to the Afghāns.[49]

[45] *T.A.* and *G.H.N.* According to the latter Humāyūn stayed at Phalodi so long as Atkah Khān was absent from the Mughul camp. *A.N.* makes no mention of Atkah Khan. Atkah Khān later on rose to be one of Akbar's chief ministers but almost immediately after was murdered by Adham Khan in 1562 A.D. His tomb is situated in the village of Nizāmuddin and has been described in the *Memoir No. 10 of the Archaeological Survey of India.*

[46] *T.A.* does not mention the name of the village or town where Humāyūn stayed, only it mentions that it was situated on the confines of Māldēo's territory.

[47] *T.A.* 53 Jauhar differs.

[48] The reason why Atkah Khān was not dismissed had been stated thus by *T.A.* و اتکه خان را بواسطه آنکه آنحضرت را غافل سازد رخصت نمیداد This illustrates Māldēo's hesitancy. Māldēo if he seriously had meant to oppose the Mughuls, would do so openly by dismissing Atkah Khān. As the Mughul army was small, no guile or dissimulation was needed to accomplish the capture of Humāyūn and an open opposition would gain for him Shēr Shāh's favour.

[49] *T.A.* may be qooted.

رای مالدیو از کمال بیمروتی بران قرار گرفت که آنحضرت را اگر تواند بدست آورده بخصم سپارد

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Atkah Khān warned Humāyūn of Māldēo's hostile attitude and so did another well-wisher of the Mughul chief, who had been once his librarian and now after his dethronement was serving in the same capacity at Jodhpur.[50]

Both of them strongly advised Humāyūn to retreat and quit the Rāo's territory as quickly as possible.[51] Atkah Khān, who wanted to return to his master, found that no permission from the Rajput chief was forthcoming and so actually stole away without waiting for the formal sanction. Of course, after his arrival there was no other course left for Humāyūn except to beat a hasty retreat.[52]

Humāyūn turned back and retraced his steps to Phalodi. The Rāthōr hostility, though half-hearted, was apparent; for a large number of the Rajputs were hanging in the rear of the Mughul army. Humāyūn ordered Tardī Bēg and Mun'im Khān[53] to take charge af the rear and he himself, with the ladies and a few followers, travelled at a safer distance.

After reaching Phalodi, Humāyūn departed from the onward route. Instead of going straight to Dilawar, he had to try his luck elsewhere and so he chose a more eastern

[50] *G.H.N.* gives his name as *Mullah* Surkh.

[51] *Mulla* Surkh's words may be quoted. He says, ' March at once from wherever you are, for Māldēo intends to make you prisoner. Put no trust in his words.'

[52] *T.A.*, *G.H.N.* and Jauhar. A minor incident, noticed at the commencement of the retreat, may be related here. Two Hindu spies were found loitering about the Mughul camp. They were arrested and were ordered to be put to death. In desperation, both the prisoners released themselves, snatched a knife and a dagger from the guards, and killed 17 men and animals. The latter included Humāyūn's riding horses. When Humāyūn asked the loan of a horse and some camels also of Tardī Bēg the latter refused. When Humāyūn was about to ride Jauhar *Āftāabchī's* camel, Nadīm *Koḳah* ran up and offered his mother's horse. Humāyun gratefully accepted the offer.

[53] *T.A.* add's the name of Timar Sultān and *G.H.N.* calls him Ishān Tīmōr Sultān and adds the name of Yādgār Nāsir M. The last portion of his statement is incorrect. Several writers have supplied the name of some of the followers, who totalled 20 or 29 in all.

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route and reached Satalmer [4] about two miles north-west of Pokaran, his objective being to reach the neighbouring State of Jaisalmer.

During his retreat, Humāyūn met other Rajput contingents. Once his rear-force, while pursuing the enemy, lost its way and could not return. In the meantime another contingent of the Rajputs [55] appeared and straightway attacked Humāyūn's small party in a defile. It was only the Mughul chief's personal valour and organization of defence that enabled him to escape unhurt.

Humāyūn reached Jaisalmer [56] in the begining of *Jumāda* [57] (13th August, 1542 A.D.). It was at Jaisalmer that Tardī Bēg, Mun'im Khān and their party joined their master.

54 Satalmer is in ruins now. It was founded by Rāo Sātal who ruled in 1488-91 A.D. The population, after the decay of the town, shifted to Pokaran. To-day, the site of Satalmer is marked by a Jaina temple and several cenotaphs of the local chiefs.

G. H. N. makes Humāyūn go first to Jaisalmer, then to Satalmer and last of all to Phalodi and states that the Mughuls travelled 60 *cos* a day. We have rejected these statements.

55 According to Jauhar, the Rajput contingent was in 3 sections, each 500 strong, and Humāyūn's soldiers were only 18 in number. Jauhar in his loyalty wishes to extol his master's heroism and overdoes it. See *A. N.*, *T. S.* and *T. A.*; *G. H. N.* states that Humāyūn was not present in the battle.

56 The journey to Jaisalmer was wearisome mainly because of shortage of water A halt was made as soon as a well was reached. Sometimes its water lay so far below the surface of the ground that a long rope had to be used for drawing water in a bucket. The bullock-driver had to be told to stop, by drums when the bucket reached the top of the well.

Sometimes the men were so thirsty that they did not wait for water being poured out of the bucket. Once when some of them threw themselves on the bucket, in the rush the rope broke and the bucket dropped into the well. Several in despair followed the bucket and threw themselves into the well. On such occasions Humāyūn would spare his water-bottle for general use.

Again when after a wearisome journey under a tropical sun, water was found, it was drunk so eagerly that not a few died of sun-stroke.

A. N. G. H. N., Jauhar and others give a dismal picture of the journey. *G. H. N.* makes Māldēo follow the Mughuls in person. Several of the writers describe how on one occasion when four wells were discovered, they were distributed among the members of the camp.

A general complaint is noticed against Tardī Bēg's selfishness or his rude behaviour.

57 According to Jauhar, they had already raided the neighbouring villages and were feasting near a tank when Humāyūn reached there. Jaisalmer was reached

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When Humāyūn had reached Jaisalmer, he had fondly hoped that he would receive a more cordial reception from its

afterwards. As the Muslims had slaughtered cattle, there was a fracas between Humāyūn's men and some villagers. Henceforth the Raja of Jaisalmer was hostile to the Mughuls and in order to oppress them, he ordered his son to fill every well on the Mughul path with sand. Precautions were taken against night surprises: still an Afghan, sent by Shēr Shāh reached Humāyūn's bed and had half-drawn the latter's sword, when fearing capture, he fled.

Jaisalmer State lies between 26°4′ and 28° 23′ north latitude and 69°30′ and 72° 42′ east longitude and has an area of more than 16,000 square miles. It is sparsely populated, the total population of ths State being less than a lac...Probably in the whole of India its density of population is the lowest; in 1901 it was only 4·57 per square mile. The chief reason for the sparseness of population is the desert condition of the State, there being no perennial river and also the extremes of heat and cold in that region. In summer scorching winds blow while the winter nights frequently register temperature below the freezing point. The average annual rainfall is 6 or 7 inches and the soil consists of shifting sands, locally known as *dhrian*. Near Shahgarh, the most populous town of the State, these *dhrians* extend over many miles and frequently change the appearance of the plain, 'the sand being in one place scooped out into funnel-shaped hollows and in another thrown up into beautifully rounded hills.' The State being of such a desolate appearance, the failure of crop is almost an annual feature. The State though third in area in the whole of Rajputana, has comparatively a poor income.

The Town of Jaisalmer

The town of Jaisalmer, the headquarters of the State, is situated in latitude 26° 55′ and longitude 70° 75′. It was founded by Rāwal Jaisal in 1156 A.D. and was named *Jaisalmērū* (hill fort of Jaisal). The town is surrounded by a stone wall 3 miles in circuit, 15′ high, and 5′ to 7′ thick. Much of the space within the walls remains unoccupied.

The fort stands on a hill and contains the ruler's palace, 'an imposing pile crowned by a huge umbrella of metal mounted on a stone shaft, a solid emblem of dignity, of which the Bhātī chiefs are justly proud.' The most prominent building next to the Mahārāwal's palace is the six-storeyed house of Diwān Sālim Singh.

The Rajputs of the State are *Chandrabansīs* and trace their descent from Jadu or his successor, Sri Krishna of Dwārka. They also took the name of Bhātī after one of their chiefs who lived in the distant past, so that to-day they are known as Bhātīs or Jādon Bhātīs.

The ruling family first came to Tanot in the eighth century under Mangal Dēo but it was his twelfth descendant, Rāwal Jaisal, who founded the present town of Jaisalmer in 1156 A.D. The ruling family boasts of an uninterrupted line of successors for the last 800 years. It was generally left undisturbed by the Muslims of the pre-Mughul period and under the Mughuls, the rulers served the cause of the Delhi empire.

In a way the most notorious personage of the State, was Sālim Singh, the Dīwān of Mulrāj II who ruled from 1762-1820 A.D. Sālim Singh appears to have been the very incarnation of evil 'uniting the subtlety of the serpent to the ferocity of the tiger.' His death occurred in 1824 A.D. of poison administered, it is said, by his wife.

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Rāwal than he had had from the Rāo of Jodhpur. But he was greviously disappointed.[58] Rāi Lōnkaran,[59] the Bhātī ruler of Jaisalmer, set himself in opposition to Humāyūn from the start and set guards over the few water-ponds available to the Mughul camp. 'The royal army which had experienced the toils of the desert and had come from a wilderness of mirages to this evil halting place, was put to trouble from want of water.' In the fight for the possession of the pond, according to Abul Faẓl, 'the tigers of fidelity's forest advanced and showing their superiority, defeated the vile crew.'

The party had to make a hasty move[60] and on the 10th *Jumāda* I (August 22, 1542 A.D.) reached Amarkot.[61]

The ruler, Rānā Vīrsāl,[62] gave the Mughuls a cordial reception,[63] so that after four months of privation they now

58 The reason of the Rāwal's hostility to the Mughuls seems to be the slaughter of cows by the latter. See Jauhar.

59 Mentioned as Lūnkaran by the *Rajputana Gazetteer*, p. 13, as Noonkaran by Tod and Sōnkaran by *T. S.* There has been another ruler of the same name in Bikaner who had ruled from 1504-26 A.D.

60 On the way when the party was 10 *cos* from Amarkot Nadīm *Kokah* asked for the return of his mother's horse. It was in the use of Hamīda Bāṇū. Humāyun returned the horse, gave his own to the Bānū and ordered a camel for himself from the water department. But he was relieved of the trouble by the offer of a horse by Khālid Bēg. See Jauhar.

61 According to Jauhar, Humāyūn reached there with only 7 followers. The rest were lagging behind.

Amarkot formed a small State of the Sodha Rajputs, with whose ruler the Rāwal of Jaisalmer, had formed marital alliances in the seventh and the eighth centuries. The State changed hands more than once and in the middle of the sixteenth century belonged to the Arghūns of Sind, under whom a Muslim governor was located at Amarkot. This must have happened after Humāyūn's departure from the place. In the eighteenth century it was acquired by Jodhpur but in 1813 A.D., it was wrested from the Rāthōrs by the Talpur *Amīrs*. Since the conquest of Sind by the English in 1843 A D., it is included in Sind and the British government pays Rs. 10,000 a year to the Jodhpur ruler for his claims on the Amarkot *tāluqa*. The town is famous in history for being Akbar's birth-place.

62 I follow *T. S.* and call the ruler, Rānā Vīrsāl. Parshād is hardly ever a Rajput's full name.

63 *T. A.* may be quoted in this connection:

حاکم امرکوٹ کہ بصمت مروت اتصاف داشت باستقبال آمدہ دست قدرتش بانچہ میرسید بہ طبق عرض نہاد

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found rest at Amarkot. Humāyūn and his ladies were placed in the Rānā's palace in the fort and his followers were lodged outside. Things were cheap here and the Rānā for some time, 'made gifts of kids and so on and paid such fitting service as no tongue could set forth.'[64] But the Rānā, small as were his resources, could not fully relieve the distress of the Mughuls; so after a few days he stopped the free gifts and supplied provisions on payment. Humāyūn at first paid from his treasure-chest; when it became empty,[65] he asked some of his nobles to contribute their quota. Humāyūn himself had been liberal to extravagance when funds were available; so he now expected that there would be a willing response to his request. However reasonable the request might be, the nobles grumbled; for so far they had not been used to such requests, the duty of providing for a camp belonged to the leader. Tardī Beg had been especially mentioned as opposed to the proposal with the result that Humāyūn had to seek the Rānā's support in despoiling his own followers of their riches.[66] The only excuse that Humāyūn could offer for his high-handedness was that it was a dire necessity that led him to adopt such a questionable procedure and that the plunder obtained was distributed amongst all his followers and that after a fair supply to every one, the bulk that remained was returned to their

[64] *G. H. N.* 48a. For many of the minor details see Jauhar's book.

[65] According to *T. A.* Humāyūn had spent all his money on his followers; آنحضرت آنچه در خزانه داشت بر لشکریان بخش فرمود But as he had only a small sum every one from amongst his followers did not get a share and so his request to his nobles including Tardī Bēg. See also *G. H. N.*

[66] A portion of the sum thus obtained was spent in rewarding the Rānā and his sons. *T.A.* says that they obtained gold, a belt, and a dagger each. *G. H. N.* says that Tardī Bēg gave 80,000 *asharfis* in loan at the rate of two in ten, *i.e.*, at an interest of 20%. Jauhar says that Humāyūn sent for his nobles, detained them in his presence and Shāh Muḥammad Khurāsānī was sent to make a thorough search of their baggage. Every article except trays and pots were brought before Humāyūn. Jauhar describes his own possessions and explains the method adopted to evade their surrender.

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owners.[67] Humāyūn's restraint on the occasion lessens the intensity of our condemnation especially when he notes that Tardī Beg did not retaliate for the spoilation of his goods by desertion from his master's camp now or later on when he had other opportunities.[68]

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE PAPER

1. A. N. for Akbar-nāma.
2. T. A. for Tabaqāti-Akbarī.
3. G. H. N. for Gulbadan Bēgam's Humāyūn-nāma.
4. Jauhar for Jauhar's Tazkirat-ul-wāki'āt.
5. T. S. for Tārīkh-i-Sindh by Mir Mohammad Ma'sūm.
6. C. H. I. for Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV.
7. Reu for Bisheshwar Nath Reu's History of the Rāshtrakutas.
8. B. N. for Bābur-nāma.
9. Tod. for Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān.

The other authorities are mentioned in full.

[67] *G. H. N.* says that the Mughul officers utilized the money in purchasing new horses. Jauhar says that one half of the spoil was retained by Humāyūn, the other half being returned to the owners.

[68] Abul Faẓl discusses the general question whether a ruler can claim this sacrifice from his subjects and concludes that he can and goes on to say that in Akbar's reign, every one, high or low, was prepared to sacrifice his all for his emperor. While one may question his assertion about the self-sacrificing spirit of Akbar's subjects, for no occasion actually arose to test his assertion, none would deny the correctness of some portion of his observation. The State—and in Medieval India the ruler represented it—has always a claim on its people's property and person. It is on this principle that taxes are increased or decreased, conscription for the army and various restrictions on an individual's liberty of action or speech are imposed. In the particular case under consideration, the only objection that could be raised is whether the small number of Humāyūn's followers could represent a State or even a community and whether Humāyūn had been chosen its leader. On the latter point there could be no difference of opinion, for almost all the Mughuls present in the camp looked on Humāyūn as their trusted leader and guide. With regard to the former also it may be stated that though the party did not comprise a State or a community, the members had to look to their welfare and the leader's duty it was to serve the interests of the party as a whole. So however unpleasant it might appear to a modern student, Humāyūn was acting within his rights in relieving the distressed from among his followers.

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8

JAIN INFLUENCE AT MUGHUL COURT

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Dr. V. Smith in his article, "The Jain Teacher of Akbar"[1] says that Abul Fazl has mentioned in his *Āīn-i-Akbarī* in the section entitled 'The Learned Men of the Time' the names of some Jain saints, *viz.*, No. 16, Harijī Sur (in the first class, of 'such as understand the mysteries of both worlds'), No. 139, Bijai Sen Sur and No. 140, Bhānu Chand (in the fifth class, 'such as understand the science resting on testimony'). The first is Hīravijaya Suri, the second Vijayasena Suri and the third Bhānuchandra Upādhyāya.[2]

Hīravijaya was even credited with having converted the emperor to Jainism. He was the leader of the Tapāgachchha sect of the Jains. These are his particulars—born in Samvat 1583 (A. D. 1526-27) at Palanpur (Prahlādan Pātan, Gujrat); son of Kumra (Kumbarjī), and Nāthī, of the Bīsā Osvāla family; birth-name Hīrajī; initiated in religious life by Vijayadānasuri in Sam. 1596 (A.D. 1539); *dīkṣā*-name Hīraharṣa; became a *vrācaka* in Sam. 1608 (A.D. 1551) at Nadulai, and *Sūri* in Sam. 1610 (A.D. 1553) at Sirohi; died in Sam. 1652 (A.D. 1595) at Una (Umnānagara, in Kathiawad); his paṭṭadhara was Vijayasenasuri; his important work was a Commentary on *Jambudvīpaprajñapti*.

1 *R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, 1917, 265 f.

2 *Cf. I.H.Q.*, Vol. XIII, p. 466, fn. 148, Harivijaya Sūri, Vijja Sen Suri, Bhānu Chandra.

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Another saint named Jinacandra (No. 61 of the Kharataragachcha) is also claimed to have converted the Emperor to the Jain religion. But Dr. Smith observes: "His name is not entered in any of Abul Fazl's lists, and I have not found any other mention of his presence at Akbar's court." Nevertheless Jinacandra was a real figure at Akbar's court and wielded considerable influence thereon, as will be noted below.

The main fact of Hīravijaya's activities are related in (1) *Jagadguru-Kāvyām* (Sam. 1646), (2) *Hīrasaubhāgyam* by Devavimala Gaṇi (Sam. 1646), (3) *Kṛpārasakośa* (a panegyric on Akbar) by Śānticandra, (4) *Hīravijayacaritra*, (5) Tapāgaccha Paṭṭāvalī, and (6) a long Sanskrit inscription by Hemavijaya dated Sam. 1650 (A.D. 1593) in the porch of the eastern entrance of the Ādināth temple of Śatruñjaya hill. [Other literature—*Śrī Hīravijaya Sūri-rāsa* by the poet Ṛṣabhadāsa (Sam. 1685), *Sūrīśvara and Emperor* (Gujrati edn.) by Muṇi Vidyāvijaya, etc.].

From the inscription it appears that "Hīravijaya persuaded the Emperor in Sam. 1639 (A.D. 1582) to issue an edict forbidding the slaughter of animals for six months; to abolish the confiscation of the property of deceased persons, the *Sujijia* tax and a *Śulka*; to set free many captives, snared birds and animals; to present Śatruñjay to the Jains..... He died by starvation at Unnatadurga in Sam. 1652."

At the request of Akbar, Hīravijaya left Gujrat after having made over the charge of his community to his paṭṭadhara Vijayasena, spent the rainy season at Agra in 1582, persuaded the Emperor to issue various commands in accordance with the Jain doctrine and to extend them in the following year, 1583. Fishing was prohibited at Fatehpur Sikri. The title of Jagadguru or 'World Teacher' was conferred on the Suri; he quitted the capital in 1584, leaving Śānticandra Upādhyāya behind him at court. Hīravijaya

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spent the rainy season of 1585 at Allahabad, of 1586 at Agra, of 1587 at Sirohi, returned to Patna in 1587 and starved himself to death in 1595.

The Jains belonging to the Kharataragaccha ever strive to prove the superiority of their sect over that of the Tapāgaccha and they deny that Akbar ever bestowed the title of Jagadguru on Hīravijaya. In Nahta's *Yugapradhāna Śrī Jinacandra Sūri*,[3] there is a quotation from the *Praśnottara-grantha* of Jayasoma Upādhyāya (of the Kharataragaccha sect) from which the authors deduce that Akbar never bestowed on Hīravijaya the title of Jagadguru, which was only given to him by his devoted followers. Mr. Mohanlal Dalichand Desai in his learned introduction to that book has quoted evidence to show that Akbar did actually bestow the title of Jagadguru on Hīravijaya in Sam. 1640 (A.D. 1583).[4] That the emperor issued an edict in 1582 and again in 1583 forbidding fishing and slaughter of animals is evident from contemporary literature,[5] also from a reference to Hīravijay in a *farman* issued by him at the instance of Jinacandrasūri (*alias* Jayachand).

The distinguished disciples of Hīravijaya were (1) His paṭṭadhara Vijayasena ;[6] (2) Śānticandra and (3) Bhānucandra Upādhyāy. Hīravijaya left Fatehpur Sikri in 1584;

[3] By Agarchand and Bhamvarlal Nahta (*v.s* 1992, Calcutta), pp. 103, 104, footnote.

[4] (*a*) *Cf. Jagadguru-Kāvyam* (Sam. 1646 , Sl. 197

Uktvā sarva-yatīśa-Hīravijayākhyā nāma dadātbhaktitaḥ |
Svairvākyair birudaṁ Jagadgururiti spaṣṭam mahaḥ pūrvakam ||

(*b*) *Hīrasaubhāgyakāvyam* (Sam. 1646), Canto 14, Sloka 205.

Guṇaśreṇī-maṇisindhoḥ Śrīttīravijaya-prabhoḥ |
Jagadgururidaṃ tena birudaṃ pradade tadā ||

(*c*) Stone inscription of Sam. 1647—Inscription No. 814 in *Jainalekhasaṃgraha*, Pt. I, by Puran Chand Nahar:.. tapāgacchādhirāja-pātśāha-Śrī-Akabaradatta-Jagadguru-birudadhāraka-bhaṭṭāraka-Śrī-Śrī-Śrī-Hīravijayasūrīṇāmupadeśena...

[5] *Badāūnī, Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri.*

[6] For his life see *Vijaya-praśastikāvya* by Hemavijaya with commentary by Guṇavijaya (Sam. 1688), *Vijaya-praśastisāra* by Muṇi Vidyāvijaya.

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and Śānticandra remained at court till 1587 when he left for Gujrat after obtaining *farmans* abolishing the *jizya* tax on non-Muslims and prohibiting slaughter of animals. Bhānucandra remained all along at court. He is said to have taught Akbar one thousand names of the sun.[7] He obtained a *farman* from the emperor in 1593 abolishing the tax on pilgrims to Śatruñjaya (Palitana) and directing that all the sacred places should be made over to Hīravijaya. He probably continued to live at court till 1605. Vijayasena seems to have been summoned by Akbar to Lahore in Sam. 1699 (A.D. 1592). The court resided at Lahore until 1598.

Akbar abolished the tax on pilgrims in 1563 and the *jizya* in 1564, throughout his empire, and the abolition ought to have applied to Gujrat on its annexation in 1573 but it seems that the enactment was imperfectly observed in practice, otherwise there would have been no necessity to renew this abolition in 1582 at the instance of Hīravijaya (*cf.* Hemavijaya inscription noted above), and in 1593 at the instance of Bhānucandra.

Smith says that Akbar's close intercourse with Jain teachers lasted for at least twenty years, from 1578 to 1597 inclusive.

It appears from Nahta's book that in A.D. 1568 (Sam. 1625) when Akbar was at Agra, a religious discussion was held at his court between Buddhisāgara of the Tapāgaccha sect and Sādhukīrti of the Kharataragaccha sect regarding the celebration of the *Posadha* [8] in the presence of many learned men such as Aniruddha, Mahādeva Miśra and others, ending

[7] His disciple Siddhicandra composed his life, *Bhānucandra-caritra*. He was therefore called "*Pātaśāha-Akabara-Jalaluddin-Śrīsūryanāmādhyāpaka*. Akbar used to mutter one thousand and more names of the sun as he sat in the Jharokā-Darsan. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XIII, 465.

[8] Religious fast observed by Jain *Śrāvakas* on such parva days as the eighth, the fourteenth, etc.

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in the victory of Sādhukīrti.[9] If this be true, then we have evidence here of Akbar's spirit of enquiry regarding the truth of other religions about ten years earlier than is ordinarily supposed, for it is said that he established the *Ibādatkhānā* in 1575 to hear disputations of doctors of rival schools of Muslim theology and admitted Jains and doctors of other religions in 1578.

Jinacandrasūri (*alias* Jaychand Sūri) was a famous *ācārya* of the Kharataragaccha sect. He was born in Samvat 1565 (A.D. 1508) at Timri-Vadali (or, according to another account, Khetsar in Jodhpur) of Śrīvant Śāh and Śriyādevī of Bīsā Osvāla family. His birth-name was Sultāna. He received his initiation in Sam. 1604 (A.D. 1547) fron Jinamāṇikyasūri, his *dīkṣā* name being Sumatidhīra. In Sam. 1612 he obtained the title of Sūri from Guṇaprabha Sūri.

While Akbar was holding his court at Lahore he heard the fame of the Sūri and wanted to hear him. He summoned Mantrīśvara Karmacandra Bacchāvat and requested him to invite the sage to his court. Considering that the Sūri was old and it was summer time Karmacandra pleaded that it would be difficult for him to come from Cambay. Then the Emperor asked him to write a letter to him to send his disciple Man Singh (Mahimarāja), whom the Sūri sent along with six other religious men. Receiving also an urgent letter from Karmacandra, the Sūri started on his journey on foot, gradually reached Sirohi, and observed the *cāturmāsya* at Jalor. Then in the month of Agrahāyaṇa he started and after passing through many villages and cities he ultimately entered Lahore on the 12th Falgun (bright fortnight) of Sam. 1648 (A.D. 1591) with thirty-one Jain pandits such as Jayasoma, Kanakasoma, Mahimarāja, Guṇavinaya, Samayasundara, and others in a great procession, and was courteously received by the Emperor. After a religious discourse on 'Atman,'

[9] Jinacandrasūri gave him the title of Upādhyāya in Sam. 1632 and occasionally consulted him in religious matters.

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'Ahiṃsā,' etc., he was conducted to his residence. He used to come daily to the palace and discoursed on religion. Akbar used to address him as "Great Master" (*vṛhadguru* or *baḍe guru*).

A story is told that when a daughter was born to Prince Salim in the asterism of Mūla the astrologers declared that the birth-time of the daughter was harmful to the father, therefore her face should not be seen and she should be eschewed. Akbar consulted Abul Fazl, Karmacandra and others and directed the performance of propitiatory rites (*śānti*) in conformity with the Jaina *Śāstras*, which (*viz.*, the eightfold bathing, *aṣṭottarī snātra*) were duly performed under the direction of Vācaka Mānasiṃha (Mahimarāja). Akbar and Salim were present at the time of *ārati*, and the Emperor put the consecrated water to his eyes and sent it to the inner apartments. This condescension to Jain sentiment seems to be on a par with Akbar's participation in Hindu festivals such as Rakṣābandhana, Dīvalī, Śivarātri, etc., which were also current during Jahangir's reign.

In the beginning of Akbar's reign and sometime thereafter, the traditional policy of the persecution of non-Muslims was followed. Tursam Khan attacked Sirohi in 1576 and sent 1,050 Jain images of metals to Fatehpur Sikri to be melted; but these were subsequently delivered over by Akbar to Karmacandra (in 1582), and were sent to Bikaner where they can still be seen in the temple of Cintāmani.[10] Hearing of the destruction of the Jain temple at Dwarka Jinacandra prevailed upon Akbar to issue an imperial *farman* for the protection of Jain places of pilgrimage such as Śatruñjaya, Palitana, Girnar, etc., which was sent to Azam Khan, the Subahdar of Ahmedabad.[11] The *farman* is dated Ilāhi year

[10] Ref. *Hīravijayasūri-rāsa* by Ṛṣabhadāsa, *Karmacandra-mantrivaṃśa-prabandha*, etc.

[11] *Karmacandra-mantrivaṃśa-prabandha.* Khan-i-Azam or Mirza Aziz Koka. See *Mirat-i-Sikandari.*

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36 in the month of Shahryar. The places of pilgrimage were now given in charge of Karmacandra.[12]

Just before starting for Kashmir Akbar met the Sūri and at his instance issued a *farman* giving protection to living beings for 7 days (*navamī* to *pūrṇimā*, bright fortnight) every year in the month of Āṣāḍha. A copy of the *farman* in respect of Multan Suba was subsequently re-issued (Sam. 1660-61, A.D. 1603-04, as the original was lost) at the instance of Jinasiṃha Sūri (*alias* Man Singh). One of his grand-disciples, *viz*., Samayasundara, composed a book named *aṣṭalakṣī* (eight lakh interpretations of one sentence) in support of the dictum, *egassa suttassa ananto attho*. Akbar praised Samayasundara for his vast erudition. Man Singh, Harṣaviśāla and some other disciples accompanied Akbar to Kashmir (1592). He reached Srinagar and gave protection to living beings (including fishes) for eight days.[13] He returned to Lahore on the 29th December, 1592. At his instance Jinacandra gave the title of *Ācāryya* to Man Singh. On the advice of Karmacandra he also gave the title of Yugapradhāna,[14] or 'Chief of the Age' to Jinacandra; this was the highest title amongst the Jains (and so of saints of Kharataragaccha) and was once worn by Jinadatta Sūri. By his direction Man Singh was given the name of Jinasiṃha Sūri. He gave protection for a year to all animals of the sea adjoining Cambay, the place of pilgrimage.[15]

[12] In this *farman* there is a reference to the quarrel between Jains of the Tapāgaccha and Kharataragaccha regarding construction of new temples at Śatruñjaya; Hīravijaya and his disciple Bhānucandra are mentioned.

[13] Mm. G. Ojha, *Karmacandra*, p. 92, for prohibition of fishing in Kashmir in 1592.

[14] The title of the Yugapradhāna is an ancient one. *Cf.* the book *Yugapradhānasvarupa* where the Saint Kālakācārya is described as the twelfth Yugapradhāna and who according to it changed the Paryuṣaṇā date (*pravartitā tu dvādaśamarrugapradhāna-Kālikācāryyeṇa*). See *The Story of Kālaka* by W. Norman Brown (Washington, 1933), pp. 5 ff.

[15] But we have noted above that Bhānucandra obtained a *farman* in 1593 affording protection to pilgrims. Was Akbar influenced by Jains of both Tapāgaccha and Kharataragaccha sects at the same time ?

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Akbar abolished the tax on pilgrims going to holy places such as Śatruñjaya hills and ordered the protection of cows in his empire.[16] He prohibited the slaughter of all animals on a fixed day in the year, and the eating of meat on Thursday and Sunday.[17]

In a stone inscription dated Samvat 1653 (A.D. 1596) in the Śrībāḍi Pārśvanātha temple there is a reference to the above-mentioned *farmans* (relating to *āṣāḍhāṣṭāhikāmāri*, protection of fishes in Stambhatīrtha) and the worship of five rivers of the Punjab by Jinacandra in Samvat 1652.[18]

Dr. Smith writes in *Akbar, the Great Mogul*, "The infliction of capital penalty on a human being for causing the death of an animal was in accordance with the practice of several famous ancient Buddhist and Jain kings. The regulations must have inflicted much hardship on many of Akbar's subjects and specially on the Mahommedans."[19] Prof. Sri Ram Sharma points out that Smith depended for this statement on Badayuni, but the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* and *Akbarnama* mention the prohibition but not the punishment. He says: "It is too much to believe on the authority of Badayuni alone that people suffered the extreme penalty of the law for killing animals on certain days,"[20] and holds that Akbar did not interfcre with

[16] *Cf.* Stone inscription of Navamandir of Merta, No. 443 of Prācīna Jaina-lekha-saṃgraha edited by Jinavijaya: "Śrī Akabbara- Sāhipradatta-Yugapradhānara-padaprauaraih pratt varṣāṣāḍhīyāṣṭāhikādi ṣaṇmāsikāmāri-pravartakaih. Srīpaṃta (stambha) tīrtho dadhi mīnādijīvarakṣakaih. Śrī Śatruñjayāditīrthakaramocakaih. Sarvatragorakṣākārakaiḥ pañcanadīpīrasādhakaiḥ yugapradhāna-Śrījina-candrasūribhiḥ.

[17] Flesh of goat, sheep, ox, buffalo, horse and camel was forbidden. See *Badayuni*—II, 376, and *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*. Prof. Sharma says that Thursday, being Jahangir's day of accession, and Sunday, being Akbar's birthday, were specially kept sacred by according safety to all living creatures, the practice being called Sufiana (*Indian Culture*, IV, 317).

[18] Tadvācanena ca nayana-sara-rasa-ramā mita (1652) māgha-sita-dvādaśī śubha-tithau apūrva-pūrva gurvāmnāya-sadhita pañcanadī pragaṭīkṛta pañcapīra.

[19] *Cf.* also *Jain Teachers of Akbar* in *Bhandarkar Com. Vol.*, p. 273: "Akbar in adopting such rigorous measures followed the precedent set by Harṣa and various other Indian kings who preferred the life of a beast to that of a man."

[20] *IHQ*, XIII, 317-18, *Akbar's Religious Policy*.

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the performance of any religious rites of the Muslims or persecute them, and the measures (which were not "laws" to be enforced by the State) "were mostly pious expressions of personal opinion which were disregarded even in the royal kitchen."[21] In later life Akbar himself avoided eating of meat, garlic and onion to set an example to his subjects but he did not persecute them if they failed to do so. His abstinence from meat is referred to in many olden Jain poems (*guṭkā* and *gahuṇu*), and has been mainly ascribed to the teaching of Jinacandra Sūri and his disciple Jinasiṃha Sūri. Jahangir says that for the last eleven years (1594-1605) Akbar regularly observed the abstinence. Jinacandra met him in 1592 and was present with him in 1594. His influence was so great that Akbar was reputed to have been converted to Jainism, if a letter of the Portuguese padre Pinheiro, written in December, 1595, can be believed. On the basis of contemporary *gamhuli* the Jains claim that he also exerted much influence over Prince Salim, Abul Fazl, Khan-Khannan Abdur Rahim, Mukarrab Khan and other important officials. Abul Fazl, however, does not admit the extent of Jain influence on Akbar's views and practice.[21] It seems that Akbar remained a Muslim till his death (as was supposed by Roe and Boteho) and was not converted to Jainism, Zoroastrianism[22] or Christianity. Peruschi seems to have rightly grasped the actuality when he wrote (1595) that "the more intelligent think him to be a Muhammadan who outwardly conforms to all religions in order to obtain popularity."

Akbar died in 1605. Salim became Emperor with the title of Nuruddin Jahangir. From the time of the arrival of Jinacandra Sūri at Lahore Prince Salim respected him. In

[21] *Bhandarkar Com. Vol.*, p. 276 fn.

[22] Notwithstanding his burning a perpetual fire and reciting one thousand names of the Sun.

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Sam. 1668 (A.D. 1611) Jahangir being incensed at the misconduct of a dissolute Darśanī, [23] not only banished him, but ordered that members of other Jaina sects should be unfrocked or banished from the realm. Consternation spread amongst all sections of the Jains. The latter sent news to Jinacandra Sūri, who travelled from Pattana, came to Agra, saw the emperor, discoursed on chastity and other topics and ultimately prevailed upon him to withdraw the order that restricted movement of religious men belonging to all sects. This matter is referred to in contemporary Jain literature. [24]

A miracle is ascribed to him, *viz.*, that he sat on a magic blanket and crossed the river. [25]

After the death of the Sūri in Sam. 1670 (A.D. 1613) at Bilada his paṭṭadhara Jinasiṃha Sūri became the leader of the Kharataragaccha. His activities have already been related. In *Śrījinasiṃha-sūrigīta* of Rājasamudra it is related that he had much influence on Jahangir. At his request the emperor announced safety to all living creatures. He also sent Mukarrab Khan to the Sūri with the title of

[23] It seems that *darśanī* here means a believer. *Cf.* Kharataragaccha Paṭṭāvalī of Samayasundra : Punaḥ guruṇā eka darśanīto' nācāraṃ dṛṣṭvā kupitena sāhinā sarvagachchīya-darśanīṣu deśebhyo niṣkāsiteṣu .....;" and Śrī Sāhi Saiema-rājye tādya (tapā) kṛta jinaśāsana-mālinyatah Śrīsādhuvihāro niṣiddha sāhinā tatrāvasāre Srīugrasenapure gatvā sāhi pratibodhya ca sādhūnāṃ vihāra sthīrīkṛtah tadā labdha "Sabāi yugapradhāna" baḍāgururiti biruda yena guruṇā. The suggestion is that the delinquent belonged to the Tapāgaccha sect. There were some subjects of Akbar called Darśaniyās who had taken a vow not to take their meals without having obtained a sight of him. After his death they behaved in the same fashion towards his successors. Aurangzeb stopped the practice of showing himself in the Jharokā to them. Evidently they are not meant there.

[24] *Cf. Jinacandrasūrigīta* by Labdhiśekhara; *Acāradinakaraprakāsti* by Harṣanandana, *Jinasāgara-Sūri-rāsa, Yugapradhānanirvāṇarāsa, Kharataragacchapaṭṭavalī*, by Samayasundara, *Vijayatilaka-sūrirāsa, Paṭṭavalī* by Kṣamākalyāṇa, *Bhānucandra-Caritra*, and a stone inscription (*cf. Prācīna-Jainalekhasaṃgraha* No. 17—Kupita—Jahāngīra-Sāhirañjaka-tatsvamaṇḍalabahiṣkṛta-Sādhurakṣaka-yugapradhāna Śrī Jinacandra-sūri).

[25] Although the age of miracle is gone, it is ever present (even now) to the *bhakta*, hence its introduction in Jain accounts.

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Yugapradhāna (after the manner of his father).[26] In Sam. 1674 (A.D. 1616) he spent the *caturmāsa* at Bikaner. In *Jinarājasūri-rāsa* composed in Sam. 1681 by Srī-sāra it is related that Jahangir was very eager to see him for a long time and sent an officer to Bikaner to invite the Sūri to come to Agra, at which the Jina order of Bikaner was much delighted. But on his way to Agra Jinasiṃha Sūri died in Sam. 1674 (A.D. 1617).

The event mentioned in *rāsa*, *gīta* or *gamhuli* are more or less of a legendary character intended to glorify the Jain order and can only be accepted when supported by contemporary evidence. The attitude of Jahangir to Jinasiṃha (*alias* Mānasiṃha) and towards the Jains, as it is made to appear in them, does not seem to have been correctly represented. At the time of Khusru's rebellion Man Singh prophesied that Jahangir's reign would last but two years. This encouraged Rai Singh of Bikaner to rebel. He was, however, pardoned by Jahangir, who waited for an opportunity to punish Man Singh. In 1616 when Jahangir went to Gujrat he persecuted the Jains, as their temples were centres of disturbance and their religious leaders were accused of immoral practices. He summoned Man Singh to the court, but the latter took poison on his way from Bikaner and died. Jahangir expelled the Jains from his empire;[27] "all Jains were punished irrespective of their political proclivities." It seems that this is different from his earlier order of 1611.

[26] *Caumāsīvyākhyāna* and *Harṣanandan-ka:agīta*, also *Sūrīśvara aur Samrāt*. K. P Jain (in *Śrī-Jaina-Siddhānta-Bhāskara*, 5. 3. p. 143, says that Jahangir was very much pleased with Jinasiṃha, disciple of Jinacandra, and adorned him with the title of 'Yugapradhāna,' but he was angry with Mānasiṃha, the *yati* of Bikaner, as the latter took the side of the rebellious Khusru, and instigated Rāyasiṃha to leave the court at Delhi and return to Bikaner. He, therefore, considers Jinasiṃha and Mānasiṃha to be two different persons. As related above Manasiṃha was the same person as Jinasiṃha.

[27] *Indian Culture*, IV, 311, *Tuzuk*.

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Shah Jahan patronised the Jain poet Banarasī Das; a Jain jeweller named Sānti Das of Ahmedabad received favour. Aurangzeb also seems to have favoured a Digambara Jainācārya, if sayings of poets may be believed.

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9

AKBAR

(In the light of the *Din-i-Ilahi*)

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PART I

The creed of the *Din-i-Ilahi* was promulgated in the beginning of the year 1582. According to Bartoli, there was a formal council before the promulgation of the *Din-i-Ilahi*[1] and the old Sheik (Mubarak) was sent to proclaim in all quarters that in a short time the law to be professed throughout the Mughul Empire would be sent from the court and that they should make themselves ready to take it for the best and accept it with reverence whatever it might be.[2] We do not know anything more about the mission of Mubarak; moreover the tone and language do

[1] The authority of Bartoli regarding the formal council should not go unchallenged. It has not been touched by Nizamuddin or by Abul Fazl, nor by any contemporary Christian or native authors. Badauni incidently referred to a council meeting for renovating the religion of the Empire. But what is that council? Is it the occasion for the Mahajjar? Badauni who never spared Akbar for his religious opinions should have given more details on the council and its proceedings; on the other hand, Bartoli who compiled a book in 1663 A.D., three quarters of a century after the alleged council meeting, gave the account referred to. Moreover according to Bartoli one of the Sheiks, a most distinguished old man, whom Smith identified as Sheik Mubarak, was sent to proclaim in all quarters the coming of the new creed. Now Sheik Mubarak was at the time a man of 82 years. Is it possible to send him to all quarters at such an old age to proclaim the coming religion?

[2] The language of the proposed mission sounds exactly like the Biblical story of Jesus coming with a new religion, 'Lo comes light.' The whole passage of Bartoli (p. 75-77) has a Biblical touch round it, and is most un-Mughul in atmosphere. The language does not fit in with the Mughul colour.

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not fit in with the happy saying of Akbar, " Why should I claim to guide men before I myself am guided?" [3]

Principles of the Din-i-Ilahi

Smith says that the principles of the system were not properly defined and there was a good deal of uncertainty as to its meaning till 1587. Really it was undefined, as it was no new religion; it was the summing up of the old. In the absence of any written treatise on the subject there was much scope for imagination. Von Noer is of opinion that the system was like that of the Free Masons or Illuminati. So it was not necessary to declare it in public. Badauni also says that the *Mujtahid* of the new religion was the only repository of the fundamentals of the faith.[4] Badauni's narrative relates only to the exterior rituals of the creed and describes the formalities observed by Akbar. Badauni gave his reader hardly any new information about the principles of the creed. Like a *Mulla* he identified the fundamentals with the collaterals, and formalities were mistaken for principles. Abul Fazl in *Ain*. No. 77 on the subject of " His Majesty as the spiritual guide of the people " began in a Sufic strain but left the subject with a pious wish, " should my occupations allow sufficient leisure and should another term of life be granted me, it is my intention to lay before the world a separate volume on the subject."[5] His " occupations " gave him no leisure, nor " another term of life " was granted to him and we have lost a separate volume on the subject. The Portuguese missionaries who visited the Court during this period had their peculiar mode of describing things; they generally mixed up gossip with fact which more often than not deprived

3 *Akbarnama*—' Happy Sayings, ' appendix.
4 Bad., II, p. 349.
5 Bloch., p. 166.

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truth of its essence if there was any.[6] The only author who narrated the fundamentals of *Din-i-Ilahi* was Mohsin Fani who has described a part of it in his famous *Dabisthan-ul Majahib*. The *Dabisthan* did not directly discuss the principles but has indirectly expressed inner principles of the system through the mouth of the philosopher in course of a dialogue. The authority of Mohsin Fani was Mirja Shah Mohammad, son of Bairag Khan, who knew it from Aziz Koka—a member of the *Din-i-Ilahi*. Mohsin Fani was a sympathetic observer unlike Badauni or Portuguese priests; and there is a touch of romance in his way of speaking a thing. The philosopher of the *Dabisthan*, who represented the Emperor, at the end of a general debate where the champions of all faiths were present, propounded the *Din-i-Ilahi* in ten virtues:

1. Liberality and beneficence.
2. Forbearance from bad actions and repulsion of anger with mildness.
3. Abstinence from worldly desires.
4. Care for freedom from the bonds of the worldly existence and violence as well as accumulating precious stores for the future real and perpetual world.
5. Wisdom and devotion in the frequent meditation on the consequences of actions.
6. Strength of dexterous prudence in the desire of sublime actions.
7. Soft voice, gentle words, pleasing speeches for everybody.
8. Good society with brothers, so that their will may have the precedence to our own.
9. A perfect alienation from creatures and a perfect attachment to the Supreme Being.

[6] E. I. Assoc. Journal, 1915, p. 298.....

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10. Dedication of soul in the love of God and union with God the preserver of all.

The whole philosophy of Akbar was: "The pure *Shast* and the pure sight never err."[7] Great stress was thus laid on purity of individual life and purity of outlook on affairs of life. Practices followed by Akbar and his "Happy Sayings" as quoted by Abul Fazl, bear out the truth that lay behind Akbar's philosophy.

In discussing the system of Akbar, we cannot lose sight of its rituals and priests, ceremonies and practices, initiations and symbols of brotherhood of the Sufi creed, for they are the concomitant parts of the system. Indeed in every religion whether original or subsidiary, formalities are given as much prominence as the ideal to be worshipped.

The development of a religion has in its background the religious experience of the propounder. The differences amongst the great religious systems are based not on any difference in the ultimate ideal, for the object of worship is almost everywhere the same, but what they differ in, is in the form of worship. The war is on the path but not in the destination. Really speaking, the formalities and rituals are no ends in themselves but are only means to the same end. But unfortunately the History of Religion has shown that the forms apparently are regarded as ends, and ends lose themselves into the labyrinths of forms; and more new creeds have developed not by way of difference of fundamentals but by the way of difference of formalities, rituals and ceremonies.

Priests

In the *Din-i-Ilahi*, there was no priesthood and so Blochmann [8] opines, "Akbar, solely relying on his influence and example, had established no priesthood and had

[7] *Ain.*, No. 77. Bloch., p. 166.

[8] Bloch., *Ain.*, p. 212.

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appointed no proper person to propagate his faith." Von Noer says, "There was no priesthood in the *Din-i-Ilahi* it being confined to the select few." But to us it appears that *Din* was never regarded by Akbar as a new religion and therefore there was no need of a priesthood and Church so natural and so common to the promulgation of a new faith. Moreover in Islam there is no priesthood and it has been condemned in unequivocal terms by the orthodox. From the Islamic point of view, Akbar was justified in not having any priesthood in the system. Tajjuddin was the expounder of the exterior rites of the doctrine.[9] The *Mujtahids* were Abul Fazl and his brother Faizi.[10] Azam Khan is said to have learnt the rules of the new order from Abul Fazl who, according to Badauni, was the repository of the rules of discipleship. In fact separate priests were not necessary nor a mosque, for it was a Sufi order of Islam within Islam depending on individual experience of the follower and was only open to men who had attained a certain stage of development based on capacity. Akbar before allowing any to enter into the Order made a "clearing search" and "every strictness and reluctance was shown by His Majesty in admitting novices."[11] Of course it could not be a fact that all those who entered into the order were without exception actuated by a deep religious conviction; in some, royal favour was the prime object, "though his Majesty did everything to get this out of their heads." Nor did Akbar himself play the part of a Pope, as Smith would have his readers believe, for Akbar himself used to say, "Why should I claim to guide men before I myself am guided"?[12] Like his great Indian predecessor Asoka 1800 years back,

9 *Dabisthan*, I, p. 94.
10 Bad., II. p. 412.
11 Bloch., *Ain.*, No. 77, p. 165.
12 Bloch., p. 165.

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he issued a general order to all State officials to look after the spiritual development of all subjects.

"The governor ought not to oppose the creed and religion of the creatures of God; inasmuch as a wise man chooses not his loss in the affair of this perishable world, how in those of religions which is permanent and eternal should he knowingly tend to perdition? If God be with his faith, then thou thyself carriest our controversy and opposition against God; and if God fails him and he knowingly takes the wrong way, then he proves to himself a rule of erroneous profession, which demand pity and assistance, not enmity or contradiction; those who act and think well bear friendship to every sect." [13] His officers were "required to show veneration for those who were distinguished by devotion to the incomparable God, and prayed in the morning and evening and at midnight."

Toleration was the basis of these instructions. Du Jarric informed us that Akbar often used to say, "God ought to be worshipped with every kind of veneration." Unconsciously his doctrine of non-intervention in religion was the best missionary for the propagation of the *Din* as Akbar thought. Again he says, "If the people wished it, they might adopt his creed and His Majesty declared that religion is conceived to be established by choice and not by violence." [14] Indeed, the Quran says that if God wished the whole world might have been Islamised, but when God has not willed it, what right has man to compel people to come to Islam by force? Badauni says that some people asked Akbar why he did not make use of the sword, the most convincing proof, such as Shah Ismail of Persia had done? And Akbar replied that "Confidence in him as a leader was a matter of time and good counsel and did not require the sword." To Jahangir,

[13] *Dabisthan*, I, p. 97 and 429 (Translation of Shea and Troyer).

[14] Payne, p. 25, footnote.
"There is no compulsion in religion."

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Akbar said, "Are not five-sixths of all mankind either unbelievers or Hindus ? If I were actuated by motives similar to those which thou ownest, what would remain to me but to destroy them all?" (Shea and Troyer, CXLVII.)[15]

Initiation

The fitness of the intending entrants was tested by his readiness to sacrifice Property, Life, Religion and Honour. It was not that each of the Ilahians would be in a position to sacrifice all those four treasures of life all at one time; some might sacrifice one and some two and so on. The stage of the entrant was styled in a nomenclature peculiar to the order, and was called "Degree." They were stated to have obtained "One Degree," "Two Degrees," etc., according as they were in a position to offer one or more of those precious possessions.[16] These four degrees were defined as "oaths of fealty" in 1579, when the *Din-i-Ilahi* was not even thought of, as marks of loyalty to the throne. When the *Din* was promulgated they were included into the preliminaries. In Islam, politics and religion were always combined. So what was defined as marks of loyalty in politics became stages in spiritual eminence in religion. Badauni says "Courtiers of all shades and creeds irrespective of their religious opinions put their names down as faithful disciples of the throne." The new entrant was introduced on Sundays.[17]

Before introduction into the order the entrant was examined and if found fit, would be admitted for initiation.[18] The intending member was to approach the Emperor with his

15 *Dabisthan*, I, p. 97.

16 In Sufi orders also there are four stages according to the position the Murid attains in his devotional life.

In the Tradition, Muhammad mentioned of different stages in spiritual order of a man's life.

17 Akbar was born on Sunday and died on Sunday.

18 *Tuzak-i-Jehangir*, I, p. 60.

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turban on the ground and on approaching the Emperor should bow his forehead down to His Majesty's feet. Abul Fazl says, "This is symbolical; the turban is the symbol of conceit and selfishness, so putting off of the turban symbolised the putting off of pride and conceit."[19] The Emperor, as is usual with the Sufi mode of initiation, accepted him as his disciple and raised him from the ground and put the turban on his head. The initiation was by batches of twelve and by turns. They were to offer *zaminbos* to the King.

Symbol of Brotherhood and Chelas

The "Initiated" were called *Chelas*, an Indian term meaning "disciples."[20] They formed a brotherhood amongst themselves, and had a common symbol called "*Shast*" in which the "Great Name" was engraved and the symbolic motto of *Allah-ho-Akbar* was inscribed. The teaching inculcated was "the pure *Shast* and the pure sight shall never err."

Shast

The word *Shast* literally means 'aim,' secondarily it means 'anything round' either 'a Ring' or a 'Thread.' The shape of the symbol was like that of Ring which may fairly be called "Swastika."[21] It was wrapped in clothes studed with jewels and was worn on the top of the turban. It was their symbol of Brotherhood.

On the *Shast*, Badauni says, that picture of Akbar was engraved. But others say that it contained only "Hu" the great name which might signify—

اللّٰہ (*a*) Allah—

الصمد (*b*) Samad—The Eternal

19 *Ain-i-Akbari*, Bloch., p. 165.
About the inscription there are various opinions.

20 Disciple is a common Sufi term. The "Ilahis whom Akbar defeatad near Afghanistan in 1584 also called themselves *Chelas*."

21 Lowe translated *Shast* as 'fish hook.' This is wrong.

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العی (c) Achayy—the Living
القیوم (d) Alquayyam—the Everlasting
الرحمن (e) AlRahman—AlRahim—the Merciful
المؤمن (f) Almumin—Protector

Qazi Hamdani says that "the great name" is the word "Hu" or "He"—God—because it has a reference to God's nature as it shows that He has no other at His side. Again the word "Hu" is not a derivative. All epithets of God are contained in it.[22]

Possibly Hamdani's interpretation is true, specially "Hu" is a Sufi term and in his early youth Akbar used to chant these Sufi terms "Ya Hu" and "Yu Hadi" near the Anuptoloa. And it is quite probable that the familiar word should be repeated in his new Sufi order.[23]

Rules of conduct amongst the disciples

To the Emperor, the *Chelas* were to offer *zaminbos* and prostrate before him. The King used to give them *Darshan* from his window called *Darshanya Manzil* (House of Royal Appearance).[24] If a member met another, he was to greet him with *Allah-ho-Akbar* and the other was to respond with *Jalla Jalaluha.*

Prayer

That there were prayers in the system is evident from Akbar's own examples. Akbar offered prayers three times and

[22] Bloch., p. 162, fn. 2.

[23] Ordinarily a believer introduced himself by the tree of discipleship; Ahmed, disciple of Alam, disciple of Byazid, disciple of Khabdin ending in the name of that disciple to whom he is sworn. But an Ilahin would introduce himself by his symbol *Shast.*

[24] Smith says, "Sycophants and flatterers had come for alms and favours in the morning and assembled in front to have a *Darshan*; some came with a sick baby, others with barren daughter, many for favours, and Akbar could cure patients with his miraculous powers." This may be true. Akbar by his constant association with the Hindu Yogis had developed some occult powers and used them for the good of his subjects. Abul Fazl gave some instances of such cures.

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not five times in the orthodox manner. Akbar offered prayers after the death of Abul Fatha as is the custom with Muslims. Advice to provincial Governors definitely ordinanced prayer three times a day—morning, evening and night. Abul Fazl had his own mosque on his portico: criers (*Mu'-Azin*) for prayers were there. No separate Mosque was raised for the Ilahians. There was the same Quran for all; till the last day of his life Abul Fazl deemed it a part of merit to copy the Quran.[25]

The usual customary form of *Ala-i-kum-salam* and *Assellam-o-Aleykum* were changed. Abul Fazl explained that Akbar in laying down "this mode of salutation intended to remind men of the origin of their existence and to keep the Deity in fresh, lively and grateful remembrance."[26]

Individually an Ilahian was—

(*a*) Not to feast after deaths.
(*b*) To feast of life during life.
(*c*) To avoid flesh as far as possible.
(*d*) Not to take any thing slain by one's own self.
(*e*) Not to eat with butchers, fishers and bird catchers.
(*f*) Not to cohabit with the pregnant, old and barren women nor with women under the age of puberty.[27]

A disciple could be burnt or buried according to his religious practices. Akbar lamented that the dead body of Birbal had not been brought to him that it could be burnt."[28]

25 *Jang-i-nijat.*
26 Bloch., pp. 158-69.
27 *Dabisthan*, p, 91.
28 Bad., II, p. 204.

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Part II

The measures adopted by Akbar for the propagation of the *Din-i-Ilahi* were much in advance of time, at least by 200 years. In Europe the fires of the Inquistition had set ablaze the religious firmament; the prelude to the drama of contest between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants that was to come within the next half a century, was being arranged; the Jesuits in order to increase their brotherhood had fallen from the proud principles with which they had begun, and often had recourse to conspiracy and murder in the name of Jesus. In Islam, the bloody traditions of the blood-thirsty Ismailis were not yet forgotten; the Shia-Sunni contests, between the Shafavi neighbours and their Sunni rivals of Rum, were but too well known to the circle of Indian brethren.

The systematic persecution of the Mehadists[29] was almost identical with that of the 15th and 16th centuries of the Christian era. In the midst of those terrible traditions and unholy environments, it required no ordinary fund of courage of conviction and strength of liberalism, to say, "Religion ought to be established by choice and not by violence." With vast resources at his command, if he simply wished it, he could have reduced at least half of India to Ilahism. Instead, he cried out in the agony of his soul, "why should I claim to guide men, before I myself am guided?" and not "Cujus Regio...Ejus Religio—Religion of the King is the religion of the subject," like his European contemporaries.

[29] Bloch., p. 197, fn. I.

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The famous "Forty"[30] which he reorganised in 1582, after being disgusted with Mullas' unchangeability and rigidity, had its own contribution to make. No historian, not even Smith, has drawn any inference from the "Famous Forty" and the *Din*, both coming at the same time. They were very closely related to each other. The I. K. debates were no longer as frequently held as they were at the beginning. The discussions and decisions on knotty points of law were now being done there by "the Forty": so there was no need of a propaganda henceforth; thereafter everything was to be "decided by reason and not by authority." Like the "Freemasons," it was a grouping of the few enlightened minds bound together by common political allegiance, by the idea of ultimate good to humanity, breathing the spirit of the great man who occupied the centre, we mean Akbar, who was the embodiment of the forces of the liberalism of that age of Renaissance in India. That is why there is no roll-register nor any definite statement as to the size and extent of the brotherhood. Abul Fazl says that the emperor did not insist on Conversion into his order even for "those who used to acknowledge to have received their spiritual power from the throne of His Majesty." They stood in need of no conversion though they were intimately connected with the circle of Akbar. The members of *Din-i-Ilahi* may be divided into two groups:—

(*a*) Those who accepted the creed in all its aspects, internal as well as external forms.

(*b*) Those who accepted the *Shast* only.

Of the initiated disciples[31] have been mentioned,—

(1) Sheikh Mubarak
(2) Faizi
(3) Abul Fazl

30 Bloch., p. 197 (1)

31 This list has been gathered from stray references from different contemporary authors by Blochmann.

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(4) Jafar Beg
(5) Quàsin Khan
(6) Azam Khan
(7) Abdul Samad
(8) Mullah Shal Muhammad Shadad
(9) Sufi Ahmad
(10) Mir Sharif Amal
(11) Sultan Khawaja
(12) Mirja Zain Thatta
(13) Taki Shastar
(14) Sheikh Zada Gosla Benarasi
(15) Sadar Jehan
(16) Sadar Jehan's son
(17) Sadar Jehan's son
(18) Birbal, the Hindu

It is very significant that only one of them, Birbal, was a Hindu. Badauni says that Akbar was not willing to include the Hindus as far as possible.[32]

Of the second class, 'there were many,' so says Abul Fazl. They were given *Shast* in batches of twelve on Sundays and they had to pass the usual test before they were introduced to royal presence. No other centre for initiation has been mentioned for the Ilahians. This proves that it was not a proselytising creed but was only a Sufi order. As has been pointed out there was no separate Mosque for them and prayers were offered thrice daily.

Contribution of the Ibadat Khana to Din-i-Ilahi :—

The Principles of the *Din*, according to many, were thrashed out of the fire of the discussion of the *Ibadat Khana*. This is indeed true, so far as the destructive side of the *Din-i-Ilahi*

[32] This statement of Badauni and the actual absenceof Hindus in the circle of the Ilahians definitely refutes the suggestion that there was a political move of Imperial unification behind the promulgation of the *Din-i-Ilahi*. If it were so, there would have been deliberate attempts to get Hindus into the fold.

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was concerned. In its destructive phase, the *Din* has a causal connection with its Mulla orthodoxy, their immobility and pride. The abuse and misuse of their power and position as discovered during the distribution of the *Aimas*, the embezzlement of the pilgrim grant by Mir-i-Haj had proved that all that glittered was not gold: their participation in the rebellion of Bengal and Behar had shown the length to which religious intolerance could be brought on to political affairs; the religious disputes of the Shias and Sunnis in the *Ibadat Khana* had led him to doubt the infallibility of both and convinced him of the necessity of some reform in both.

The Sufi brothers and their father Mubarak, Faizi, Sarhindi, Abul Fath, Taijuddin, by the light of their intellect had served as torch-bearers in the midst of the darkness of doubts. Constant associations with the saints of other creeds had proved to Akbar that God might also exist among the Saints of other religions. Time spirit and Central Asian mysticism had given a romantic touch to all his actions; legacy of his heritage and the early political vicissitudes had made his mind more impressionable and more accommodating. Even if there were no *Ibadat Khana* discussions, changes would have come in some form or other. His birth in a Hindu house, his early association with the polished Persians, his own impressionable mind, his Central Asian mystic heritage, the liberal spirit of the age, the forces of Renaissance, the Mehedi movement of the 10th Hijri, the influence of the contemporary Sufis and Saints, had moulded his mind. That in India such a profound change of outlook would come was almost a certainty. Peculiar circumstances, favourable combination of forces had gathered round that mystic child of Central Asia born in the mystic atmosphere of Sufi Sind, nurtured in the mystic association of Persia, and the child became the priest of the change.

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So far as the actual form of change was concerned, much depended on the influence of the Sufi Brothers, the Mehedi movement and the personality of Akbar. The general liberal tendency of the time coupled with the intellectual ferment could have produced no other form except a very eclectic, elastic and universal one. " His soul synchronised the pantheistic ecstacy of the Vedas, the Universal charity of Buddhism, the grandiose poetry of the Solar Cult and the profound beauty of Islamic Mysticism." Nine out of ten commandments, if not all the ten, were extremely universal and could be found in almost every religion. Without going into their places in other religions, we may quote the following from the Quran and the eminent Sufi writers both in and outside India, to show that they were absolutely Islamic in conception and ideology :—

(1) *Original Text of Dabisthan* :—

جود و کرم

Translation :—Liberty and Beneficence.

Arabic Parallel Passage :—

لن تنالوا البر حتی تنفقوا مما تحبون

Translation :—You cannot attain goodness unless you spend the most beloved things of yours. (Al Quran.)

Persian Sufi thought :—

در سخا کوش ای برادر در سخا
تا بیابی از بس شدت رخا

Translation :—

Try charity, oh brother, try charity :
You will get comforts after misery. (Sadi.)

(2) *Original Text of Dabisthan* :—

عفو از بدکار و دفع غضب بحلم

Translation :—Forbearance from bad action and repulsion of anger with mildness.

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Arabic Parallel passage :—

و الكاظمين الغيظ و العافين عن الناس و الله يحب المحسنين

Translation :—And those retain their anger and pardon men and Allah loves doers of good to others.

Persian Sufi thought :—

با تو گویم که چیست غایت حلم
هر که زهرت دهد شکر بخشش
هر که بحرا شدت جگر بچفا
هم چوکان کرم زر بخشش
کم مباش از درخت سایه فگن
هر که سنگت زند ثمر بخشش

Translation :—

I tell thee what is forbearance,
Whoever gives thee poison, give sugar.
Whoever by force tears thy heart, give him gold
As mine gives. Be not less than shade-giving tree.
Whoever throws a stone at thee, give him fruit.

(Sadi.)

3) *Original Text of Dabisthan* :—

تعفف از شهوات دنیاویه

Translation :—Abstinence from worldly pleasures.

Arabic parallel passage :—

اعلموا انما الحیوة الدنیا لعب و لهو

Translation :—Know that this world's life is duly pernicious sport and play. (Al Quran.)

Persian Sufi thought :—

الحذرا زحب دنیا الحذر
بهر نان و زر مخور خون جگر

Translation :—Save thyself from the love of the world.
Drink not that heart's blood for bread and money.

(Bu Ali Qalandar.)

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(4) *Original Text of Dabisthan* :—

فکر اخلاص از بند عالم کون و فسان و از خار اسباب التذاذ آن عالم دائم الوجود -

Translation :—Care for freedom from bonds of the worldly existence and violence as well as accumulating precious stores for future real and perpetual world.

Arabic parallel passage :—

و ما هذه الحیوة الدنیا الا لهو و لعب ان الدار الاخرة لهی الحیوان لو کانوا یعلمون

Translation :—This worldly life is nothing but sports and the other world is the real life if you think properly. (Al Quran.)

Persian Sufi thought :—

بضاعت بچندان که آری بری
و گر مفلسی شرمساری بری

Translation :—Accumulate your goods as far as you can, this is necessary for you, but if you have no accumulation you will be ashamed.
(Sadi.)

(5) *Original Text of Dabisthan* :—

ریاضت عقل و ادب در عواقب امور

Translation :—Wisdom and devotion in frequent meditations on consequences of action.

Arabic parallel passage :—

و العاقبة للمتقین

Translation :—He is pious who meditates on consequences of every action.

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Persian Sufi thought :—

از پی هر گریه آخر خندهٔ ایست
مرد آخر بین مبارک بنده ایست

Translation :—He is blessed who looks to the consequences of action. (Jalaluddin Rumi—Masnavi.)

(6) *Original Text of Dabisthan :—*

قوت تعریف عقل در طلب عالیات امور

Translation :—Strength of dexterous prudence in the desire of marvellous actions.

Arabic parallel passage :—

قد بینا لکم الایات ان کنتم تعقلون

Translation :—Marvellous things have been expressed : if you only think them wisely.
(Al Quran.)

Persian Sufi thought :—

سرا پردهٔ چرخ گردنده بین
درر شمعهای فروزنده بین

Translation :—Below, the curtain of the cycle of the world, look at the lights that shine.
(Sadi.)

(7) *Original Text of Dabisthan :—*

صوت نرم و لین قول و طیب کلام باهر فردی

Translation :—Soft voice, gentle words and pleasing speeches for everybody.

Arabic parallel passage :—

قولوا لهم قولاً معروفاً

Translation :—Speak with gentle and pleasing words.
(Al Quran.)

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Persian Sufi thought :—

ای برادر گر خرد داری تمام
نرم و شرین گوی با مردم کلام

Translation :—Oh brother, if you have wisdem speak gentle and sweet words.

(Fariduddin Attar.)

(8) *Original Text of Dabisthan* :—

حسن معاشرت با خوان با آنکه اختیار ایشان بر اختیار خویش مقدم دارد ـ

Translation :—Good treatment to the brothers so that their will may have precedence to our own.

Arabic parallel passage :—

فاصلحوا بین اخویکم

Translation :—Treat your brothers best. (Al Quran.)

Persian Sufi thought :—

عبادت بجز خدمت خلق نیست
تسبیح و سجادہ و دلق نیست

Counting of beads, spreading of napkins (before *Namaj*) and hermit's gown (are no worship) but the service of brethren (is the only worship). (Sadi.)

(9) *Original Text of Dabisthan* :—

اعراض از خلق کلی و توجه بالکلیه بحق

Translation :— A perfect alienation from creatures and a perfect attachment to Supreme Being.

Arabic parallel passage :—

فضر وا الی الله انی لکم منه نذیر مبین

Translation :—Fly to Allah, surely I am a plain warner from him. (Al Quran.)

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Persian Sufi thought :—

ز دنیا ترک گیر از بهر دین تو
توکل بر خدا کن بالیقین تو

Translation :—For thy salvation, give up the world. Attach thyself to God with faith.
(Samsuddin Tabriji.)

(10) *Original Text of Dabisthan* :—

بذل روح از شوق بحق و وصول بحضرت کریم

Translation :—Dedication of soul in the love of God, union in the God, the preserver of all.

Arabic parallel passage :—

قل ان صلواتی و نسکی و محیای و مماتی لله رب العالمین

Translation :—Tell, O, Prophet. All my good actions all my sacrifices, all my life and death are for Allah who is the preserver of all. (Al Quran.)

Persian Sufi thought :—

گر وصال دوست می داری هوس
نفس را با روح گردان هم نفس

Translation :—If you desire to meet with your friend (God) dedicate your life to the soul (God).
(Fariduddin Attar.)

So far as the last commandment is concerned it has a Vedantic touch. The eternal craving of the human soul for a union with the Lord and the ultimate sublimation with Him has no direct and strict Islamic background though many Sufis have stretched Quranic verse 163, Chapter VI, Part III, as quoted above to mean something like that, and accepted it as a creed in their life and philosophy. As a Sufi, Akbar cried with brother Sufis like Sadi, Rumi, Jami,

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Hafiz, Fariduddin, Shamsuddin, Tabreji, for union with Him and the Happy Sayings, as quoted by Abul Fazl, clearly illustrated the viewpoint of that great questor. Regarding the practice of his own life we find a profound influence of his Hindu, Zoroastrian, Jain and Buddhist associates. As an inquistive inquirer, infused with the spirit of reason, he learnt the Hindu alchemy and medicine, and cultivated their Yoga system ; like his Central Asian ancestors he believed in astronomy and astrology and after his association with the Zoroastrian Mobed, he believed that life might be lengthened by lighting fire or by the repetition of a thousand names of the Sun. Following Buddhist manners, he used to shave the crown of his head thinking that the soul passed through the brain. He turned into a vegetarian later in life; took one meal a day, slept for 3 hours daily; all these were actuated with a desire to lengthen his life and there was no question of apostacy if a man attempted a process to lengthen his life. The reader must make a distinction between what Akbar himself followed and what an Ilahian was expected to follow. Much misconception has crept about the *Din-i-Ilahi* owing to misunderstanding of Akbar's personal practices and follower's practices and for that Badauni is responsible.

The practices which he asked an Ilahian to follow were mostly Islamic in origin or had precedents in the actions of one or more renowned Islamic monarchs or Saints. No doubt there is a Sufi touch throughout his life and actions; but this would have been no ground for branding Akbar as an apostate, had he not touched the Mulla interest in the distribution of religious endowments and turned them out of their privileged position.

Regarding Court customs and cremonials, they were mainly in a Persian setting on Indian stage acted by a Turko-Mughul of Indian birth. Akbar had spent his early life amongst the Persians, who were in that age the Frenchmen of

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the East and were famous for their culture and refinement. From them he imbibed a love for refinement and finish. Thus many Persian festivals, manners and customs were introduced. There is no reason to suppose that those Persian customs were introduced out of spite against Arabian Islam. His Persian mother, Persian association, Persian teacher, Persian kinsmen, Persian courtiers had cast a spell on that mystic Central Asian boy born in that Age of Transition. He had a genius for selection of man and appreciation of talents and if he found that a Persian deserved to be appreciated, he gave him what he deserved. Indeed, not out of religious spite but out of love for Persia "the meet nurse" for that mystic child of the desert, that he introduced Persian customs and manners and it had no connection with his apostacy. This may be said of many Khalifas of Arabia who, when they conquered Persia, adopted and introduced many Persian customs and manners.

In the 16th century-India, the religious and intellectual upheavals were extremely favourable towards the development of Sufi orders. Already there were 72 sects and the Mehedi movement had created a stir in the minds of men. The wide scope of the commandments, freedom of worship, eclecticism in practices of daily life have given the fraternity a distinct Sufi touch peculiar to the age. Like an orthodox Islamic Sufi, he believed in the unity of God; like a Hindu he felt the universal presence of the Deity. To him the symbol of fire and sun "represented the Supreme Being in the letter of creation in the vast expanse of the nature," as if he was a Mobed, and the Jain principles of harmlessness and sanctity of animal life had almost made him a royal Bhikshu. The Persian etiquette and manners formed the formulas of the daily life of an Ilahian generally.

He was even more eclectic in manners. Toleration was the basis of the whole system. The Quranic verses are famous for spirit of toleration and the Quran was the background

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of his beliefs. Sufi thought gave him his inspiration for tolerance and not the Mulla interpretation of the Sacred Verses. Now the question is, whether the adoption of the manners and customs of the contemporary world and their inclusion into the list of the court formalities signified his lapse from Islam,[33] or whether toleration granted to non-Muslims is enough to brand him as an apostate.

First the *Din-i-Ilahi* or *Din-i-Islam* was not a new religion; it was a Sufi order with its own formula of which all the principles enunciated are to be found in the Sacred Book and the practices in the contemporary Sufi orders. Akbar did not demand, nor did he like, that his own practices of daily life were to be followed by all Ilahians. Many of his regulations and practices had no connection with the *Din*. Some came much earlier and some were later than the *Din-i-Ilahi*. The dice of the coin was cut 8 years prior to the *Din*, the *Taslim* of *Allah Hu Akbar* was formulated four years after. The gradual changes and adoption showed that the *Din* was not a clear-cut system of religion and had no distinct ethical code beyond that formulated by the Ten Commandments. Those changes in the social, economic and political life of the State would have come even if the *Din* were not there. The participation of the Jains, Sikhs and Christians were between 1582-92; the *Din* was evolved early in 1582 before they had come to the court. So the *Din* had but little or no connection with those faiths. The *Din* was no religion outside Islam, nor cut out of it. An Ilahian never regarded

[33] Ref. *Riasal-i-Sibli.*

(*a*) The Prophet himself adopted the firing machine during his life-time. Chapter on *Tarajin*, p. 4.

(*b*) Shahabis adopted many foreign social manners and spoke foreign languages—Persian, Hebrew and Syriac. Ref. *Fatuhal Baldan*, p. 474.

Khalifa Mamun introduced many laws of Ardeseir of Persia. Ref. Masudi's *Zkr-I-Khilafat Kahirulla.* His ministers were more Zoroastrians than Mussulmans. Many Hindu customs were introduced in royal paraphernalia—such as Royal Umbrella, Weighing with Gold—by orthodox Muslim kings long before Akbar in India.

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it as a separate religion; an Ilahian was often as orthodox as a *Mulla*. When toleration was granted to the Christians, permission was given to them for making conversion. Azam Khan, an Ilahian, grew furious and vehemently protested against it. Faizi, the *Mujtahid* of the *Din-i-Ilahi*, made conversions of the Hindus into Islam, even after the *Din* was promulgated and regarded it as an act of merit to copy the Quran.

Some suggest that the death of Abul Fazl was procured by Salim as a protest against his father's religion for which Abul Fazl was supposed to have been responsible. But this is not warranted by the way which Jahangir spoke of his father in the *Tuzuk-i-Jehangir*, "my father never for a movement forgot God." There were personal motives with Salim; a feeling of jealousy, a sense of insecurity and complex of inferiority to Abul Fazl served as prime motives of the murder. Bir Sing Bundela, a Hindu, did the murder and not a Muslim. Had it been purely a religious protest why was not a Muslim hired for it. Smith wants to say that Akbar ceased to be a Muslim and quoted Akbar's own speech to support his view. This misconception of Smith was due to his misreading of the Text of the *Ain-i-Akbari*. The India Office copy as quoted by Yusuf Ali, gives a true version of the Text. In an open meeting of the East India Association in London, in which both Dr. Smith and Mr. Yusuf Ali were present, Smith was shown his mistake.

The formula of the *Din* "there is no God but one God, and Akbar is his representative"—as Badauni says, "was not a general creed of the Ilahians, but only for the harem." Even if it were meant for all Ilahians, there would be no necessary opposition to Muslim *Kalma* (Ref. Hadis), as has been suggested by Yusuf Ali in his famous article in the E. I. Asson. Journal as referred to above. It does certainly imply a gloss which indicates Akbar's attitude[34] towards the millennial

[34] E. I. Association Journal, London, 1915.

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ideas of the time in which he was confirmed by the warring dissensions on open problems of religion in the *Ibadat Khana*.[35] May be that he was to some extent attracted by a motive similar to that of Erasmus. The Ilahians are as much non-Muslims as the Covenanters of Scotland were non-Christians. The inscription, composed by Abul Fazl under instruction from his great master on a temple in Kashmir, illustrates beautifully the soul and craving of that master-mind :

"O, God, in every temple I see people that worship Thee, and in every language I hear spoken, people praise Thee. Polytheism and Islam feel after Thee.

"Each religion says, 'Thou art one, without equal.' If it be a Mosque, people murmur Thy Holy prayer and if it be a Christian Church people ring Thy bell from love of Thee.

"Sometimes I frequent the Christian cloister, and sometime the Mosque, but it is Thou whom I search from temple to temple. Thy elect have no dealings with either heresy or orthodoxy; for neither of them stands behind the screen of Thy truth. Heresy to the heretic, and religion to the orthodox. But the dust of the petal belongs to the heart of the perfume-seller."

Can there be anything more eclectic than this?

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[35] Bad., II, p. 162.

Even during his own time the practices of Akbar were misinterpreted by the orthodox class. Abdullah Khan Uzbeg wrote to Akbar charging him with apostacy to which Akbar replied refuting those charges which have been preserved in the letters of Abul Fazl called *Daftar-i-Abul Fazl* compiled by his son-in-law.

10

SWARGADEO RUDRA SINGHA, KING OF ASSAM

(1696-1714 A.D.)

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(Abstract)

The paper on the Assamese hero Lachit Barphukan, read at the First Session of the Indian History Congress held at Poona in 1935, had evoked great interest amongst scholars, specially amongst my Maharastri friends, as Lachit Barphukan, like his great contemporary Sivaji Maharaja, successfully counteracted the aggressive imperialism of the Mughuls by frustrating their repeated attempts to obtain a footing in Assam. The history of Swargadeo Rudra Singha, King of Assam from 1696 to 1714, illustrates another phase of Assam's relations with the Mughuls, and as such the subject is of importance not only to students of Assam history but also to those who are interested in the history of the Timurid Emperors of Delhi.

The Hindu rulers of Hindustan whose religion and prestige were supposed to have received an affront at the hands of the Mughuls, specially during the reign of Aurangzeb, enthusiastically supported the Hindu confederacy organised at the instance of King Rudra Singha with the object of removing the Mughuls from their power and of re-establishing a Hindu regime in India with himself at its head. King Rudra Singha's secret correspondence in furtherance of the objects of this confederacy has now been discovered,

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and it reveals his far-sighted policy, patriotism and leadership. Rudra Singha accordingly made extensive arrangements to invade the territories of the Mughuls but he died in the midst of his preparations for this enterprise; and his immediate successor King Siva Singha was too imbecile to continue the great scheme which had animated his illustrious father.

King Rudra Singha was the son of Swargadeo Gadadhar Singha, who ruled Assam for fifteen years, 1681 to 1696. With an iron hand Gadadhar Singha put an end to the intrigues and machinations of the preceding period. Western Assam was wrested back from the Mughuls in July, 1682, and the boundaries of Assam were restored to their original limit. The river Manaha became as of old the western limit of Assam. Peace and order were established and the people began to live with confidence and security. Gadadhar Singha was a man of extraordinarily vigorous constitution and his dietetic vagaries have become traditional in the land. Gadadhar Singha viewed with disfavour the growing influence of the Vaiṣnava monks; he confiscated their property and put several of them to torture and death.

King Gadadhar Singha was succeeded by his son Rudra Singha. The son was more statesmanlike than his father. He formulated a definite policy of his administration and exerted his utmost power to carry it out as far as time and circumstances would permit. He aimed at elevating his kingdom to the rank of a first-rate power in India. He began by reforming the internal administration of the land with a view to secure the highest degree of efficiency. With the resources of a fully developed state at his command he proposed to unfurl the flag of victory in the neighbouring Mughul territories and if possible to seize the throne of Delhi. He restored the Vaiṣnava abbots to their original homes, encouraged arts, literature and music, and remodelled the state army on the most up-to-date lines. The neighbouring

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territories of Jayantia and Cachar were subdued and their chiefs made promises to help the Ahom King with men and provision when such aid would be solicited. The vassal chieftains on the Assam frontier were bound by treaty terms to render timely assistance to their liege-lord. Rudra Singha deputed agents in the garb of itinerant hermits to different places of India to study the customs of these places and collect informations regarding their resources and strength. When the preparations were completed the King left the capital and marched to Gauhati where his army was joined by those of his allies and the vassal chieftains. The King deputed messengers to the Rajas of different parts of India asking them not to offer him resistance in his expedition. The messengers came back with a reply from the Rajas that they would render all possible co-operation to the powerful Swarga-maharaja of Assam if he attempted to occupy the throne of Delhi as the indignities hurled at them by the Mughul Badshahs were becoming more and more intolerable. Rudra Singha mobilised at Gauhati an army of 4,00,000 and he planned to enter into Mughul territories in November, 1714, at the end of the autumn harvest. When preparations were on foot for the march of the expedition Rudra Singha suddenly died at Gauhati in September, 1714.

It will be easy to imagine the impression that would have been made by the dash and gallantry of the primitive mountaineers, who constituted the backbone of Rudra Singha's legions, upon the ease-loving and discontented hosts of the Timurid generals. Emperor Aurangzeb had died seven years before; and Delhi, now reduced to a theatre of contest between rival powers, excited the cupidity of trans-border invaders. If the greatness of a man is to be judged by the greatness of his designs and his conscious and rigorous efforts to uplift his country, apart from any success which finally meets his endeavours, Rudra Singha can be called Rudra Singha the Great.

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11

THE SIEGE OF ASIR—A NEW STUDY

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The capture of Asir was the crowning victory of the Mughul Emperor Akbar and it marked the final consummation of the Emperor's imperialism and his territorial expansion. Asir, which is generally called Asirgarh or Asirgad was the citadel of the state of Khandesh that lay on the lower course of the Tapti having Burhanpur as its capital and was situated at a distance of twenty-five miles from the seat of government as the crow flies to the north. Situated as it was on the road leading from the Mughul capital to the South, Khandesh commanded a position of unique strategic importance and thus held out an allurement to the Mughuls.

Ordinarily, there are two sources of information relating to the conquest of Asir by the Mughuls. Of the two, one is an official account written mainly by the Mughul court-historians, *viz.*, Abul Fazl and Faizi Sirhindi and referred to in official despatches. The other is the exposition of the Jesuit Jerome Xavier, who accompanied Emperor Akbar in his campaigns against Asir, and which was put to press by Du Jarric.

The official reports make out that the fall of Asir was brought about by the outbreak of pestilence in the garrison. According to the version of the Jesuit missionary it was by means of pre-emption that the Emperor had the ball at his feet. The sequel of events leading to the conquest of Asir which find attestation in the Jesuit's report may be read as

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follows: The fall of Ahmadnagar to the Mughuls on August 16, 1600, gave a sound of alarm to the ruler of Khandesh and brought him to terms. Akbar, on his part, was ill at ease on account of Prince Selim having lifted his hands against him and was eager to accommodate matters with the chief of Khandesh. Thus, at the request of the Mughul Emperor, the Khandesh ruler paid his visit to Akbar's court but was unfortunately run in. At this breach of faith, the Abyssinian commandant of Asir sent his son Mukarrab Khan to the court of Akbar to protest against his conduct. The agent was stabbed to death for his spirited behaviour and audacious replies. To the last the garrison maintained their ground. But the Mughuls were at the end of their resources as a result of insufficient supply of siege engines and the refractory conduct of Prince Selim. Akbar was thus forced to take recourse to bribery and the fort gate of Asir was opened by means of "golden keys" in January, 1601.

The account relating to the siege and fall of Asir has also been set forth by Fuzuni Astarabady, the Bijapuri historian in his Futuhāt-i-Ādil-Shāhi. Though composed more than forty years after the conquest of Asir, his statement throws a new light on the subject and ascribes the outbreak of the pestilence among the defenders to the inglorious perfidy committed by the Mughul Emperor. The present paper touches upon the narrative of Fuzuni regarding the capitulation and fall of Asir.

Fuzuni's Account

In 994 H. (1586) Akbar, the Great Mughul, pitched upon the Deccan for purposes of territorial expansion. The conquest of Asir being not effected till then, the Emperor sent a *farman* to Prince Daniyal and Sipah-Salar Khan Khanan stating that Khizr Khan, the son of Raja 'Ali Khan, having turned rebellious had taken shelter in the fort of Asir; under

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the circumstances, the Prince and the Mughul General should proceed against the recalcitrant chief and exterminate his family that was both old and honourable.

It next occurred to the mind of Emperor Akbar that the siege of Asir and Ahmadnagar could not be successfully carried out but with the alliance and material assistance of the Bijapur ruler, who in point of dignity, strength of army and well-filled treasury, was a potent and powerful factor in the politics of the South. The Emperor, therefore, rightly turned to forming a matrimonial alliance with Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur. Akbar, next, ordered a notable and experienced scribe of his court to compose a letter that was to be sent to the southern potentate. The epistle read as follows :—

"To the King (of Bijapur) who resembles Alexander in eminence and whose court is high and exalted like the heavens

"The needfulness of co-ordination among the external senses and the call for fraternisation among the ruling houses speak of themselves. The excellent virtues and the stately deportment of your noble self and the intermittent report that is being brought to me about your admirable demeanour and incomparable bearing have contributed towards leaving a deep impression on my mind and increasing my attachment for you. There is hardly any moment when Your Majesty is not glorified or praised in my blooming court. You resemble the Sun in magnificance and splendour and your success is unprecedented : you are always present in my inmost thoughts.

"The congealing breath of air that emanates from your imperial court every morning and evening carrying tales of your achievements that shed lustre to the crown, *viz.*, your excellent organisation, your sense of justice and equity, maintenance of internal security and order, has caused my entire satisfaction. May the garden of your sovereignty,

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grandeur and good fortune and the orchard of Khelafat remain evergreen by the divine humidity.

" In view of the fact that there is a mutual understanding and agreement between the Mughuls and the Adil Shahis from time immemorial, it behoves that a matrimonial relation should now be established between us for strengthening our old relations, so that, our enemies may thereby be put to fright and the sapling of their dynastic prosperity may be blown down by the tempestous tropical blast !

" It cannot be questioned that the countries in the Deccan have secured blushing honours under your auspices, and that the Almighty has consigned Peninsular India to your care. Our mutual relation now demands that you should establish an invariable relationship with Prince Daniyal, the spoilt child of fortune, and thereby bring to bear a life-long amity and peace and not distrust and misunderstanding. Let there be no dearth of mutual union and concord in furtherance of our own interest and profit.

" Lastly, I have an eye to delegating the affairs of the conquered territories in the South to Prince Daniyal and getting back to my capital Agra. I feel assured that by carrying into execution my behest Your Majesty will catch on and find the course running smooth. May the blessing of Hazrat Muhammad and his glorious successors be on you ! I pray for your success."

On receipt of the above communication, Ibrahim Adil Shah II ordered his Secretary to set down in writing a proper and suitable reply, and in the sequel, he caused an ambassador to be sent to the Mughul court with the royal missive.

The letter from the Bijapur ruler ran thus :—

" ' Oh Emperor, may the expanse of heaven remain as thy polo-field,
And may the universe serve as thy polo-ground ;

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May victory ever remain with thy banner,
And may unending conquest remain in thy circuit!'

"Praise be to God! Your marvellous and phenomenal note hung out a light of prudence and judgment. It acted like a delectable aroma that emerges from the tufts of the musk-deer and the sweet fragrance that issues out of the locks of a beautiful maid. It addled the wit of the solitary soul: it lightened the vision of the lonely wayfarer on the desolate meadow.

"Like Jacob, who derived pleasure from the interview which he had with Joseph, I experienced unique felicity when I read between the lines of your note, every wording of which was high-wrought and inimitable and conveyed a fresh and happy idea and every wording of sympathy and fellow-feeling was wonderfully couched in super-excellent vocabularies. In fine, the pages of my heart have been imprinted with the felicitous and exquisite turn of expressions contained in your letter. Further, the compliments that you have been kind enough to send me were as exhilarating as the aromatic Zephyr and they came like the autumnal breeze carrying a luminous and radiant jewelled necklace made of friendly mannerisms and ceremonious set phrases, and strengthened and reinforced our bond of union. In fact, the whiffing of the royal compassion has caused the blossoming of the bud of desire in the nursery of yearning and the garden of ambition became fresh and green by the watering of imperial favour.

Verse

'The tree of ambition became evergreen by the shadow of royal sympathy,
The garden that contained the saplings of longing looked fresh as a daisy!'

"Your well-wishers deem it a grace of God and they thank him for it when you set out to Burhanpur and applied

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yourself to the siege of Asir and effected the conquest of Ahamadnagar. Thus the age sings in your praise.

Verse

'Lo! the shadow of prosperity hangs over the world
And (thy) word of command has reached the skies,
Indeed, the banner of (thy) sovereignty has been taken round
The countries and the age!'

"By the grace of God, the harbinger of happy tidings will, sooner or later, carry over the news of your having conquered the empyrean, and the royal agents, like the Hudhud, which fetched the happy tidings (of Bilanis) from Sabah (and took them to Solomon), will convey the news of your lucky hit to your sympathisers and admirers.

Verse

'Whatever thoughts dost thou entertain for obtaining ascendancy
Is sure to be crowned with success.'

"It is contrary to all reasonable expectation that the unfortunate evil-doer (the son of Raja Ali Khan), who has been misled by his evil thoughts and made to waver from the proper path of obedience and submission will, in spite of his military strength and material possessions, ever bring forth a change in the course of events that has been worked out with the help of your retinue and army. The mischief-maker dares not secure an access into the lair of the tiger or the den of the dragon or the haunt of the crocodile! With his army, the malefactor bore down upon some of my possessions, *viz.*, Kulhar and Mān which were at the time bereft of proper protection.

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Verse

'When the game approaches its death, its gets near the hunter,
Careless of consequences, the son of Belial came forth this side;
It is the lust of war that has made him expose himself to dangers,
He is insensible to perils when he peeps out before the tiger;
Hardly can he score a success in this forest,
For, it is here that haunt fearful tigers!
It is an uphill work to get flower from the garden
Which is always protected by keepers on all its sides:
When the insect hangs about the candle,
It puts itself in danger and does not compromise the flame,
Alas, the Jazebel has run the course of its life,
Death has cast forth grains for it near the net;
Ah me, the greed for countries makes him forget
That he invites risks from the dragon!'

"At length, when the flame of disorder could not be blown out by the splashy words of advice, Jamshed Khan Habshi, a high noble of my court, was sent out against the hell-cat; like a veritable death he proceeded with an invincible army.....and inflicted a defeat on the reprobate.... A complete victory was thus secured and a heavy spoil of war collected.

"In conclusion, it need be admitted that the advantage that I have been able to gain hinges upon the sympathy and fellow-feeling that you entertain for me, and hence, I deem it needful to communicate the incident to you. I yield my assent to the proposal of establishing a matrimonial alliance betwixt us, which, to my mind, is essential for the maintenance of amity and concord. May the Almighty

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confer His blessings on it, and may He bring it to pass....It is hoped that, by divine assistance the garden of sovereignty and the spring-time of Khelafat will ever remain flourishing and continuous, and that the Omnipotent will carry into execution our heart's desire."

The Preliminaries relating to the Siege of Asir

With a view to conquest, Emperor Akbar marched out against Khandesh and Asir. Having placed Agra under the care of Qulij Mahammad Khan, he moved off with quick marches towards the south, crossed the Nerbadda and pitched his tents near Asir. The son of Raja Ali Khan, the ruler of Khandesh, took refuge inside the impregnable fort of Asir with a huge army. The Emperor now placed the trenches in charge of the *amirs* and started off to Burhanpur (the capital of Khandesh). [1]

The Mughul artillery was put into action and the heavy firing blew out the water reservoirs that were inside the fortress. [2] The garrison took alarm at the gushing out of water from the blown-up water tanks and made preparations for settling the differences with the besiegers. The ruler of Khandesh [3] came out of his retreat and surrendered the fort to the besiegers.

The vast treasure that had accumulated in the fort from a long time past was given up to the conquerors without much opposition. It is related that, such a huge quantity of grain was stored up in the granaries inside the fort that the prodigious Mughul army which consisted of 40,000 elephants and the same number of horse could not, in the course of a year, consume even a portion of the corn.

1 Burhanpur was occupied in March 31, 1600.

2 The operations were begun in the early part of April, 1600, under the directions of Sheikh Farid of Bokhara (Murtaza Khan) and Abul Fazl.

3 Fuzuni calls him Khizr Khan.

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The Second Stage of the Siege of Asir

Having pulled himself up on the banks of the Nerbadda, Akbar sent a *farman* to the chief of Khandesh threatening him with disfavour and hostility if he did not come to terms. At the receipt of the imperial order, the ruler of the south lost his courage and decided to pay a visit to the Mughul court, but his foolish courtiers stood in the way. When it appeared that the Khandesh ruler was unwilling to submit, the Emperor became exasperated. "What a foolery!" Akbar held forth, "had the chief appeared, I would have, in consideration of the services of his late father, conferred honour on him."

Subsequently, it appeared that, on account of the invulnerability of the fort, no amount of physical exertion and activity on the part of the besiegers could bring the garrison to obedience. The Emperor, therefore, took recourse to strategem and diplomacy. He despatched a Burhanpuri grocer, who was in Mughul pay, with poisonous drugs to the inmates of Asir. The said grocer conveniently met the garrison and represented to them that he was one of their party and that he wanted to bring inside all his merchandise and gold that were lying outside the fortifications. At first, the warders refused him admittance, but subsequently, through imprudence and appetite for the gold and other possessions that the grocer owned, they gave him an access to the fort. In a moment of inadvertance on the part of the pickets, the poison was thrown into the reservoir tanks. In the sequel, those who took the poisonous water met with their death, and thus, in course of time there was a pestilential outbreak of blood-dysentry which caused a heavy mortality among the garrison. Except the Emperor and the grocer no other living soul was cognizant of the secret. At last matters came to such a pass that the defenders of Asir acknowledged their defeat and the ruler of Khandesh paid his homage to the Mughul Emperor and received, in return, awards and favours from him.

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When the affair was given the finishing touch the Mughul Emperor paid his visit to the fort. In commemoration of the event, the chief of the fortress made a parade of his elephants dressed in costly trappings and rich draperies. The Emperor set his eyes on the demonstration of prodigious wealth and took the ruler of Asir to task. "How ill advised!" Akbar addressed him in rebuff, "if only you had given this wealth to your soldiery, they would have buttoned me up by this time!" The chief hid his diminished head and made no reply.

After the conquest of Asir, the whole of Khandesh passed to the Mughul officers. Meantime, it transpired that Prince Selim who had been deputed against the Rana of Udaipur, having given up the offensive, had made his return to Agra with the intention of seizing the imperial crown. Upon this, the Emperor changed his mind and instead of conquering the whole of the South, he set on his return march to the capital. But before he had set out, Akbar entrusted the South to Khan-i-Khanan and read him a sermon. "Your father," the Emperor held forth, "was my well-wisher and bosom friend and he always held out his helping hand to me. It is in return of his services that I have exalted you to the skies, conferred on you glory and distinction and raised you to the proud and dignified position once enjoyed by your late father. I have placed Prince Daniyal under your care and married him to your daughter, so that, he can claim fraternal relation with you. It is now your bounden duty that you should conquer the South and confer it on the Prince. If any assistance is required on that score, I shall readily lend my forces to your help."

The Emperor next sent for Prince Daniyal and when the latter reached the court Akbar gave him a lesson. The Prince was told that the South had been conquered in his interest and that, on account of his marriage with the daughter of Khan-i-Khanan, he should honour and respect his father-in-law, who would, in return prove serviceable to him.

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12

AURANGZEB'S SHARE IN THE ADMINISTRATIVE WORK OF THE EMPIRE

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(*Abstract*)

The part that the Mughul Emperors played in the administration of the country has attracted the attention of all students of Indian History. We have no detailed knowledge about the way in which Akbar discharged his administrative functions. General statements by European travellers and by Abdul Latif in his *Safar Nama* shed some light on Jahangir's methods of work. Several European travellers describe for us the way in which Shah Jahan dealt with the business of the government in the open court. For the reign of Aurangzeb we have the *Akhbarat* to depend upon from which it is possible to draw a vivid picture of the way in which Aurangzeb controlled the business of the government. The present paper makes an attempt at describing the various ways in which Aurangzeb discharged his administrative functions. The working of Diwan-i-Am-o-Khas is studied in detail, the administration of justice by the Emperor in the Diwan-i-Adalat is described and the work done in the Ghusl Khana and the Khilwat Khana discussed mostly on the basis of information contained in the *Akhbarat*. The result, if it confirms certain general statements usually made about Aurangzeb's part in business, also tries to correct several wrong notions hitherto held.

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13

MAHARAJA ABHEY SINGH OF JODHPUR AND THE TACTICS OF THE NIZAM

PANDIT BISHESHWAR NATH REU, SAHITYACHARYA

Jodhpur

When Maharaja Abhey Singh, the newly appointed Governor, took charge of Gujrat in 1730 A.D., the condition of the province was deteriorating. The Maratha officers were ravaging the country without any opposition and the Imperial revenue also was left to the mercy of these marauders. Consequently the whole province was threatened with severe famine.

Under these circumstances, when Peshwa Baji Rao I arrived at Ahmedabad to plunder the province, the Maharaja persuaded him to side with the Emperor and sent him against Trimbak Rao Dabhade—the commander of the Raja of Satara. But the Nizam, who had joined Trimbak Rao on account of his jealousy with the Peshwa, tried his level best to misrepresent the whole affair at the Mughul court and create a division between the Peshwa and the Emperor.

This second[1] letter of Maharaja Abhey Singh, reproduced here, will show the real condition of the province at that time and the underhand tactics as adopted by the Nizam.

(*Top and marginal lines in Maharaja's own handwriting.*)

We did all this to protect the Imperial province, but the Nawab and the Emperor did not pay any heed to it. Now

[1] This is the second letter which was written by the Maharaja, in this connection, on the same day.

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they will see the consequences, but they cannot blame us for the result. Communicate all this to the Nawab and arrange for early remittance of money. Here is a great scarcity of grain. Whatever was available has already been consumed, hence we cannot pull on any longer without money. Inform the Nawab of every thing clearly, and if he is not prepared to do any thing, get his permission and come back. It is our command.

(*Contents of the Royal Seal.*)

By the grace of Almighty Goddess Hingulaj, glory be to sovereign ruler, king of kings, supreme prince, Maharaja Shri Abhaisingh Deva, who shines like the sun on the earth.

Hari, Amba, Shiva, Sun, and Vinayak—may these five deities always bestow favours.

(*Approval of the letter in Maharaja's own calligraphy.*)

It is our command.

(*Letter*)

By command of the illustrious, sovereign ruler, king of kings, supreme prince, Maharaja Shri Abhaisinghji[2] and his heir-apparent Shri Ramsinghji, Bhandari Amarsingh and Purohit Vardhaman should note their favours.

Some time back we had sent you a letter and, therefore, you should discuss the points mentioned therein with the Nawab[3] and settle everything accordingly.

Recently we have received a letter from Baji Rao[4] in which he has stated that relying on the words and commands of the Maharaja (us) he has served the Emperor[5]

[2] Maharaja Abhaisingh was the ruler of Marwar and the new Governor of Gujrat.

[3] The Nawab or Khan Dauran was the minister of Muhammad Shah at that time.

[4] Baji Rao I became Peshwa in 1720 A.D. and died in 1740 A.D

[5] Emperor Muhammad Shah ruled from 1719 to 1748 A.D.

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whole-heartedly, in the battle against Trimbak Rao[6] and others. He made no difference in the commands of Maharaj (us) and the Emperor, and has rendered good services. But the Nizam-ul-Mulk[7] has recently sent him the original orders of the Emperor communicated to him (Nizam), to Bangash,[8] and to us, and informed him that while such are the orders of the Emperor he is weakening the side of the invaders by fighting against his own men. On whose assurance is he doing all this ? The Emperor has already ordered for his capture and punishment. This information has disheartened him (Baji Rao). Though he was already getting such news from different sources, yet we retained him by giving assurances. At present, after reading the original letters, he being perplexed has lost his wits, relies more on this news and intends to leave us. We had already written to the Nawab to send a *Firman* (a letter communicating Emperor's favours) in his name, but the same has not yet been received. Therefore arrange immediately to dispatch the *Firman*, etc., as was stated in our previous letter.

We are yet keeping him here by giving assurances. Though the Nizam is gaining confidence yet he (Nizam) would suffer. Though the Nawab relies on the Nizam to such an extent, yet he (Nizam) behaves like this. At present Kantha[9] has gone there (to the Nizam), but if he intends to come this side, he will be killed. You should explain every thing to the Nawab, so that afterwards he and the Emperor may not blame us. To avoid all this, bring every thing to the notice

[6] Trimbak Rao Dabhade was the commander-in-chief of Shahuji's army and had joined the Nizam to reduce the power of Peshwa Baji Rao I.

[7] Nizam-ul-Mulk (Asaf Jah) Chinkulich Khan conquered the Deccan by intrigues and money and in time became a virtually independent ruler of it.

[8] Muhammad Khan Bangash, the Afghan soldier of fortune, founded Farrukhabad as his capital and gradually acquired the territory from the modern Aligarh to the south-eastern boundary of the present Cawnpore district. He died in 1743 A.D.

[9] Kanthaji Kadam Bande was one of the two most prominent Maratha officers in Gujrat

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of the Nawab. By disclosing the imperial secrets to Baji Rao the Nizam has done a great harm to the Emperor, yet the present Imperial Court keeps such sort of information about the services of its officers. Tell every thing plainly. This is our command.

Dated the 14th day of the bright half of Chaitra (Vikram) Samvat 1787 (Shravanadi), (10th April, 1731 A.D.), camp Ahmadabad.

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14

THE TURKISH DUODENAL CYCLE AND MUGHUL *FARMANS*

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Since the establishment of the Muhammadan religion in South Western Asia many of the Muhammadan ruling dynasties, out of zeal for the religion, introduced Hijra year (lunar year of about 354 days) as the official era in their administrative dealings. But owing to the irregularity and other defects of the era, they found it very unsuitable for administrative purposes, especially for collecting land revenue which mainly depended on harvests which in their turn depend on the solar year. So almost all these very dynasties appear to have given up the use of that religious era in administration and adopted some type of solar year to avoid inconvenience.

The same thing happened in India also. For in the Deccan the Shuhūr sana (a type of solar year which begins with the entrance of the Sun into the Mṛga constellation) came into vogue soon after the beginning of the Bahmanī kingdom. I have not as yet seen how the Delhi Sultans managed to overcome the inconveniences of the Hijra era when used in administration; but Akbar introduced his Ilāhī era and the inconveniences of the Hijra era were not experienced. Jahāngīr continued the use of the Ilāhī era and reaped the same benefit as Akbar. In Shāhjahān's time the Faṣlī era (also a solar year) was introduced both in North and South India;

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but as far as I know it was never mentioned in royal *farmans* until at least the regime of Shāh 'Ālam I.

During the whole of the Mughul period the Turkish duodenal cycle seems to have been very freely referred to in imperial *farmans*; but unfortunately only a few know what it is. Even works such as Encyclopedia Britannica, Encyclopedia of Islam and *'Āīn-i-Akbarī* give us no information beyond occasional mention.[1]

This cycle is termed variously as Sanawāt-i-Turky, Muchal and Duwāzda sāl-i-Turky[2] and consists of twelve solar years. Every new year seems to begin when the Sun enters Aries and consequently every new year's day falls on the 21st of March (new style) generally. Each year is given a separate name of some animal and wherever may be the mention of this year, the animal name is always followed by the Turkish word ئیل meaning a year. Following are the twelve Turkish animal names with their English versions.[3]

(1) سچقان ئیل / سیچقان ئیل	The mouse year
(2) اود ئیل	The cow year
(3) بارس ئیل	The leopard year
(4) توشقان ئیل	The hare year
(5) لوک ئیل	The crocodile year
(6) ایلان ئیل	The snake year
(7) یونت ئیل	The horse year
(8) قوی ئیل	The sheep year
(9) بیچی ئیل	The monkey year

[1] See for instance the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, Vol. IX, Part 4 and Vol. X, Part I. An article has appeared there under the caption 'Various eras and calendars used in the countries of Islam,' but nothing has been said of this cycle excepting its mention in one or two places.

[2] Phillott: Higher Persian Grammar, published by the Calcutta University, p. 203.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 204.

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(10) تخاری ئیل The fowl year
(11) ایت ئیل The dog year
(12) تنگوز ئیل The hog year

As the people of Tibet, Siam or Thaistan, Annam, Cambodia, French Indo-China, China, Japan, Egypt, Persia and other countries either used or even now use this cycle in some form or other, some insignificant variations have been detected in these animal names. Thus cow, leopard, crocodile, fowl are substituted by bull, tiger, dragon, bird, respectively.

Scholars owing to their ignorance of this cycle have committed very interesting mistakes. Thus Phillott in his Higher Persian Grammar spelt the word ئیل incorrectly as ایل.[4] In the Imperial *Farmans*[5] (IF) by Diwan Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri and in the Loan Exhibition of Indian Antiquities (LEIA) this very word has been spelt as nil and نیل respectively.[6] Again in IF تخاقوی and توشقان have been mis-spelt as Bakha Kui and Yuskan. In LEIA سیچقان and تنگوز have been mis-spelt as سحقان and تیکور.[7] In *Faramin-us-Salatin* (FS) by Bashīr-ud-dīn Aḥmad, سیچقان has been twice misspelt as سحقان[8] and یرنت has been incorrectly written as برقت.[9]

I now give below a table of references from Mughul documents to the year-names of this cycle in a chronological order which shows how often these were mentioned in Mughul *farmans*.

[4] P. 204.

[5] Unfortunately the IF does not contain the Persian transcriptions of the *farmans* and hence I am not able to give the spellings of IF in Persian characters. It is also to be regretted that the pages in IF are unnumbered. The reader will find these readings in the English translations of *farmans* Nos. 6, 14 and 15.

[6] P. 45.

[7] Pp. 55 and 45, respectively.

[8] P. 3, No 4; p. 16, No 11.

[9] P. 31. No 19.

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	Source where the original document is to be found.	Details of the date from the document.	Conversion of the date into the Christian reckoning.	The year-name of the duodenal cycle mentioned in the document.
(1)	BISM [10] collection	22 Jamādī I, 1009 A.H.	19-11-1600 A.D.	سیچقان
(2)	FS, p. 4, No. 4	24 Amardād, Ry[11] 7 of Jahāngīr.	5-8-1612 A.D.	سیچقان
(3)	FS, p. 48, No.30	31 Khwurdād, Ry 10 of Jahāngīr	12-6-1615 A.D.	توشقان
(4)	FS, p. 56, No. 5	14 Rajab. 1027 A. H. ?	27-6-1618 A.D.	قوی (یوتت)
(5)	FS, p. 46, No.29	11 Shahrīwar, Ry 14 of Jahangīr	24-8-1619 A.D.	قوی
(6)	FS, p. 48. No.31	Shahrīwar, Ry 18 of Jahāngīr	18-9-1623 A.D.	قوی (تنگوز)
(7)	IF, 6	17 Mihr, Ry 6 of Shāhjahān I	29-9-1633 A.D.	تخاقوی
(8)	FS, p. 61, No.42	12 Rajab, 1069 A.H.	26-3-1659 A.D.	تنگوز
(9)	FS, p. 16, No.11	26 Muharram, 1070 A.H. Ry 3 of Ālamgīr I.[12]	3-10-1659 A.D.	سیچقان (تنگوز)
(10)	LEIA, p. 55	9Zul-hijja, 3 'Ry of 'Ālamgīr I.	6-8-1660 A.D.	سیچقان

[10] Bhārata Itihāsa Samshodhaka Mandala, Poona.

[11] Regnal year.

[12] The date is irregular.

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	Source where the original document is to be found.	Details of the date from the document.	Conversion of the date into the Christian reckoning.	The year-name of the duodenal cycle mentioned in the document.
(11)	FS, p. 76, No.48	5 Rabī'I, Ry 5 of 'Ālamgīr I	7-10-1662 A.D.	بارسی
(12)	LEJA, p. 45	1 Safar Ry 14 of 'Ālamgīr I	30-5-1671 A.D.	تذگوز
(13)	FS. p.120, No.81	25 Rabī 'I, Ry 37 of 'Ālamgīr I	14-11-1693 A.D.	تخاقوي
(14)	FS, p. 132, No. 91	14 Rajab, Ry 49 of 'Ālamgīr I	22-8-1705 A.D.	تخاقوی
(15)	FS, p. 19, No.12	7 Safar, Ry 5 of 'Ālamgīr II	10-10-1758 A.D.	یارس
(16)	LEIA, p. 52	29 Sha'bān, Ry 6 of 'Ālamgīr II	27-4-1759 A.D.	توشقان
(17)	FS, p. 32, No.19	21 Muḥarram, Ry II of Shāh 'Ālam II	18-5-1770 A.D.	یونف (بارس)
(18)	FS, p. 33, No.20	11 Rabī 'II, Ry II of Shāh 'Ālam II	5-7-1770 A.D.	بارس
(19)	IF, 14 & 15	5 Jamādī II, Ry 13 of Shāh 'Ālam II	15-9-1771 A.D.	توشقان

All these documents are not concerned with any political matter. They refer to some land grant, remission of taxes etc. As such it was necessary for the government officers and the grantee to know from what harvest of a solar year

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the order contained in the document should be executed. In almost all these documents either of the two (kharīf or rabī') harvests is specifically mentioned and the usage clearly shows how Mughul rulers were obliged to adopt the solar year in civil administration.

This table shows that if you want to know the Turkish year-name corresponding to any Christian year, you should just subtract 4 from the number of the Christian year, divide the remainder by 12 and the year-name, corresponding to the number in the new remainder, from the first table is the true Turkish year-name. But as every new year of this cycle began on the 20th or 21st of March (new style), you will have to subtract 4 instead of 3 from the number of the Christian year if the date in that year falls between 1st of January and 20th or 21st of March of that year.[13]

In Patell's chronology it is stated that in the month of Muḥarram, 1138 A.H., 565 cycles [of this reckoning][14] had elapsed, and the fourth [[تزشقان] or hare][15] year of the following cycle was in progress. But according to my method of computation the serpent year was in progress and the tables given *infra* in the same book actually show that the Chinese

[13] In the above table I have given the names of duodenal cyclic years as ocuring in the documents in the last column. Where I found any irregularity in the year-names according to my method of computation, it is shown in the parenthesis just after the documentary year-name. About these irregularities I must write a few words. Some of them may be only apparent and not real. For it may be the object of the grantor that the particular grant should come into force, not from the solar year corresponding to the date of the grant, but from the year mentioned in the document. In case of Shuhūr sana I have actually come across some instances, where the Shuhūr sana does not coincide with the date of the document, but to some year previous to the date of the document. Moreover the irregularities in this table belong to the documents from FS and I must note with much regret that after a thorough examination of many a document from FS, I have come to the conclusion that the book has not been edited with as much care as it should have been.

[14] Words in the bracket are mine.

[15] P. 51.

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year-name of the year corresponding to 1138 A.H. was Yih-Se (wood-serpent).[16]

Postscript

While writing the above article I had the impression that *Āīn-i-Akbarī* does not mention the Turkish duodenal cycle. But I was mistaken. Since then I had the opportunity of going through the *Āīn* in translation and I found that Abū'l-faḍl, its author, describes this cycle or era at some length and gives its other name Aighūrī. In it he lays down the method of knowing the animal name of a particular year thus[17]—(I) Add 1 to the number of the years of the Syromacedonian era and divide the sum by 12 ; or (II) add 7 to the number of the years of the Malikī era and divide the sum by 12; the animal name corresponding to the number of the remainder in each case will be the name of that particular year.

When Abū'l-faḍl wrote the third book or rather the chapter on the eras from the third book of the *Āīn*, 1905 years of the Syromacedonian era[18] or 516 of the Malikī era[19] had already elapsed. Thus by the method given above we get the 7th, *i.e.*, the Yūnt(یونت) year of the duodenal cycle current at that time. The *Āīn* is supposed to have been completed in the 42nd regnal year (1597-98 A.D.) of Akbar.[20] According to my method of computation this year must be named as Takhāqūī ((تخاقوی). Akbar's 40th regnal year has been named as Qūī in one of his own *farmans*.[21] The same result is arrived at by my method. Akbar's 39th

[16] P. 171. People of China and Japan use one sixty year cycle which is the combination of the duodenal cycle and five elements, *viz.*, wood, fire, earth, metal, water.

[17] *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, Vol. II, translated by Jarret, Bioliotheca Indo-Moslemica series, pp. 20, 29.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 29; but 515 according to Gladwin's version of the *Āīn*, p. 233.

[20] *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I, translated by Blochmann, Biography of Abūl-faḍl, p. XXX. B. IM. series.

[21] BBRAS, Vol. XXI, pp. 161.

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regnal year, therefore, must naturally be named as Yūnt (یونت). It follows, then, that the chapter in the *Āīn* dealing with the eras must have been written in the 39th year of Akbar's reign;[22] no matter when the *Āīn* as a whole was completed.

[22] We shall get the same result, I suppose, if we rn the years of other eras given in the *Āīn* into the regnal year of Akbar.

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15

HUMAYUN AND MALDEO

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A study of the relation between the Mughul Durbar and the Rajput states has hitherto been based mainly on the records of the contemporary Muhammadan writers. Interesting results are, however, revealed when Rajasthani sources are studied, for the latter throw, not unoften, light on events, which for reasons of their own, did not find mention in the writings of the courtier-historians of the Mughul Durbar. Perhaps an undue emphasis has hitherto been laid on the Muslim version of the events. In the interest of proper and impartial history, it is necessary that we should take non-Muslim sources into consideration as well. The importance of the Rajput sources is more readily accepted when it is remembered that unfortunately the Rajputs and the Muslims being more often enemies than friends, the account of the latter writers is not always free from prejudice and partiality. The late Dr. Tessitori took immense pains to show in the pages of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal [1] the importance of Rajasthani literature consisting of historical poems, commemorative songs, stray couplets, Pidhiyas or geneologies, Vatas, Khyats or chronicles and biographical notices, as materials for the construction of medieval history from the non-Muslim point of view. In the words of the late Doctor, "the Rajasthani chroniclers draw before us a

[1] J.A.S.B., 1919.

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picture of the Rajput life under the Emperors and at the same time of the Imperial life as seen through Rajput spectacles; and just as the Muhammedan chronicles are more copious in particulars referring to the Muhammadans, the Rajasthani chroniclers are so in particulars referring to the Rajputs." By producing his very learned and exhaustive notes on the Bardic and Historical Survey of Rajputana, Dr. Tessitori has laid scholars interested in the reconstruction of an important branch of Indian history under a deep debt of obligation.

Maldeo, the Rathor ruler of Marwar (1532-1562), has been condemned by the Muslim annalists for his alleged act of faithlessness in refusing to offer help and protection to Emperor Humayun, after the latter was defeated at the battle of Bilgram and deprived of his throne by the Afghan leader, Sher Khan. According to several Muslim writers, Maldeo had formerly professed allegiance to Humayun and had promised to help him. "This Maldeo had sent letters to Bakkhar, declaring his loyalty, and offering assistance in effecting the subjugation of Hindustan."[2] It was, therefore, a serious breach of faith on his part to have refused shelter to Humayun when he was in most need of it. If we are to judge Maldeo's conduct on the evidence of this statement, then undoubtedly it is indefensible. But fortunately, other evidences are available as well, and these bear out the injustice the Rathor chieftain had received at the hands of contemporary and later Muslim writers. To understand Maldeo's position it is necessary to review the political situation in Northern India in the eventful years leading to Sher Shah's accession to power.

Babur died before he could consolidate his newly-conquered territories and it fell upon his son and successor to lay secure the foundation of Timurid rule in India. But by

[2] *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, Elliot, V. p. 211.

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character and temperament Humayun was unfit to play the role expected of him, and he allowed matters to drift as they liked. Taking advantage of his lack of energy and far-sightedness, enemies raised up their heads in several quarters and a bid for political supremacy in India was made by a number of powerful claimants. Bahadur Shah in Gujarat and Sher Khan in Bihar and Bengal were the two most formidable enemies of the Timurid power. Nor was the enmity confined to Muslim ranks. Though most of the Rajput States in Western and Central India had entered into a state of decadence since the death of Rana Sanga, there was at least one principality whose ruler felt himself strong enough to take advantage of the political confusion and set up a strong and powerful Hindu state. This ambitious prince was Ray Maldeo of Marwar. At the time of his accession his authority was practically confined to the districts of Jodhpur and Sojhat. Even the collateral branches of the Rathor family defied his authority. Maldeo proceeded cautiously and handled the situation with considerable tact and determination. According to Rajasthani accounts, he proceeded to bring the southern provinces of Marwar under control, and having subjugated Sivana constructed a chain of strong fortresses on the eastern boundary of his kingdom. Thereupon he turned to the north and north-east where he defeated Vikramdeo, the ruler of Merta and annexed his principality. Sometime earlier he had taken occupation of Sachor and constructed there a well-defended fortress. In 1541 he turned against Bikaner, and, having defeated and killed in battle its ruler Jetsi, annexed his state to Jodhpur (MS. 30 of Des. Cat. of Bardic and Historical MSS., Sec. I, pt. II, J.A.S.B., 1919). While Maldeo was thus conducting his victorious campaigns, Humayun and Bahadur Shah were involved in war with each other. This Bahadur-Humayun contest gave Maldeo the opportunity to carry out his aggressive designs.

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The death of Bahadur Shah in 1537 relieved Humayun of a serious rival and Maldeo of a potential enemy. But Humayun's position was far from secure. In the east Sher Khan had assumed considerable power and had openly defied the authority of the Mughul Emperor. In the contest that followed, the sluggish Humayun came out worsted and Sher Khan's star was on the ascendant. In May, 1540, Sher Khan defeated Humayun in the battle of Bilgram and occupied the throne of Delhi. Finding his cause all but lost Humayun fled to Agra, and thence to Lahore. In this moment of extreme adversity he sought shelter in various quarters. During this period of wanderings Humayun paid a visit to Bhakkar towards the end of January, 1542.[3] There Maldeo sent an envoy and offered to join Humayun with a force 20,000 strong.[4] He is said to have promised "to offer assistance to Humayun in effecting the subjugation of Hindustan."[5] According to Rajasthani version Humayun applied for help to Maldeo, and in response to the appeal, the latter agreed to help the Emperor with an army 50,000 strong.[6] It appears probable that Maldeo originated the proposal of alliance, since with him it was the outcome of a deliberate plan of action. Humayun left Bhakkar towards the close of September, 1541, and laid siege to the castle of Shewan. Hence Maldeo must have sent his message in all probability sometime between February and early September, 1541. Maldeo was emboldened to take this step in view of several considerations, which Dr. Qanungo in his 'Sher Shah'[7] fully discusses. Since June, 1641, Sher Shah had been absent in Bengal with a vast army, suppressing symptoms of provincial rebellion. An Afghan contingent

3 28th Ramjan, Jan. 26, 1541.
Akbari-nama, I, 362.

4 *Tarikh-i-Sind*, 280.

5 *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, Elliot, V, p. 211.

6 Bisweswarnath Reu, *Bhārat ke Prāchin Rājavamsa*, p. 160.

7 Qanungo—*Sher Shah*, p. 273.

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50,000 strong had been away in Ghakkar country. Besides, Sher Shah's authority in Gwalior and Malwa was far from consolidated as yet. Maldeo's position was now well-established. His "banner waved over 52 districts and 84 forts."[8] He possessed immense wealth from salt-manufacture of Sambhar and other lakes. He commanded an army 50,000 strong.[9] Besides the neighbouring states of Gujarat (since Bahadur Shah's death in 1537) and Mewar (since the second sack of Chitor, 1534-35) had entered into decline. Maldeo had, therefore, strong reasons to induce him to promise help to Humayun. Besides, Maldeo knew that enmity with Sher Shah could not be long postponed. According to Rajasthani records, Kalyanmal, son of Jetsi, ruler of Bikaner, whom Maldeo had defeated and killed in battle, had fled to Sher Shah and urged upon him the necessity of crushing Maldeo.[10] With the example of Rana Sanga before him, Maldeo prepared to attack Muslim dominion at a time when it had a weak representative like Humayun, and when Sher Shah's power was yet to be consolidated. The Rathor ruler rightly calculated that if Humayun responded to his call and made common cause with him, he would be able to mould the course of events in a manner as would suit his interests. The moment was favourable enough, and with unmistakable instinct Maldeo discerned the possibilities of the situation. But Humayun failed him at this critical moment when after long and arduous waiting the hour to strike had arrived. Humayun, however, seems to have laid more hopes upon acquiring Sind and Gujarat and accordingly made no response to Maldeo's offer of alliance. Bent upon the recovery of Sind and Gujarat, the Mughul Emperor spent nearly a year in futile warfare. Shah Husain Arghun, the ruler of Thatta tempo-

[8] Sir Asutosh Silver Jubilee Volume, Pt. 2, p. 286.

[9] Tod—Annals of Marwar.

[10] T.A.S.B., 1919, p. 43. Bisweswar Reu, *Bhārat ke Prāchin Rājavamsa*, p. 166.

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rized and wasted six valuable months of Humayun.[11] These futile activities only aggravated Humayun's distress. "In this extremity he resolved upon marching to Maldeo, one of the faithful zamindars of Hindusthan, who at that time surpassed all the zamindars of Hindusthan in power and in number of forces.... . From Jesalmir he marched with all possible speed till he reached the country of Maldeo. Then he sent one Samsuddin Mahammad Atka Khan to Maldeo at Jodhpur, while he himself halted for a few days."[12] He arrived on 17th Rabi II, 949 H. = July 31, 1542.[13] Humayun's arrival within Maldeo's territories was least expected. Twelve months had passed by since Maldeo sent his message, and no reply was sent to it. The opportunity had slipped off through sheer negligence. Maldeo had now fully realised the helplessness of the situation. He knew that under the changed circumstances, his project had not the remotest chance of success. "When Maldeo was informed of the Emperor's helplessness he was much alarmed, for he knew that he had not sufficient forces of his own to withstand Sher Khan."[14] Sher Shah had in the meantime been keeping close watch over the movements of Humayun and Maldeo. At about the time Humayun's agent arrived at Jodhpur, Sher Shah had also sent his own envoy to Maldeo's court. Thus two agents representing two rival claimants simultaneously sought Maldeo's assistance. With characteristic precision Maldeo understood the implications of the situation. Humayun's was a lost cause and his rival's power was well-established and had almost become invulnerable. He studied the situation dispassionately and closed with Sher Shah's offer. *Humayun-nama*[15] preserves for us

11 *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, Elliot, V, p. 207.
12 *Tabakat-i-Akbari, Ibid.* Elliot, V, p. 211.
13 *Akbar-nama* I, p. 372.
14 *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, Elliot, V, p. 212.
15 *Humayun-nama*, Beveridge, p. 154.

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a letter alleged to have been sent by Sher to Maldeo. The letter ran as follows—"By whatever means you know and can use, capture that king. If you will do this, I will give you Nagor and Alwar and whatever place you ask for." (Quoted by Mulla Surkh in his letter to Humayun.) It is not clearly stated if any formal treaty was concluded between Maldeo and Sher Shah. But since the former is found ruling over these territories immediately after, there is reason to believe that a formal treaty was actually drawn up. Maldeo could not, therefore, offer Humayun any help, but he was even expected to make a captive of him. But he could hardly persuade himself to adopt any harsh measure against a dethroned Prince seeking protection from him. Such a conduct was incompatible with Rajput sense of chivalry. Following Humayun's arrival Maldeo sent him "the customary gifts of fruits and some *ashrafis* and armour."[16] But since the conclusion of the treaty with Sher Shah, it was no longer possible for him to persist in friendly attitude. "The above-mentioned (Maldeo) made excuses and sent a small gift of fruits. But no sign of loyalty was visible which could comfort His Majesty."[17] It was clearly the intention of Maldeo that his unwelcome guest should no longer stay within his dominions. He was "afraid that Sher Khan should be annoyed and send a large army to his territory against Humayun. To keep the Emperor in ignorance Maldeo detained the envoy Atka Khan and did not give him permission to return. But Atka Khan contrived to ascertain what was passing through the mind of Maldeo, and went off without any formal dismissal."[18] Meanwhile, Mulla Surkh, Humayun's ex-librarian had arrived at Jodhpur, if not as an accredited agent, certainly to plead the ex-Emperor's cause. But Maldeo's alliance with Sher Shah

[16] *Humayun-nama*, Beveridge, p. 154.

[17] Jauhar—*Tazkirat-ul-waqiat*, quoted in Qanungo-*Sher Shah*, p. 273.

[18] Elliot, V, p. 212.

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had radically altered the situation and he contrived to send a warning to Humayun. "March at once from wherever you are, for Maldeo intends to make you a prisoner. Put no trust in his words."[19] It is clear from the above accounts that while Maldeo wished that Humayun should not prolong his stay in his kingdom, Maldeo loathed the idea of delivering Humayun into Sher Shah's hand. He connived at Atka Khan's withdrawal. Humayun, greatly disappointed, thereupon withdrew from Jodhpur. The Rajasthani records give a different explanation of Humayun's withdrawal. "Humayun stayed near Mandor for about 3 or 4 months. At that time the Mughul Emperor was told by some person that Maldevji intended to appropriate his treasures. In fear of losing his treasure, Humayun left Mandor and marched out of Marwar."[20] According to another version, Humayun withdrew on receipt of the news of Maldeo's alliance with Sher Shah.[21] Maldeo was expected to pursue the fugitive prince. This he feigned to do. He did not actually move until Humayun had crossed considerable distance. And even then he staged only a show of attack. Nizamuddin tells us that Humayun's stragglers, 22 in number met the face of Maldeo and "unable to endure this, the enemy turned and his great enemy fled before such an insignificant troop."[22] The withdrawal of the Rajput troops seems to have been a deliberate one, prompted by feelings of compassion for the fugitive and helpless prince.

The conclusion that naturally follows from the above account is that Maldeo was not the traitor he is supposed to have been. He acted honourably and reasonably enough. His offer of alliance to Humayun a year earlier evoked no response from the latter. Hence so far as the relation between

19 *Humayun-nama*, p. 154.
20 Sir Asutosh Silver Jubilee Volume, ii, p. 286.
21 Bisweswarnath Reu, *Bhārat ke Prāchin Rājavamsa*, p. 166.
22 Elliot, V, p. 213.

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Humayun and Maldeo was concerned they stood entirely uncommitted to any engagement. Moreover, Maldeo had been considerate to Humayun, even after he had entered into alliance with Sher Shah. 'Humayun therefore was to thank himself for his self-inflicted distress. His own negligence and shortsightedness were responsible for his failure. Even when it was no longer possible for Maldeo to support Humayun's cause without serious danger to the safety of his state, Maldeo had served him well. Because of Humayun, Maldeo could not reinstate him on the throne of Delhi, but for his life Humayun was indebted to his chivalrous Rajput antagonist.

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16

SOME FEASTS AND FESTIVALS AT THE COURT OF SHAH JAHAN

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Note :—I have used the following abbreviations in the foot-notes :—

B. for Char Chaman Brahman by Rai Ghandarbhan Brahman. (British Museum Manuscript. or. 1892).

L. for Badshah Namah by Abdul Hamid Lahori. (Bibliotheca Indica edition).

R. B. for Memoirs of Jahangir. Translated and edited by A. Rogers and H. Beveridge (1909 and 1914).

S. for Amal-i-Salih by Muhammad Salih Kambo. (Bibliotheca Indica edition).

One of the great feasts at the court of Shah Jahan was the *Nauruz*[1] or the feast of the Persian New Year. It afforded splendid opportunity for lavish display of wealth and magnificence. The festivities lasted for thirteen days or more, from the 1st Farwardin to the Ruz-i-sharf-i-aftab, which is the day when the sun enters the Aries. The first and the last day of the feast were two special gala-days. The audience-hall was richly decorated with the Gujarati and Persian cloth of gold, brocaded velvets, brocades from Constantinople and China and European curtains. The floor was covered with beautiful carpets. 'Pan' and perfumes in beautiful jewelled gold trays were passed round among the audience.[2] Amidst scenes of great splendour and dignity the emperor seated himself on the throne at an auspicious hour, that was chosen

1 L., I, A, 186-189, 191-193; I, B, 77-79, 82-84, 86-87.
S., I, 282-84; II, 92-96.

2 Muhammad Ali Baig, the Persian ambassador, who arrived at the court during the Nauruz festivities of 1631, received a jewelled '*pandan*' containing perfumes, placed in two gold trays, as presents from the emperor. L., I, A, 364-366.

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by the astrologers. He awarded appointments and promotions, and presented the princes, nobles and officers with valuable articles and gave away large sums of money in charity. Members of the royal family and nobles in turn made him their offerings. Scenes of great splendour and magnificence were witnessed during the *Nauruz* celebrations in the spring of 1635, when the emperor sat on the new throne (better known as the peacock throne), that had cost him ten millions of rupees in jewels and gold alone. On that occasion, he presented the four princes with magnificent robes of honour and large sums of money in cash, and honoured Yamin-ud-daula Asaf Khan by awarding him the lofty title of Khan Khanan, a superb robe of honour and a jewelled sword, besides other favours. Many officers received promotions in rank. One hundred robes of honour were presented to the high dignitaries and nine hundred more to the other officers. The famous poet Talib Kalim, who composed an ode for the occasion, was weighted against gold, which was awarded to him. The offerings received by Shah Jahan from the princes and the nobles during these festivities were worth 24 lakhs of rupees.

The emperor's birthday celebrations[3] were held twice a year. On the completion of the solar year he was weighed first against gold, then against silver and ten times against other metals. On his lunar birthday, he was weighed against gold, silver and six times against other metals. The metals used in the weighing ceremonial were distributed among the deserving and the poor, for there was a common belief that alms and sacrificial offerings ward off impending calamities.[4] The ceremonial was adopted by Akbar on an elaborate scale; the practice was continued by Jahangir. Shah Jahan made some slight improvements in it.

[3] L., I, A, 243-44. S., I, 321-22.
[4] See R. B., I, 115, 160.

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Eid-ul-fitar, the Muhammadan festival held on the 1st Shawwal at the end of the Ramzan fasting, was celebrated by the court with great solemnity and rejoicing. Lahori[5] makes the following mention about the Ramzan and the *Eid* of 1628 :—Every evening during the month of Ramzan the Sadr, Musavi Khan, introduced a party of the poor and the needy into his majesty's presence, by whose orders they were relieved of want and distress. Thirty thousand rupees were thus given in charity in addition to the daily allowances and perpetual grants of land.....On Saturday evening, Ramzan 30, 1037 (June 3, 1628), the appearance of the crescent moon greeted everyone and the joy-bands were played. The following morning (the *Eid* day), the princes, nobles, courtiers and other state-officials assembled in the audience hall to offer their felicitations and greetings to the emperor. He went in procession to the *Eidgah* to offer his prayers. Gold was scattered among the people during the royal progress to and from the *Eidgah*. Rai Chandrabhan Brahman's[6] description of the royal procession to the Eidgah is interesting :—The spectacle on the *Eid* day when the emperor goes out from the palace to the *Eidgah* for public prayers is one of great pomp and pageantry. The whole city in honour of the occasion is 'en view'. The houses and the bazars are all richly decked with brocades of innumerable shades and colours. Crowds of people from the neighbouring towns and villages swarm the capital, eager to have a glimpse of their sovereign. Under the supervision of the masters of ceremony and pageantry, the royal route and the neighbouring grounds are exquisitely arranged and finely laid out. The whole route is lined with troops of mounted and infantry matchlockmen, rocket-throwers and standardbearers, who in their gay costumes present a fine

[5] L. I, A, 200 201.
[6] B., 32a-34a.

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spectacle. In every house and at every corner side-shows are arranged and the atmosphere is thick with the sounds of trumpets, bugles and clarions. Amidst such scenes the emperor rides out to the *Eidgah* on a richly caparisoned horse or mounts a royal elephant in an elaborate procession, which is at once solemn and gay. During the royal progress vast sums in gold are showered among the populace. The Mir Tuzaks wearing their turban crests and holding jewelled maces in their hands and the Yasawals (servants of parade) with gold and silver staffs are on duty on the route. In the procession [7] may be seen a large canopy in front of the state-umbrella, where the members of the princes' staffs with jewelled fly-flaps in their hands are in attendance. The nobles come next followed by the imperial ensigns. The mace-bearers with gold and silver maces held on their shoulders and the retainers and grooms wearing brilliant head-dresses and waist-bands march in their train. They are followed by the led Arab and Iraqi horses harnessed with gold and enamelled saddles, and elephants carrying their rich burden of gold *howdahs* and a jewelled throne. Then one notices another state-umbrella followed by the standard-bearers and drummers, and some more elephants carrying silver kettle drums and standards surmounted with the figure of a lion, a hand on a golden ball. Behind them the sons of the nobility carry the insignia of sovereignty, royal scales of justice, sword, dagger, quiver, shield, and the matchlock. The royal conveyances like the '*takht-i-ravan*,' [8] and the palanquins ornamented with jewel and enamel work and covered with pearl-curtains mark the tail of the procession.

[7] B. (33a) does not give the exact order and arrangement of the procession on the plea of "it being well known."

[8] "A throne gleaming with azure and gold, placed on a litter covered with scarlet or brocade, which eight chosen men, in handsome attire, carry on their shoulders." Bernier: *Travels in the Mogul Empire*. edited by Vincent A. Smith (1914), p. 280).

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The contrast is complete when the emperor after all this picturesque pomp and lavish pageantry reaches the *Eidgah*, where in common with his humble subjects he bows low his head on the ground. The reciter of the *Khutba* on naming each imperial title receives robes of honour and awards in cash from the emperor.

Eid-i molud [9] or the Feast of the Prophet's nativity was celebrated on the evening of 11th Rabi-ul-awal by recitations from the Koran and special lectures on the chief features of his lite. Lahori [10] states that a meeting to celebrate this festival was held on November 8, 1628, under the presidentship of the emperor, and was attended by the Saiyeds, 'doctors of the sacred law,' scholars and saints. To mark the solemnity of the occasion Shah Jahan took his seat on a carpet spread on the ground. Twelve thousand rupees [11] were given to the poor, shawls were awarded to others, while a large number of people were entertained to delicious dishes, sweets and fruits, and were offered diverse kinds of delicate perfumes.

The feast of *Lailat-ul-barat* [12] (night of happiness) was celebrated in the evening of 14th Shaban with grand illuminations and a display of fireworks in the court of the *Diwan-i-am* and on the plain under *Jharoka-i-Darshan*. Rai Chandrabhan Brahman [13] states that extensive illuminations

9 S. I., 617.

10 L. I. A. 230-231.

11 Early in 1629, Shah Jahan directed that on the auspicious days of the Muhammadan year the following sums should be given every year in charity :—

First ten days of Muharram :	Rs. 10,000
Evening of 11th Rabi I :	Rs. 10,000
The Bodleian Ms. of the Badshah Namah, Elliot 369, 70 a, gives	Rs. 12,000
Evening of 26th Rajab :	Rs. 10,000
Evening of 14th Shaban :	Rs. 10,000
The month of Ramzan :	Rs. 30,000
	L. I. A. 259

12 L., II, 167-168. S., I, 285-286.

13 B., 38b-39a.

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were a characteristic feature of most festive nights. Royal buildings, palace walls, gardens and reservoirs were all illuminated. Beautiful coloured glass lanterns and enamelled gold candelabras lighted the apartments. Temporary wooden walls and domes were specially created to be illuminated. The royal and private barges on the river were decorated and beautifully outlined with coloured lights.

Eid-i-gulabi[14] (rose-water festival), one of the daintiest of court festivals, was celebrated with taste and elegance on the 13th of the Persian month Tir, which marked the commencement of the rainy season in India. The princes and the prominent nobles presented the emperor with jewelled flasks containing rose-water, jujube-tree flower juice and the aroma of orange flowers. The other courtiers made him offerings of enamelled, gold or silver flasks.

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[14] L, I, A, 204, S. 374.

17

VIGNETTES FROM THE DIARY OF ANANDA RANGA PILLAI OF PONDICHERRY (1736-1761)

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I

Ananda Ranga Pillai who should be ranked among Diarists known to History along with Pepys and Grevile was an acute observer of the troubled politics of South India in the fateful years that saw the disintegration of the Muhammadan power in the Carnatic and the growth and final settlement of the conflict for dominion between the English and the French. Ranga Pillai was the son of Tiruvengadam Pillai who had achieved fame and prosperity by his skill in dealing with Europeans. He was a very influential merchant at Pondicherry where he had been invited to settle by his brother-in-law, Nainiya Pillai, who was then the *courtier* or Chief Indian Agent at the French settlement. Guruva Pillai, the son of Nainiya, who was subsequently disgraced by governor Dulivier (1715-19), personally sailed to France and laid his grievances before the Regent, the Duke of Orleans. After vindicating his honour and recovering his rank, Guruva Pillai returned to Pondicherry and along with Tiruvengadam, built up the lost credit of the Indian merchants with the French. Under Governor Lenoir (1726-35) and his successor Dumas (1735-41), Ananda Ranga Pillai, who had early shown great promise of abilities and skilfully continued in the footsteps of his father who died at a comparatively early age in

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1726, came to occupy a most influential position and retained his rank and importance even down to his death only just a few days before the surrender of Pondicherry to General Coote in January, 1761. Ranga Pillai felt early the urge in him to keep a diurnal account of the significant happenings at Pondicherry and of other historical and social events that came within his purview. He attached much importance to the keeping of a diary and when he sent his younger brother to Madras during the days of the French occupation of that place, he gave strict instructions to the latter to maintain a regular diary and to note in it everything of importance that occurred. After the death of Ranga Pillai himself, his own nephew, Tiruvengadam Pillai (junior) continued to maintain a record which ran on to the beginning of 1771 and is still in the possession of the family. Ranga Pillai's Diary has run to twelve volumes in its English translation,[1] in spite of the fact that there were several gaps in the narrative now available, some running on for months at a stretch.

II

Till 1846, *i.e.*, till after more than a century after Pillai began to keep a diary, its existence was unknown; it was then unearthed by M. Gallois Montbrun, whose son was the Mayor of Pondicherry for a long time. The copy which M. Montbrun then made was imperfect; he apparently satisfied himself only with a selection of excerpts from the *Diary* though he subsequently brought out a portion of the blanks in a supplemental volume which was not available to Sir Frederick Price when he began on behalf of the Government of Madras to edit and translate the *Diary*. M. Ariel made another copy of the *Diary* which he presented to the Bibliotheque Nationale of Paris. A translation was made in 1870

[1] *The Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai, Dubash to Joseph Francois Dupleix*—Or, from Tamil by Sir J. F. Price and H. H. Dodwell. (Madras, 1904-1928.)

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by M. Laude of that portion of the *Diary* which gave an account of the siege of Pondicherry in 1748 by Admiral Boscawen. M. Julien Vinson, the well-known Tamil scholar and Professor of the Special School of Living Oriental Languages at Paris, translated portions of the *Diary* in 1889; and he followed up this first production by publishing in 1894 another volume amplifying these under the title of 'Les Francais dans l' Inde.' This does not, however, go beyond 1748 and refers only to a few selected topics. Reference may be profitably made in this connection to Montbrun's *Life* of Ananda Ranga Pillai.[2]

The subsequent efforts of French scholars at the farther elucidation of the *Diary* did not seem to have made any progress further than transcriptions and translations of selections and extracts from it; nor did M. Vinson, the most prominent of them, proceed beyond the close of the first Anglo-French War (1746-48) in his book "*Les Francais dans l' Inde*" (1894).

The Government of Madras moved in the matter, at the suggestion of Lieut-General H. Macleod, the Consular Agent at Pondicherry at the time, and Sir G. W. Forrest who was the Director-General of Imperial Records at Calcutta (1894-1900) ordered a transcription of the *Diary*. Forrest, in the course of examining the documents at Fort St. George which threw a light on Clive's part in the Carnatic struggles, incidentally went through the relevant records preserved in the Pondicherry Archives. It was in one of these visits to Pondicherry that the *Diary* was brought to his notice; and it was mainly his suggestion that induced the Madras Government to obtain a copy of the Diary and arrange for its translation and

[2] *Notice Sur La Chronique En Langue Tamile Et Sur La Vie D'Ananda-Rangapillai, Courtier de La Compagnie Francaise Des Indes, Chef des Malabars A Pondichéry, Mansubdar De Trois Mille Chevaux, Commandant du Fort Et Jaguirdar du District De Chinglepett.* (Pondicherry, 1849).

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publication.[3] Forrest often quoted in his valuable biography of Clive from Ranga Pillai's *Diary*, five volumes of which had been published then. Forrest naturally attached great historical value to the observations and notes of Ranga Pillai and deemed him to have been a most shrewd observer.

The first transcription was made from the incomplete copy of M. Montbrun and not from the original *Diary*. A later and more faithful transcription was made by Mr. K. Rangachariar, Assistant to Sir Frederick Price and Superintendent of Records in the Secretariat, Fort St. George, who discovered that some of the original volumes of the *Diary* were missing and not traceable and also that 'portions of M. Montbrun's copy of which no originals could be found, had disappeared since General Macleod's transcription was made.' A statement is given by Sir Frederick Price[4] of (1) the originals of the *Diary* now extant showing the periods for which they were available; (2) copies in the possession of M. Montbrun for which no originals could be found; and (3) portions of the *Diary* for which neither originals nor copies were forthcoming. The principal lacunae occur from November, 1738 to June, 1740; from October, 1750 to April, 1751; from December, 1753 to September, 1754; and from September, 1758 to January, 1759. It was very doubtful if the copy made by M. Ariel for the Paris National Library should contain the missing portions; and possibly, without much doubt, these breaks represent lost volumes.

The translation as it has appeared has been provided with a table of contents prefixed to each chapter and with amplified marginal notes on each page, besides good introductions and index notices furnished for each volume.

A clearer perspective of the search for the recovery of these diaries is given in the valuable information that I contrived to obtain from the late M. A. Singaravelu Pillai,

[3] Page viii of Preface to Forrest's *Life of Lord Clive*, Vol. I, (1918).

[4] Pp. xvi and xvii of the Introduction to Vol. I of the *Diary* (1904).

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Curator of the Historical Records of French India, regarding the history of the resuscitation and publication of the Diary. The information was supplied to me in December, 1927, in response to my request for it as I then began to contribute a series of articles entitled "The Historical Materials in the Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai (1736-61)" to the Journal of Indian History.[5] It contains among other matters, the following sequence of events connected with the unearthing and publication of the *Diary*.

When in 1870 the statue of Dupleix was set up in Pondicherry, M. Laude, Advocate-General, brought out "Le Siege de Pondichery en 1748" consisting of extracts from the diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai.

Next, M. Julien Vinson, the noted Tamil scholar and a son of Hyacin de Vinson, Judge at Pondicherry, and Curator of the Government Public Library, brought out (in 1894) the well-known "Les Francais dans l' Inde."

After him this important diary was neglected by scholars; and the English have got the credit of resuscitating interest in it.

Hearing that the original volumes of the *Diary* were in a disorganised and confused condition in the house of Ananda Ranga Pillai, M. Singaravelu requested permission from Mr. Tiruvengada Pillai, the then head of the family of the diarist to set about personally arranging and classifying, mainly chronologically, the diary matter and also a large number of historical documents lying in a big box in the house, on which insects were making great ravages. M. Tiruvengadam Pillai has two sons, of whom the elder was an invalid devoid of any interest in this matter. The younger was a clever and learned man, and evinced considerable interest in the documents and the diary; and he was eager to have these not only edited in Tamil, but also

[5] Vol. V. to Vol. XVII—completed in 19 serial articles (1927-1938)- now under print in book-form.

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translated. He proposed first to publish the verses in Tamil sung by various poets describing the life and achievements of the *Dubash* and then to take up the matter of the publication of the *Diary*. Some pages of the *Life* were indeed printed; but the work could not be continued owing to unforeseen difficulties. Unfortunately both the sons of Tiruvengada Pillai died soon after this date.

It was in 1897 that M. Singaravelu first inspected the *Diary*; in 1900 he perused the volumes a second time, but found that several of the precious documents had disappeared, like many others before them. In 1902 the Madras Government deputed Mr. K. Rangachariar to go to Pondicherry and compare the two volumes of proofs with him with the original volumes of the Diary. Thus M. Singaravelu describes his part in the service of the resuscitation of the diary :—"By the will of God, or by a piece of luck coming in my way, Mr. Rangachariar consulted me; and I went through some portions and found that the translation of the Diary from 1736 to 1746 was not made from the original volumes of the diary, but from a copy of extracts. He was surprised and declared that the material with his Government was only this copy from which Sir Frederick Price and himself had been translating. I assured him that I would secure for his use the original volumes of the Diary from which a complete transcription might be made afresh. He readily agreed to this plan and the Madras Government accorded their generous sanction to this arrangement. I went over to the house of M. Montbrun and handed over to Mr. Rangachariar two volumes of the manuscript original of the *Diary* which, even to-day, continue to be in the possession of the Madras Government. Mr. Rangachariar used to go over to Pondicherry, stay with me for three or four months at a stretch, examine the proofs of his translation along with me and clear all his difficulties. He did this on three or four occasions and corrected his translation in the matter of the cor-

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rect spelling of the names of ships and men in particular, verifying them and other points from our archives and Government records. It was I that have been uniformly helping in these and other ways in the work of the English translation of the *Diary* from its beginning down to the present year, with the twelfth volume of the work in the press. The letters addressed to me on this subject are so numerous as to occupy two drawers fully. I have just written clearing certain doubtful points raised, in the course of their translation of the twelfth volume, by the Record Office, Madras; and I am ready to help in a similar manner, in the answering of subsequent queries that may be made. The General Introduction given as preface to the first volume of the Translation by Sir Frederick Price was prepared with the help of the French manuscript note supplied by me. Both Sir Frederick Price and Mr. H. H. Dodwell, his successor in the task (of translation) consulted me, as well by correspondence as by meeting me personally, in respect of their doubts and difficulties. Even now I am corresponding with Mr. Dodwell in London. When I asked him why my name and services were not noted in the General Introduction, he replied that it was a mistake of omission on the part of his predecessors and that the omission would be rectified soon. In the first page of the Introduction to the eighth volume (1922), he wrote as follows: 'The present instalment of the *Diary* covers the period from May 3, 1751 to December 8, 1753. As will be seen from the list of entries, they are very irregular. No reason can be assigned for this, as it has not been possible to check the Madras transcript with the original *Diary* which was formerly preserved at Pondicherry or even with the transcript by M. Gallois Montbrun. Mr. Singaravelu Pillai to whom the discovery of the MS. was originally due and to whose courteous and learned aid I have often had recourse, informs me that the Gallois Montbrun papers were irreparably damaged in the cyclone which raged at Pondicherry in 1916

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and that the original diary for this period has long since disappeared. More than one passage in the Madras transcript is evidently corrupt; the most important cases of this are indicated in my foot-notes." [6]

He then continues:—"The primary evidence as to my resuscitation of the original diary from oblivion is to be found in the Journal, *Bālabhārati*, first volume, pp. 169-173, published by Mr. V. V. Subrahmanya Iyer of Bharadwaj Ashram, Shermadevi. It thus says: . . . . . When later Mr. K. Rangachariar came over to Pondicherry and sought for a competent hand to help him in arranging the matter of the diary, it was my precious friend and Assistant Curator of the Government Record Office, Mr. Singaravelu Pillai, that came to his help and rendered assistance in all possible ways. Had it not been for his aid that translation would have remained valueless. The trouble that he took in searching out the volumes of the original *Diary* and its transcript lying in the houses of Ananda Ranga Pillai and Montbrun transcript was destroyed in the storm that raged at Pondicherry eight years back. His (Singaravelu Pillai's) grief at this loss is greater than the grief of one who has lost an immense fortune. So great in his love of learning. Mr. Dodwell who is at present editing the English translation has also written warmly in praise of the help rendered by him. . . . . "

"The portion of the original diary extending from April 9, 1760, to January 12, 1761, was discovered by me in 1900 in the course of an examination of the papers and books in Ananda Ranga Pillai's house. There was no copy of this either with M. Montbrun or in the Bibliotheque Nationale of Paris. I had two copies made of the MS., reserving one for my own use and sending the other through M. Julien Vinson to the Bibliotheque Nationale. This copying was

[6] Letters to the writer, dated 23-12-1927, 27-9-1928 and 21-10-1928.

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done in January, 1901. The late Mr. Bharati took my copy for perusal and handed it after use to Mr. Srinivasachariar, son of Mandayam Krishnamachariar of Triplicane,.....who wanted to publish it in his journal, *India Vidjaya*, in Tamil. But he could not get the necessary permission for such publication from the members of Ananda Ranga Pillai's family.....Finally Mr. V. V. Subrahmanya Iyer published in his *Bālabhārati, in extenso*, that portion of the volume discovered by me till April 22, 1760. . . .His untimely death and that of his son are well known to us. My copy of this portion of the *Diary* has disappeared along with his death, as my numerous queries relating to it addressed to his successors in work and his relatives have proved fruitless.

"A copy of this portion, prepared by the late Mr. K. Rangachariar, is now in the Madras Record Office; its original also is now there. A translation of it is now in the press. This is the last volume of the Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai.

"Mr. V. V. S. Iyer has further written in p. 170 of his *Bālabhārati* thus: 'The copy of this portion of the *Diary* was copied by M. Singaravelu Pillai and the then Curator of the Pondicherry Record Office. It was placed at my disposal by my friend Mr. Srinivasachariar. For this I am very grateful to my friend and to M. Singaravelu Pillai.'

"Another testimony to my discovery of this portion of the *Diary* is this: Both in M. Vinson's *Les Francais dans l' Inde* and in the collection of M. Montbrun there is no mention of this Diary portion. This has been omitted necessarily from the first English translation; but in the final translation of Vol. I it is mentioned in the list of volumes, as drawn up by Mr. Rangachariar, in the General Introduction.

"Yet a point to be noted as testimony is this. In 1902 when I made an investigation into the condition and number of the original diary manuscripts in the possession of the

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descendants of Dubash Ananda Ranga Pillai, a letter was written by Vijiayananda Tiruvengada Pillai (the then head of the family) giving a list of the manuscript volumes in his possession, the original of which I am enclosing herewith. From this list you will see that the first volume of the manuscript original extends from April 28, 1750 to October 29, 1750, which shows that the two previous volumes of manuscript were not in his possession. If he had them with him he would have included them in his list. This letter will be clear evidence that I discovered the first two volumes from the house of M. Montbrun and was instrumental in sending them on to the Madras Government through Mr. Rangachariar. . . .These will clearly prove that I discovered the original MS. Diary, Vols. I and II." [7]

[7] The following letter from the representative of Ananda Ranga Pillai's family in reply to a query from M. Singaravelu Pillai gives information as to the portions of the *Diary* still with the family.

My dear friend,

I am in receipt of your letter. I was prevented from replying to it even the day before yesterday (as I intended) because some of the books required were then with my father. As a result of my examination to-day, I find the following manuscript books of the Diary here.

April 28, 1750	October 29, 1750
April 24, 1752	April 5, 1753
September 4, 1754	March 29, 1755
April 10, 1757	September 21, 1758
April 12, 1759	April 8, 1760
April 9, 1760	April 12, 1761
May 26, 1766	April 30, 1767
May 1, 1767	February 8, 1770
April 10, 1795	January 15, 1796

There is no other volume besides these.....One gentleman from Madras came to me yesterday and told me that he had copies of those volumes not here and that the originals are here. Is this true ? Who has got the originals now?

Yours faithfully,

Vijaya Durai Ranga Pillai,
'Ananda Ranga Pillai's House,
Pondicherry, 10-1-1902.

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III

Ranga Pillai's *Diary* has been unique as a piece of historical record rare among Indians. It reflects, as has been well remarked by Sir Frederick Price, the "inmost thought and reflections of an extremely able, level-headed Oriental, and of his criticism—which at times are of the freest character—of his fellows and masters. It is a strange mixture of things trivial and important; of family matters and affairs of state; of business transactions and social life of the day; interspersed with scraps of gossip, all evidently recorded as they came to the mind of the diarist, who might well be dubbed the "Indian Pepys." Homely as is its diction, there are in it descriptions of men and things which are vividly life-like, and passages which are startling; some in their pathos, and others in their shrewdness."

Ranga Pillai is seen at his best when writing of Dupleix and of his defects of temper and character. Of course he displays an unduly developed vein of self-conceit in some places. When he wrote in his entry for February 23, 1747, he made the following observations which are strikingly revealing both of his own temper and of his inmost thought about Dupleix. "It will be that, in some matters, I act according to the Governor's directions, and, in others, follow my own views, and he will seek to injure me by insinuations with regard to the latter. But I rely on the justice of God. As God is my judge, I act honestly before him. In these negotiations with the Muhammadans, my sole object was to bring everything to a satisfactory conclusion, and to win a good reputation for the Governor, as well as for myself. With this purpose in view, I spent even my own money. I passed sleepless nights. My whole thoughts were occupied in planning how to bring about peace with the Muhammadans. God knows, and the Governor and I know, how I exerted myself in this matter. No

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one else can form any idea on this subject. As a consequence of my efforts, the Governor has acquired immense credit."

Of course, Ranga Pillai's ambition was generously fed even by small attentions paid to him by persons round him. Mahfuz Khan, the elder brother of Nawab Muhammad Ali, is said to have praised him to Governor Dupleix in these words: "His present position is one too insignificant for a man of his parts. He should be Vizier to the Nizam; nay, to the Emperor. If he had his deserts, he should fill no other office." This praise went home to the diarist's heart and was greatly cherished.

When Dupleix departed for Europe in disgrace in October, 1754, the diarist sententiously reflected on his unfortunate fall as follows:—"He (Dupleix) had hoped to leave his bones in Pondicherry. Yet now, he had been dismissed, accused and arrested... Such is the fate of the man who seeks his own will without the fear of God...Who can trust in wealth? Nasir Jang, though Lord of the six subahs and a half in the Deccan for the Delhi Padshah, yet trembled for his countries and the Pathans, Himmat Bahadur Khan of Kandanur (Kurnool), 'Abd-ul-nabi of Cuddapah, 'Abd-ul-Majid Khan of Savanur and Bankapuram, his son Karim Khan and others, conspired together to kill him; but the credit of it was ascribed to M. Dupleix, so that the throne of Delhi shook at the terror of his name. His army accompanied Salabat Jang to the Narmada, 200 leagues away and gloriously defeated Sau Bhaji Rao; yet this great man has been arrested and put with his property on board ship. Such is the fate of the man who seeks his own will without the fear of God; but he who acts with circumspection, and refrains from molesting the upright, escapes falling into sin. But a man's thoughts depend upon the times and seasons. Who then can be blamed? Such is the world. He who is destined to happiness will be wise; and he who is

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destined to misery will be foolish. Do not the Vedas say so? What was to be has come to pass."

In the last years of the diarist's life, when the power of the French and the prosperity of Pondicherry were definitely going down, Ranga Pillai gave, under the caption—Particulars of the Governors of Pondicherry, dated Thursday, March 24, 1757—the following interesting piece of information, intended perhaps as a fond memory of his former day's prosperity and influence, in this period of political and financial depression. The account is interesting as an example of the extraordinarily accurate memory that he possessed. The following is the substance of his account.

Flacourt, who was the second in Council under Martin, (1701-06), acted as Governor, when the latter became too ill to attend to business and continued to be in charge till the arrival of Dulivier from Bengal, who was Governor on two occasions, first from February, 1707 to July, 1708 and for the second time, from about September, 1713 to about August, 1715. Hebert and Dulivier were General and Governor respectively up to the middle of 1718. Nainiya Pillai, the Chief Dubash at the time, was imprisoned by Dulivier without consulting the Councillors. Nainiya Pillai appealed to the Duke of Orleans, the Regent of France, for reinstatement. The diarist states that Hebert and Dulivier were both of them justly punished by the French Government for this act of injustice (1718-19). La Prevostiere, who now became Governor (1718-1721), had Kanakaraya Mudali removed from the office of Chief Dubash to which he had been appointed by Hebert. At this point, the diarist says that the Company and the Ministers were persuaded to order that no member of Kanakaraya Mudali's family should hereafter be appointed *Courtier*. It may be remembered that Nainiya Pillai was an uncle of the diarist and had invited the latter's father, Tiruvengadam Pillai, who was previously trading at Madrás, to settle at Pondicherry in 1716. Hebert had dis-

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graced Nainiya Pillai and ill-treated his son, Guruva Pillai. Guruva Pillai had gone to France and personally represented the injustice done to him and his family before the Regent, the Duke of Orleans. Both he and Tiruvengadam Pillai were restored to their previous positions by La Prevostier who had become the *ad interim* successor to Hebert.

A Telugu work on prosody entitled "Ānanda Rangarāt-chandamu" which is a treatise on prosody and is dedicated to Ananda Ranga Pillai, by its author Kasturi Rangayya Kavi, contains, in its introduction, an account of the genealogy and family of Ranga Pillai. The father of Ranga Pillai was a native of the village of Aynāvarm, near Perambur (a part of the present city of Madras): he knew several foreign languages,—French, English, Portuguese, etc , and could "tackle any European and beat any padre." The account given in the work maintains throughout its course a tone of exaggeration of Ananda Ranga Pillai's services and gives him a prominent share in all the achievements of Dupleix and the French—the release of Chanda Sahib from his Maratha prison, his successes, the defeat of Nasir Jang, the establishment of French influence at the Nizam's court, etc. The style follows the conventional mode of praise of literary patrons. There is also to be noticed the *Ananda Ranga Vijaya*, a *Champu Kavya*, composed by the poet Srinivasa, about A. D. 1752 and celebrating the lives of Tiruvengadam Pillai and Ananda Ranga Pillai. It also tells us how Tiruvengadam Pillai grew to be powerful at Pondicherry and helped in securing justice and honour for his relative, Guruva Pillai, from the French King himself. Ananda Ranga Pillai perhaps utilised the family traditions and the journal maintained by Nainiya Pillai for his information. The account as given by him here is not very accurate in a few places, particularly with reference to the dates of the accession and departure of the Governors and of Nainiya Pillai's disgrace and restoration.

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Lenoir is praised by the diarist as a very capable, just and intelligent man.' It was during his Governorship, for the second time, which began in 1726, that Ranga Pillai's phenomenally rapid rise to influence began. During Lenoir's ten years' rule, Pondicherry progressed by leaps and bounds in its prosperity. He ruled in such a way that "the Nizam and other Muhammadan rulers and the European and Carnatic governments and others, pronounced that God had been pleased to make truth, justice, ability, broadness of mind and all other good qualities dwell in the person of M. Lenoir and that he was fit to occupy the throne of Delhi itself."

Then the account continues :—"Dupleix was destined to hear the beating of *naubat* (imperial kettledrum) in Pondicherry which no other European in India had been fortunate enough to enjoy, and to have the Padshah's standards borne before him." The diarist claimed special credit for himself, and a large share of the responsibility as well, for the success of Dupleix in the operations against the English in the years 1746-48. An illustration of the diarist's meticulous knowledge of the details of the previous administrations is afforded by the protest that he recorded against the order of Governor De Leyrit in 1758 that Soupire, the commander of the forces, should be visited by the *amaldars* and other representative officials and headmen on ceremonial occasions. The diarist personally disliked De Leyrit and his administration but hated the very idea of the superiority of the military over the civil element. His remarks on this matter are worth reproduction in this paper.

"During the governorship of M. Lenoir, M. Lebo, the King's man, arrived in 1728 as the chief of command of the Fort and troops. M. Lenoir thought that he would be powerless if this man commanded the Fort without regard to him, and writing to Europe, obtained a letter from the King for his removal. So M. (La Faralle) was the only Major-General, and ever since M. Lenoir's time the Governor has been

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called Commandant-General. Now M. Soupire is the Brigadier who has come to conduct the war. The first in military rank is called Marechal de France; next to this is the Lieutenant-General; below this is the Marechal-de-camp; below him is Brigadier; then Colonel; then Commandant; then Capitaine; then Major, and lastly the officers. The Minister, then the General, then the Governor and lastly the Councillors are the people in charge of the administration of the country, and these should be visited by the *amaldars*, the ryots, the *mahānāttārs* (caste headmen). In ignorance of this, M. Leyrit told the *amaldars* and ryots to visit M. Soupire, the Brigadier, and so the Governor has spoiled everything."[8]

In the dark days that followed Lally's repulse from before Madras, the disaster at Wandiwash and the progress of the siege operations of the English round Pondicherry, the diarist continues to maintain submission to the impending fate, though he was seized with serious forebodings about the fate of the French and his own beloved Pondicherry. In one place the diarist expressed his willingness to do his unenviable duty of maintaining at his own expense a body of sepoys at the critical time and said that he should not fail "when the Company is on the verge of ruin for I have lived here 50 years under the French flag, serving the Company and eating its food, so that the very blood in my veins is the Company's." When an exodus of Indian citizens from Pondicherry began on a large scale in March, 1760, the diarist, while noting that the panic-stricken people went away to the extent of nearly half the town, mentioned with pride the fact that "my own relatives and my family remain here." He did not value the Mysore alliance that Lally sought so desperately towards the end and wrote that

[8] Pg. 93-94 of the *Diary*, Vol. XI.

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"the Mysoreans and even the pariahs among them treat French officers and people of the government more like dogs than men. This is the result of M. Lally's seeking the assistance of the Mysoreans who value the French as naught." The *Diary* breaks off from September 24, 1760, when Ranga Pillai perceived the rapidly approaching end. It was again begun from Saturday, January 10, 1761, four days before his death, probably by the nephew who continued the entry after Pillai's death. At last, four days after Ranga Pillai had been carried to the burning place, Coote's English Grenadiers replaced the French Guard at the Valudavur Gate at Pondicherry and the English flag was hoisted over its Fort Louis. He was only 52 years of age when he died; but the misery of the times and his own physical decline hastened his end. Thus disappeared an acute Indian observer who was far better informed on political matters than any other Indian of the times and his diary contains more authentic details of a political nature than that which any other Indian at Pondicherry could have kept. He knew most intimately all that was going on in the Indian quarter and was very accurate and valuable in watching the course of the trade and feeling the pulse of the popular sentiment.

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SIVAJI'S CHARTERS TO THE DUTCH ON THE COROMANDEL COAST

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Grant Duff gave an excellent account of the Carnatic expedition of Sivaji (1677-8 A.D.) in Chapter IX of his *History of the Mahrattas*, and a more recent and detailed narrative of the same expedition has been furnished by Professor Sarkar in Chapter XII of his *Sivaji and his Times*. There are valuable notices of the expedition in the Memoirs of François Martin (Vol. II, pp. 88-193), which have been translated by Mr. S. N. Sen in his *Foreign Biographies of Sivaji* (pp. 261-354). The third volume of the *Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlando-Indicum* of Heeres and Stapel published in 1934 contains translations in Dutch of some charters which the officers of the Dutch East India Company obtained from Sivaji or his representatives during the short period when Sivaji commanded most of the Coromandel coast, and it will be of some interest to give some account of these charters here.

Sarkar has observed that the chief of the Dutch factory at Tevenapatam (Cuddalore) waited on Sivaji at Vṛddhācalam in August, 1677, with presents of 'scarlet silk stuffs, sandalwood, rose-water, Maldive cocoanuts, cloves, and sword-blades.' François Martin is no friendly witness where the Dutch are concerned, and his statements, of which there are several, on the course of the negotiations between the Dutch and Sivaji must be accepted with reserve. Still they may be

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collected here before we take up the contents of the actual charters obtained by the Dutch from Sivaji and his lieutenants. Martin notes that in July, 1677, on some date before the 24th, the messenger who brought some letters to him from his embassy to Sivaji met on his way two Dutchmen in palanquins, others on horses and a large retinue of country soldiers and men carrying presents, going to pay a visit to Sivaji.[1] The two embassies met again in August and exchanged courtesies; Martin states that the Dutch party was headed by the chief of the factory of Tevenapatam, and adds that the Dutch did not gain much by these embassies which resulted only in much expenditure, inconvenience and embarrassment, with no adequate return.[2] De Jager, one of Dutch envoys to Sivaji, was 'at last released' in November, 1677.[3] Up to March, 1678, says Martin, the Dutch had not got the *firman* from Sivaji's officers for the security of their trade at Tevenapatam; they got at length permission to establish themselves at Porto Novo on the same terms as under Sher Khan, and this had cost them a good deal.[4] In September, 1678, Martin reports certain suspicious movements of Dutch ships in Porto Novo between the 8th and 10th which caused disquiet in Pondicherry, and states that Gopala Pandit, Subadar of Tevenapatam and Porto Novo, also noticed those movements of the Dutch, and desired that he and Martin should report to each other whatever they observed regarding them; the Dutch continued to embark their effects on the 12th and Gopala Pandit wrote that he had heard on good authority that they entertained designs against Pondicherry.[5] Martin also heard that the Dutch had removed even their furniture from Tevenapatam, and

1 *Memoirs, II*, p. 110 (Sen, p. 299).
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 113-4 (Sen, pp. 306-7).
3 *Ibid.*, p. 120 (Sen, pp. 316-7).
4 *Ibid.*, p. 127; (Sen, pp. 324-5).
5 *Ibid.*, pp. 141-2 (Sen, pp. 336-7—only part of the passage).

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reported their movements to Gingee. Again he learnt on the 19th September that one of the Dutch vessels had left Tevenapatam with the women and children of the factory on board. The Dutch proclaimed loudly that they were leaving the place for good as they had been subjected to too many insults and could not stay there any more ; the officers of Sivaji begged them to stay. Martin also heard the report of a conversation between the *havildar* of Tevenapatam and the chief of the Dutch factory in which the Dutchman wanted to purchase the fortress of Tevenapatam, to have the monopoly of the trade at Porto Novo, and also to have Pondicherry handed over to him ; all these, the *havildar* said, were things beyond his powers, but he would write to the Governor-General. Martin takes care to add that he did trust this report.[6] Further movements of Dutch ships are reported in October, 1678, and letters from Madras are said to have described elaborate plans made by the Batavian Council for avenging the treatment meted out by Sivaji in the preceding year and for the capture of Pondicherry, plans which had, however, miscarried in their execution.[7] In the entries under November, 1678, Martin incidentally refers once more to the bad treatment Sivaji had meted out to Dutch envoys when they went to meet him.[8] In January-February, 1679, things looked like the Dutch quietly resuming their trade at Tevenapatam and elsewhere.[9] In April, 1679, they are said to have continued their trade at Porto Novo and to have told the officers that in future they would control the entire trade of the place and cause a fall in the revenues of Sivaji.[10] There were still rumours of Dutch designs on Pondicherry in May, 1679, but everything pointed to peace

6 *Memoirs, II*, pp. 145-6 (Sen, pp. 337-8).
7 *Ibid.*, pp. 147-9.
8 *Ibid.*, p. 153 (Sen, 342).
9 *Ibid.*, p. 160.
10 *Ibid.*, p. 164.

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and quiet trade especially after news was received of the peace of Nimugen.[11]

And now to the charters themselves. The first of them is dated 15th July, 1677, [12] and contains an entry at the end saying that the Dutch translation was checked (with the original) and found correct on 30th July, 1677, in the castle Geldria at Pulikat. It is a *cowl* granted to the Dutch Company by the high and mighty prince Sivaji Maharaja. It states that Albert van Weede, the Company's officer at Tevenapatam, had sent to Sivaji a Brahmin envoy named Venkatesa, who explained to him that the Dutch wanted a *cowl* from Sivaji for their trade; Sivaji readily grants it and assures the Company that they could carry on exactly as they did under the kingdom of Bijapur. Sivaji thanks the Dutchman for his original intention to have come to meet him in person and invites him to do so when he finds it convenient. It seems probable therefore that the 'encounter between Martin's envoys to Sivaji and the Dutch embassy in July and August, 1677, took place after this *cowl* had been granted, and that the Dutch mission was sent to Sivaji to thank him for the *cowl* that he had already granted, and the large presents they carried constituted an expression of gratitude, doubtless here a lively expectation also of favours still to come. An entry in the Batavia *Dagh Register* for 1677 [13] refers to a letter of the 15th August from Albert van Weede and states that Sivaji was very friendly and civil to the Company, that he had already promised to the Company's delegate at Tevenapatam to grant them trading privileges all over the country by means of some *cowls*.

The next *cowl* [14] which is from Sivaji Maharaja granted to Jaques Caulier, the Dutch Governor and Director

11 *Memoirs, II*, p. 165.

12 Heeres-Stapel, No. 385 (iii, p. 60).

13 p. 319.

14 Heeres-Stapel, No 386 (iii, pp. 61-5).

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of the Coromandel coast, is dated 24th August, 1677, but is said to have been received only on the 5th March, 1678. Prof Stapel puts the query 'op Batavia ?' against the phrase 'ontfangen den 5 Maart a° 1678.' I rather think that it simply means what it says: 'received' on the day named, *i.e.*, by the representatives of the Dutch.[15] In other words, though the *cowl* was prepared on the 24th August, 1677, something happened at the last moment to delay its being handed over to the Dutch, but we do not know what it was. We see from this *cowl* and otherwise that De Jager and Clement must have been the two Dutchmen in palanquins whom Martin's men going to Sivaji met more than once on their way. And the statements of Martin noted above, the entries in the Dagh Registers of 1677 and 1678, and the two dates of the *cowl* under discussion fit into one another nicely. But there seems to be no record of the exact reason for the delay in the grant of charter; only Martin suggests more than once that it was the cupidity of the Maratha officials, and says that their missions to Sivaji cost the Dutch heavily.

The Dutch, we have seen, started very hopefully with Sivaji. But soon the tone changes into one of dissatisfaction and embarrassment. Caulier writes on the 24th September, 1677, that trade was at a standstill at Tevenapatam, and that the hopes he had entertained of getting from Sivaji more privileges at that place and a general confirmation of all the old *firmans* held by the Company had become very remote at the time of his writing.[16] De Jager was still in Sivaji's camp on the 15th October, evidently having gained nothing from his mission so far, and on the 16th van Weede wrote

[15] I must, however, state that one sentence of Dr. Stapel puzzles me: 'uit het *Daghregister* blijkt, dat 9 November op Batavia al bericht werd outvangen van de overeenkomst' (n. 1, p. 61) which seems to contradict his own citation from the *Daghregister* of the same date in the introduction to the charter and the other evidence cited and commented on in this paper.

[16] *Dagh Register*, 1677, p. 387.

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from Tevanapatam that trading was very difficult and that merchants were being subjected to exaction.[17] Well might Martin speak of De Jager being 'realeased' in November, which however simply means that when Sivaji left the Carnatic plains in that month, De Jager saw fit to leave the Maratha also. Again at the end of January, 1678, Caulier wrote once more that no success had attained the negotiation with Sivaji.[18]

But about the time Caulier wrote the last letter, there was at least obtained *cowl*[19] from Raghunath Pandithar, doubtless Raghunath Narain Hanumante, the trusted friend and adviser of Sivaji; this cowl mentions the embassy of Herbert de Jager, and in general terms sanctions the trade of the Company being carried on in Tevenapatam on the same terms as used to obtain under Bijapur in former days. It then mentions that the Pandit had heard of sundry dues in goods and money owing from the Company to Balbul-chan, Sirechan and their dependents; Raghunath Pandit would enquire into the evidence relating to these claims later, and the *cowl* is granted subject to this reservation. Balbul-chan and Sirechan doubtless stand for Bahlol Khan and Sher-Khan, the Bijapur commanders[20] representing the old order that was displaced by the advent of Sivaji; it is possible that the supposed claims of the Marathas on this account were put forward at the time the *cowl* of August, 1677, was drawn up as reasons against its being delivered to de Jager at the time. But ultimately that *cowl* seems to have been actually given to the Dutch at the beginning of March, 1678; it is drawn up in the name of Sivaji Maharaja and is the most comprehensive of all the chafters that we have to notice,

17 *Dagh Register*, 1677, pp. 395-6.

18 *Dagh Register*, 1678, p. 150.

19 No. 409 in Heeres, iii, pp. 195-6.

20 Stapel says in a note that they were particular merchants who had differences with the Company; he cites no authority.

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and its terms may be summarised as follows: De Jager and Clement had been sent by Caulier to Sivaji to prefer a request for a *cowl* that would enable the Company to trade as before in the territory newly acquired by him ('these lands'), and Sivaji gladly acceded to the Company trading under the same conditions as in the years past. These conditions are then enumerated. The Company will be free to trade in all the lands of the province of Gingee without any hindrance; they will pay a duty of 2½ % on goods as a prescribed rate on cloths at Tripaloersen [21] and will not be required to make any other payments; Sivaji's officers will not open packages of merchandise for inspection, provided the Company's men gave previous information of all merchandise imported and exported; the servants of the Company will be free to travel throughout the province, and the *havildars* and other officers of Sivaji are forbidden to take any of the Company's goods without proper payment therefor; the Company should maintain only the men and ships necessary for their trade, but may make additions to them on proper payment and had no need to apply to the *havildar* for permission to do so; Porto Novo, Tevenapatam and Puduchery are specially mentioned as the ports where the Dutch may carry trade; offences by the Company's men may be dealt with by the Company's officers; the Company will be protected against thieves, and any of their property lost by theft will be made good to them; the Company will have the right to detain people in custody for arrears due to them; the government of the province will have no right regarding shipwrecks suffered by the Company on its coast and its officers must help the Company in salvaging; the *kotwals* were to restore to the Company all deserters falling into their hands; and the Company should

21 Dr. Stapel notes that it is "Tripapaloersen" and says that Tiruvalur was meant (n. 3, p. 62). It looks more like Tirupāpuliyūr (Cuddalore).

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refrain from molesting any Portuguese vessels that might call. One privilege which the Dutch had exercised before is, however, expressly named and strictly forbidden, and that relates to slave trade. It is worthwhile translating the very words of this clause: "Under the Moorish government it had remained lawful for you to buy and transport from here men and women slaves without hindrance from any one. But now, so long as I am master of these lands, you should not buy or transport any men or women as slaves. And if you happen to do so and convey them to neighbouring lands, my people will set themselves against it, hinder it in all manner of ways, and will not allow of their being brought back to your factory; this must you observe and fulfil in the prescribed manner."

Martin's statements that at last in March, 1678, the Dutch got permission to establish themselves at Porto Novo on the same terms as under Sher Khan and that this cost them much are seen to be quite correct from two charters that may be noticed next. One of them is a *cowl*[22] granted by Sannosie Panditar, *havildar*, and Nettesi, second *havildar* of Porto Novo and is dated 20th March, 1678; Pieter Verwer, the Dutch factor at Negapatam, sent two merchants to Porto Novo for negotiations with these officers, and as a result they got *cowl* a sanctioning trade on payment of half-toll on goods, and the erection of a bankshall at Porto Novo: But in granting this *cowl* the *havildar* of Porto Novo and his assistant seem to have overstepped the limits of their authority; at any rate, 'Gobalo-dadas,' the Governor of 'Tinnengoery,' Palayam, was much upset by it, and to avoid a set-back, Verwer sent his second in command, Thomas Van Rhee, to the Governor, and later went himself, and thus secured a confirmation of the *cowl* regarding Porto

[22] No. 410, Heeres (iii, pp. 126-7).

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Novo. The confirmation is dated 25th April, 1678.[23] Porto Novo is said to stand under the sovereignty of 'Chialli-repaddy Segoise Magaragie', where the 'll' seems to be a wrong reading of 'tt' and the phrase stands for: 'Chhatrapati Sivaji Maharaja'.

There is just one more charter,[24] also relating to the trade of Porto Novo, and issued by Raghunath Panditar, the Governor of the entire province of Gingee and dated in February-March, 1680. The *cowl* of Gobalo-dadas permitted the Dutch to construct a bankshall or store in Porto Novo but not a 'loge' (factory). This soon led to difficulties, and the Company withdrew from the place, and what was more, declined to issue any passports for native craft to that place. Raghunath Pandit thereupon started negotiations with the Company which came to nothing. Finally, a junior merchant, Jacob Clement, assisted by an Indian broker 'Christnambathoe' (Kristman Bhathu) brought about an understanding, and secured permission for the construction of a 'loge' and the enjoyment of the same privileges as at Tevenapatam. The interest of this charter lies in its preamble which recalls the entire story of the negotiations between the Dutch and Sivaji after his advent to the Carnatic, and mentions the embassies to Sivaji and to Raghunath Pandit and the fact that they had both given charters to the Dutch, and these were being observed on both sides. It then proceeds to narrate the differences over Porto Novo and the mutual injury resulting from them, stresses the advantages of co-operation, and confers the same previleges regarding Porto Novo as at Tevenapatam.

Before concluding, I may invite attention to two charters of the period issued to the Dutch on behalf of Ekoji. They are both issued by Narahari Panditan Aiyan, 'great *havildar*

[23] No. 413, Heeres (iii, pp. 142-3).

[24] No. 435, *ibid.*, pp. 211-3).

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over Shiyali lands.' The first [25] bears the date 7th July, 1678, and seems to have been handed over to the Company ten days later on the 17th. The original was in Tamil (Malabaarse). It grants permission for the construction of a stone warehouse of stated dimensions in a prescribed spot in Trimelevaas to take the place of the 'loge' which had to be abandoned on account of erosion of the sea. The second charter [26] is dated 14th June, 1679 ; it confirms the old charter and lays down in detail the tariff of tolls upon different articles. It mentions the currency of two kinds of *fanams*, the great *fanams* called Oelandaer, *i.e.* Dutch *fanams*, and the smaller *fanams*, but unfortunately does not state the ratio between them.

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[25] No. 416 (iii, pp. 148-9).

[26] No. 428 (iii, pp. 183-7)

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THE SAMAYANAYA OF GĀGĀBHAṬṬA, COMPOSED FOR THE MARATHA KING ŚAMBHĀJI, IN A.D. 1680-81

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In his note[1] on Gāgābhaṭṭa's *Śivārkodaya*[2] published in the *Śiva-caritrapradīpa* in 1925, Mr. S. M. Divekar, the celebrated editor of the *Śivabhārata*[3] of Kavīndra Paramānanda makes the following remarks about another work of Gāgābhaṭṭa called the *Samayanaya*:—

"It is necessary to record here for the use of researches a new fact which has come to my notice. Gāgābhaṭṭa com-

[1] *Vide* pp. 223-225 of *Śivacaritrapradīpa*, B. I. S. Mandal, Poona, 1925, ed. by D. V. Apte and S. N. Divekar. Śivāji was a great patron of learning. Works composed by his order and patronage:—(1) करणकौस्तुभ, (2) शिवभारत by Paramānanda, (3) राज व्यवहारकोश by Raghunatha Paṇḍita, (4) शिवार्कोदय by Viśveśvara *alias* Gāgābhaṭṭa. Of these works the *Śivabhārata* (ed. by S. M. Divekar) has been published by the B. I. S. Mandal, Poona, 1927, (pp. 325+24). The Rāyavyavahārakośa in 10 Chapters has been edited by K. N. Sane in the *Śivacaritrapradīpa* (pp. 137-177). This *Kośa* was composed according to the Editor after Śivāji's coronation in A.D. 1674, say about A.D. 1676-77.

[2] A MS. of *Śivārkodaya* is available in the library of HH. the Maharaja of Alwar (*Vide* pp. 37-38 of *Peterson's Report on Alwar MSS*, 1892). This work is a versified commentary on the *Ślokavārttika* of Kumārilabhaṭṭa composed after Śivāji's coronation in A.D. 1674 by royal order ("तस्याज्ञया क्षत्रपतेः शिवस्य").

[3] The dates of the *Śivabhārata* according to the Editors lie between A.D. 1661 and 1674 (*Vide* p. 20 of Upodghāta to the Poona Edition of the *Śivabhārata*). In a *Nirṇayapatra* of A.D. 1664 the presence of the following Benares Pandits at Rajapur is mentioned:—(1) गागाभट्ट, (2) शितिकण्ठ दीक्षित, (3) रघुनाथ, (4) कवींद्र परमानन्द, (5) महादेव पण्डित, (6) प्रभाकर उपाध्याय, (7) श्रीरंग शास्त्री, (8) नृसिंह शास्त्री, (9) विश्वंभर भट्ट, (10) महादेव अग्निचित, (11) विनायक पंडित, (12) सोमनाथ, (13) जगन्नाथ, (14) विष्णु भट्ट, (15) अनन्तोपाध्याय (called भूगोगाल), (16) महादेव शेष—"काश्मीस्थाः पण्डिता अमी"

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posed in Śaka 1603 (=A.D. 1681) a work on *Nīti* (politics) called *Samayanaya* for Sambhāji as stated by Aufrecht on p. 139 of his *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Part II (1896). A copy of this work exists in the MSS collection at Florence (Italy). Lovers of history should try to procure this work. As this work was composed shortly after Śivaji's death (A.D. 1680) and as it bears on *Nīti* (politics), besides being a work composed for Śambhāji, it is likely to throw much light on the lives of both the father and the son (Śivāji and Śambhāji)."

The above remarks have been rendered by me into English from the Marathī original. They are based on Aufrecht's entry about समयनय which I reproduce from his *Cata. Catalogorum* for purposes of verification (*Part II, p. 139*) " विश्वेश्वर, son of Dinakara : *Samayanaya* written for Śambhuraja in 1681." There is nothing in the above entry to suggest that the work is a treatise on Nīti or politics as observed by Mr. Divekar. On the contrary, on p. 166 of Part II, Aufrecht makes the following entry which clearly states that the work *Samayanaya* is a work on *Dharmaśāstra* :—

" समयनय—*dh.* by Viśveśvara, son of Dinakara, Fl.[4] 434. Khn[5] 86."

On p. 696 of Part I, Aufrecht makes the following entry :—" समयनय by Gāgābhaṭṭa, Khn.86."

Both the MSS. of this work, one at Florence and the other referred to by Kielhorn, were the inaccessible to Mr. Divekar as they are to me at present. The MS. referred to by Kielhorn was evidently in the Bombay Presidency, Southern Division.

In the *Descriptive Catalogue of Smṛti MSS.* compiled by MM. Haraprasad Shastri[6] a MS. of the *Samayanaya* has been

[4] *Fl.*=Florentine Sanskrit MSS. examined by Aufrecht, Leipzig, 1892.

[5] *Khn*=List of Sanskrit MSS. in the Southern Division of the Bombay Presidency by Kielhorn, Fasc. I, Bombay, 1869.

[6] Published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1925. Vol. III (Smṛti MSS).

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described [7] but it is incomplete and the verse containing the name of the author has been found missing. This is the 3rd MS. of the work so far recorded but as it is incomplete in the beginning and at the end we have no means of knowing anything about its author and his relation with Śambhāji.

Recently while examining the collection of MSS. acquired by the B. O. R. Institute in 1938 from the Limaye family of Ashte (District Satara, Bombay Presidency), I came upon a complete MS. of the *Samayanaya* of Gāgābhaṭṭa. In view of the rarity of MSS. of this work I propose to describe it in this paper to remove all misconceptions about this work consequent upon the inaccessibility of its contents to the students of the Maratha history and the history of Sanskrit literature.

The MS. of the *Samayanaya* in the Limaye collection consists of 14 folios, the size of each folio being 12″×4″. Each folio has about 10 lines on each page, each line containing about 50 letters. The MS is written on country paper and is well preserved. It begins :—

"श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

गणपतिमभिगम्य सांगमेवं
दशरथसूनुवरस्य पादपद्मम् ।
दिनकरचरणौ प्रणम्यमूर्ध्ना
समनयं तनुते तदात्मजोऽथ ॥१॥
सिंहासनच्छत्रधराधिराज-
राजाधिराजैकशरण्यभूतः ।
शंभुः स्वयंभुः प्रभुरस्तु तुष्टः
स्फुरत्प्रलापोज्ज्वल-दिग्विभागः ।२॥

[7] This description is as follows on p. 774 of the Catalogue, Vol. III . - Country paper 11 × 4½ inches. Folio 11, Lines 10 on a page. Extent in Ślokas, 330. "Character, Nāgara of the 18th century. Appearance discoloured and mouse-eaten. - It relates to jyotis as applied to Smṛti consisting of 188 Ślokas and a half (times meet for religious ceremonies and festivals").

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अखंडकालः सकलः प्रसिद्धः
स चेश्वराज्ञा स सदैव चित्यः ।
यस्यैव खण्डम्प्रवदंति चाब्दा-
यनर्तुमासांश्च दिनानि चाद्याः ॥३॥
तिथ्यांशुभर्क्षांतनपितम मुख्योद्दः
पंचभेदस्तिलकव्रतादौ ।
चांद्रस्तु जन्मव्रत एव सौरो
गवायनादौ खलु सावनः स्यात् ॥४॥

Our MS. contains 268 *ślokas* as indicated by the numbering of the last verse. The MS. ends :—

Folio 14—" दिनकर-तनयेन तेन गागा-
भिधविबुधेन निरीक्ष्य संनिबंधान् ।
रघुवरकुलप्रयामुना निबद्धः
समयनयः सुखमेतु रांभुराज ॥२६७॥
शाके दस्रवियद्रसक्षितिमितेरौद्राभिधे वत्सरे ।
विश्वामित्रकुलारविंनतरणिर्गागाख्यसूरिः कृती ।
श्रीमच्छोसलवंश्यभूषणमणेः शंभोः सितच्छत्रपस्या(स्या)-
नंदाय सदा भवेदखिला कीर्त्यै प्रसादाय च ॥६८॥
इति श्रीगागाभट्टकृतः समयनयः समाप्तः ॥

It is clear from the foregoing extracts that this work, *Samayanaya*, was composed by गागाभट्ट, son of दिनकर. He belonged to विश्वामित्र *gotra* and composed this work to please King Śambhu of the Bhosala-vaṁśa, who is no other than Śambhāji, son of Śivaji the Great. The work was composed in *Saka 1602* represented by the Chronogr 3 am (दस्र, वियद, रस, क्षिति) *i.e.* in A.D. 1680-81.[8] The *Randra Saṃvatsara* recorded in the verse is correct as we find from a reference to the *Indian Ephemeris*[9], Gāgābhaṭṭa, has

[8] Śivaji died on *3rd April, 1680 (Saturday, Caitra Śuddha 15, Śaka 1602)* at midnight. His coronation took place on Friday, June, 1674 *Śaka 1596 Ānanda Saṃvatsara*) —*Vide* p. 92 of Pictorial Śivaji, Vol. I, ed. by Y. N. Kilkar, Poona, 1935. Rao Br. G. S. Sardesai records *4th April, 1680* as the date of Śivaji's death [*vide* p. 20 of *Life of Sambhuji* (Marathi Riyasat) 1935].

[9] Vol VI, p. 162.

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not recorded the exact date of the completion of the work in A.D. 680-81. As Śambhāji is described as "सितच्छत्रप" we must presume that the work was completed after the coronation[10] of Śambhāji consequent upon his father's death on *4th April, 1680*. We are told by historians that the formal coronation of Śambhāji took place on *16th January, 1681*, though he ascended the throne on *28th July, 1680*. Śaka 1602 mentioned by Gāgābhaṭṭa ends on *10th March, 1681* and consequently both the dates associated with Śambhāji's reign, *viz., 29th July, 1680* and *16th January, 1681* are covered up by Gāgābhaṭṭa's reference to Śaka 1602. If the reference to sovereignty indicated by the expression "सितच्छत्रप" is associated with *20th July, 1680*, the date of composition of the *Samayanaya* must lie *between 20th July, 1680 and 10th March, 1681*. If, however, the expression under reference is associated with the date of formal coronation of Śambhāji, *viz., 16th January, 1681* we must presume that Gāgābhaṭṭa composed this work on dharmaśāstra between *16th January* and *10th March 1681*. At any rate we can definitely say that the work was composed *between 20th July, 1680 and 10th March, 1681*.

As the *Samayanaya* is a work on *dharma* dealing with times suited for religious ceremonies and festivals according to the canons of astrology and as it was composed by Gāgābhaṭṭa to please Śambhāji (सितच्छत्रपस्य ज्ञानंदाय) we must see how far Śambhāji was interested in dharmaśāstra. In fact this interest, if not a deep regard, for Hindu dharma on the part of Śambhāji is mentioned by historians[11] as one of the relieving features of Śambhāji's character. This interest is further reflected in some verses[12] recently discovered by me as

[10] Śambhāji ascended the throne on *20th July, 1680*. The formal Coronation Ceremony took place on *16th January, 1681* (*Vide* p. 24 of *Life of Śambhāji* by G. S. Sardesai, 1935).

[11] *Vide* pp. 104-105 of *Life of Śambhāji* by G. S. Sardesai.

[12] I am preparing a special paper on these verses found in (2) MSS. of *Parabhū-prakaraṇa* examined by me.

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the composition of Keśava Paṇḍita, the author of the *Rājārāma-caritam*[13] (composed A.D. 1690). In these verses Śambhāji is described as "सकलशास्त्रविचारशीलः" and "धर्मज्ञः शास्त्रकोविदः" These verses also tell us that Śivaji referred to Śambhāji for his decision the question whether the Parabhūs were entitled to the performance of the Muñja Ceremonies of their sons? His decision which was against the Parabhūs was put in verse by Kesava Paṇḍita,[14] who was closely associated with Śivaji, Śambhāji and Rājārām in succession.

From the foregoing discussion about the nature and contents of the *Samayanaya* it is perfectly clear that the work has nothing to do with politics as wrongly surmised by the late Mr. S. M. Divekar. On the contrary this treatise deals with dharmaśāstra as stated by Aufrecht and corroborated by my personal examination of a rare MS of the work described in this paper. It remains to be proved whether Gāgābhaṭṭa composed this work (within a year from Śivaji's death) in the Deccan or at Benares, the place of his residence.

[13] Published by the B. I. S. Mandal, Poona and edited by V. S. Bendae, 1931.

[14] The full name of Keśava Paṇḍita was Keśava Dāmodara Purohita. He received some land from Śambhāji on *29th December, 1684.* (Vide *Madhyayugīna Caritrakośa*, Poona, 1937, p. 270).

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20

ORIGIN OF SIKH TERRITORIAL CHIEFTAINSHIPS, 1748-1759

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Muin-ul-Mulk's persecution of the Sikhs, 1748-1753

Muin-ul-Mulk, popularly known as Mir Mannu, the Viceroy of the Punjab from 1748 to 1753, was a man of vigorous nature, and took every possible step to suppress the Sikh risings in the country. He found the use of artillery very effective in the desultory warfare with the Sikhs, and in consequence strengthened and reorganised this branch of the army service. A new type of light guns (long firelocks) was manufactured and he got ready a corps of 900 *Jizairchis*. These gunners were trained under his personal guidance and supervision. The eye-witness Tahmas Khan Miskin states that Muin took keen interest in watching the exercises and manoeuvres of these new troops and bestowed prizes and presents on them with his own hands.[1]

These *Jizairchis* along with the main army were employed against the Sikhs. "They ran after these wretches for nearly fifty miles, and slew them wherever they stood up

[1] Miskin, 67-68.

"پس از فراغ نماز صبح مغلها روبرو طلب داشته قواعد جزائرها را از دست آنها اسپ دوانیده میگرفتند و هرکه تیر بر هدف می زد اورا بانعام و اکرام موهون عنایات مي‌نمودند در حدی که نوابصاحب از راه تفرج مغلدن را بکشتی می انداختند قباهائی سقرلاط و سبز و سرخ بانها مرحمت میگشت"

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to oppose them." Everybody who brought Sikh heads received a reward of Rs. 10 per head. Any body who brought a horse (belonging to a Sikh) could keep it as his own. Whosoever lost his own horse by chance in the fight (with the Sikhs) got another in its place from the Government stable.[2]

The Sikhs offered stout resistance, but they were helpless against light portable artillery. Occasionally, they sought refuge in the impenetrable retreats of the northern hills, and gave temporary consolation to their afflicted hearts by singing the following couplet of their own composition :—

"میر منون اسان دی داتری اسیں میر منون دے سوئے
جیون جیون میر منون وڈھدا گہرین گہرین اسیں ہوئے"

(Mir Mannu is our sickle and we are his grass-blades ; the more he cuts us the more do we grow in every house and hamlet.")[3]

But out of the ashes of the martyrs the Sikhs arose with greater glory and splendour. Muin's efforts availed him nothing. The Sikhs never gave him peace. The harder he struck, the bolder they became. The constant warfare had ruined the Jat peasantry of Central Punjab, and the only remedy they found for their ills against the oppression by the Government was in joining the Sikh ranks. "During the campaigns of Muin's officers against the Sikhs, the Hindu peasants were also persecuted on many allegations such as supplying food to the Sikh outlaws, giving them shelter and avoiding disclosure of their whereabouts. Therefore daily additions to the numbers of Sikhs took place openly at every place. Some of the members of the *zamindar* families, under tyrannical oppression of the Muslim

[2] Miskin, 69.
[3] Ali-ud-Din, Illa.

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officers, every day left their homes, took baptism and received free supply of food, clothing, arms and horses from the *Sardars.*" [4]

With the beginning of the cold weather in 1753, the Sikhs renewed their raids with greater vigour, and infested the very environs of Lahore. Muin-ul-Mulk undertook expeditions in person one of which is described by Miskin :—" He marched out of Lahore to a distance of about 15 miles and encamped near village Tilakpur (Malakpur, 40 miles north-east of Lahore, according to *Tarikh-i-Ahmad-Shahi*, folio 282) situated on the bank of the Ravi. He halted there for a long time and sent out Mughulia troops under Khwajah Mirza in every direction to suppress the Sikhs wherever he heard of their risings. Khwajah Mirza at the head of his troops galloped off thirty or sometimes fifty miles ; wherever he got a clue of the whereabouts of the Sikhs, he suddenly fell upon them and slew them. The persons who brought Sikhs alive or their heads or their horses, received prizes. Every Mughul who lost his own horse in battle was provided with another of better quality at the expense of the Government. The Sikhs who were captured alive were sent to hell by being beaten with wooden mallets. At times Adina Beg Khan sent 40 or 50 Sikh captives from the Doab District (Jullundur); they were as a rule killed with the strokes of wooden hammers." [5]

[4] Sohan Lal, i, 130. *Siyar-ul-Mutakharin*, 51, also testifies to this fact :—

" و در فرقهٔ سکهان اعانت همدیگر لازم بلکه جز و مسلک و مشرب آنهاست بنابرین هرجا تعدی میرفت اهل آن خانه دوها در سر گذاشته نعرهٔ اکال بلند و اظهار اختیار مسلک گور و گوبند میکردند سکهان دیگر در حمایتش می کوشیدند بناء علی هذا این مسلک که فی الجمله از سابق هم رواجی داشت رائج تر گشته کثرتی در فرقهٔ مذکوره بهمرسید "

[5] Miskin, 84.

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Period of Misrule and Lawlessness

Muin-ul-Mulk suddenly died in this very camp on the 3rd November, 1753, and then ensued a period of endless anarchy and confusion, thus allowing the Sikhs complete respite for three years and a half to come. During this short period, the government of the Province changed hands nine times. The Punjab was held by Mughlani Begam, widow of Muin, in the name of her son, Muhammad Amin Khan, a two year-old baby, from November, 1753 to May, 1754 ; by Mughlani Begam in her own name from May to December, 1754 ; by Khwajah Mirza Khan from December, 1754 to April, 1755 ; by Mughlani Begam from April to July, 1755; by Khwajah Abdulla from July to September, 1755 ; by Adina Beg Khan from September, 1755 to February, 1756 ; by Mughlani Begam in March, 1756; by Jamil-ud-Din Khan from April to October, 1756; and by Khwajah Abdulla from October to April, 1757. Ahmad Shah Abdali had invaded the country for the fourth time in October, 1756, and his invasion lasted till April, 1757. It threw the machinery of government out of gear so completely that not even a semblance of order existed anywhere.

The period succeeding Muin's death, therefore, witnessed complete chaos and confusion prevailing in the land of the five rivers. Predatory bands overran the country. The inhabitants of entire villages became hereditary robbers. Every man's hand turned against his neighbour. The rich and strong worked their wicked vice, subject to the speculations of their supporters and the caprice of those greater than themselves. A lawless soldiery converted itself into state banditti. It overspread the land and overawed the peaceful people. Exactions and extortions were practised very widely on all, high and low. Corruption and oppression were the order of the day. The peasants knew no peace from the farmer of revenue who was also magistrate, judge and

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collector of customs. If a poor peasant was cut down by him, nothing was said and nothing done. Husbandmen were forcibly dragged from their ploughs, and forced with their cattle to assist in the transport of travelling camps, their only pay, foul words and blows. Their corn and forage were seized and appropriated without remuneration. The sower of the seed was never sure that he would gather the fruits of his industry. Arable land fell out of tillage. Tending and lifting cattle became the chief employment of people. Sword, spear and matchlock were the only title-deeds that commanded respect.[6]

The Establishment of Sikh Protectorates

This state of affairs considerably enhanced the power of the Sikhs. " Their number and audacity," says Prinsep, " accordingly increased rapidly, and bands of these bearded depredators were continually to be seen traversing the various districts of the Punjab, sweeping off the flocks and herds, and laying waste the cultivation unless redeemed by a prompt contribution." This ultimately led to the establishment of their protectorates or the *Rakhi* or *Jamdari* as it was called. The villages, as a whole, placed themselves under the protection of the *Dal Khalsa* or entire Sikh body on the condition of paying one-fifth of their produce or income twice a year at the end of each harvest, and the Sikhs gave to them full protection against plunder, theft or any other molestation either by themselves or by anyone else. In a word, safety of their persons and property was guaranteed.[7] " Whenever a *Zemindar* has agreed to pay this

[6] Forster, i·xi. Calcutta Review, LXVIII, 1879, p. 92; Karnal Gazetteer, 1888, 35·36 ; Jhelum Gazetteer, 45 ; Sialkot Gazetteer, 41-42, and the impressions left on the mind by Miskin's contemporary account.

[7] *Tarikh-i-Jhang Siyal*, 68.

" جاسداری یعنی نذرانه حق حفاظت که آنرا راکهی میگویند مقرر فرمود "

Buti Shah, 308a.

بطور راکهي از هریک دیه چیزی کم و بیش گرفتن معین ساخت "

tribute to any Sikh chief, that chief not only himself refrains from plundering him, but will protect him from all others; and this protection is by general consent held so far sacred, that even if the grand army passes through a *zemindary* where the safeguards of the lowest Sikh chief are stationed, it will not violate them."[8]

This step secured for the Sikhs a strong economic position for the time being and created for the Sikh chiefs principalities, which they were soon to rule over as absolute masters. Thus, this step supplied them with the idea of raising themselves into territorial chieftains.

Conflicts with Jahan Khan, April, 1757-April, 1758

The Sikhs had grown bold and they had acquired such great strength that they began to plunder the plunderers. A Marathi despatch, dated March, 1757, reproduced in Rajwade, Vol. I, p. 85, says :—" At the end of March, 1757, when the front division of Abdali's army under Prince Timur was transporting the plundered wealth of Delhi to Lahore, Alha Singh in concert with other Sikh robbers, had

Ibid.

" القصه که گروه سنگهان اول از آن چنان دیهات و تهانه جات که اول بویرانی آنها سرگرمی داشتند و من بعد نذرانه گیرد و پس از آن در تصرف و قبض خود آوردن خواستند "

Ali-ud-din, 171b.

" همچنان دیگر سرداران خورد در سرزمین پنجاب موضع بموضع و ضلع بضلع و پرگنه به پرگنه بقدر همت خود جامداری ها پیدا کردند و هریک بجای خود دم حکومت میزد و بقسمت مقسوم گذاره اوقات میکرد "

Ganesh Das, 207.

" در آنوقت سنگهان متغلب از روسای پرگنات چیزی سالیانه بطور رشوت یا بنام مالگذاری میگرفتند تا از تاخت باخت خود آن ملک را مصون میداشتند آن را جامداری می نامیدند و میگفتند فلان سنگه جامدار فلان علاقه است "

[8] Browne, *India Tracts*, viii

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barred his path at Sanawar (between Ambala and Patiala) and robbed him of half his treasures, and again attacked and plundered him at Malerkot. So great had been the success of these brigands that rumour had magnified it into the Prince's captivity and even death at their hands." Ahmad Shah Abdali was also attacked by the Sikhs between Delhi and the Chenab several times.[9]

Ahmad Shah had annexed the whole of the Punjab on the west of the Jumna to his Afghan kingdom, and appointed his son Timur Shah, Viceroy of the Punjab with his commander-in-chief Jahan Khan as his assistant. He was provided with 10,000 Persian troops of his special contingent, and was given instructions to raise a separate army of India-born Turki, Persian and Afghan soldiers.[10]

Jahan Khan set himself to the task of punishing the Sikhs for their excesses during the previous Abdali campaign. The Sikhs, on the other hand, had just laid the foundation of their economic power, and were keenly resenting the loss of their position and privilege. The Sikhs tried their utmost to revive their strength, but they were driven from pillar to post. A battle was fought by Jahan Khan with the Sikhs at Amritsar on the day of the Diwali festival, the 11th November, 1757, in which the Sikhs were defeated and most of them massacred.[11] About a month later Sodhi Barbhag Singh of Kartarpur was belaboured.[12] "From that moment," says Miskin, "the peace and orderly rule which had been recently established in the country disappeared and the Sikhs rose in rebellion on all sides."[13]

[9] Selections from Peshwas' Daftar, xxvii, 148; Bakhtmal, 77; Malcolm, 93; Ahmad Shah, 877; Sarkar, ii. 71-72.

[10] Miskin, 139. [11] *Ibid.*, 162-165. [12] *Ibid.*, 165.

[13] *Ibid.*

" و از همان ساعت صورت امن و شکل بند و بست که در آن ملک اسلوب یافته بود برهم خورد و از چهار طرف هنگامه و فساد سکهان برپا شدن گرفت "

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Soon afterwards, Adina Beg Khan, the governor of the Jullundur Doab, also joined the Sikhs against the Afghans; while Marathas also excited the Sikhs to create greater tumult and confusion in the country. A Marathi despatch says :—" The Sikhs gathering together by our advice, began to upset Abdali's rule; from some places they expelled his outposts. They defeated Saadat Khan Afridi, plundered all the Jullundur Doab, and forced him to flee to the hills. By the order of the Viceroy, Khwajah Abed Khan came from Lahore with 20,000 horse and foot to fight the Sikhs. In the end he was defeated, many of his captains were slain, all of his camp and baggage were plundered, and all the artillery left behind by Abdali was captured."[14]

This victory turned the tables in favour of the Sikhs. They became predominant everywhere, and the Afghans lost ground rapidly. Miskin says: " After this, every force, in whatever direction it was sent, came back defeated and vanquished. Even the environs of Lahore were not safe. Every night thousands of Sikhs used to fall upon the city and plunder the suburbs lying outside the walls of Lahore; but no force was sent out to repel them, and the city gates were closed one hour after nightfall. It brought extreme disgrace to the Government and utter lawlessness prevailed."[15]

Adina Beg Khan with the assistance of the Marathas and the Sikhs expelled Timur Shah and Jahan Khan from

[14] Selections from Peshwa's Daftar, ii, 83.

[15] Miskin, 166.

ازین پس هرطرف که فوج میرفت منهزم گشته می آمد تا بحدی که نوبت بگرد نواح شهر لاهور رسید و هرشب هزار هزار سکهان برشهرمیریختند و و محله های بیرون شهرپناه را تاخت و تاراج می کردند و هیچکس بنابر اندفاع و امتناع آنها از شهر بیرون بر نمی‌آمد بلکه حکم شد که یک پاس شب گذشته دروازه های شهر معمرر میشده باشند غرضیکه کار سخت برسوائی کشید و انتظام مملکت به برهمی انجامید "

Lahore. They vacated the city on the 9th April, 1758 and fled away to Afghanistan. The Marathas retired from the Punjab about the end of May, and appointed Adina Beg Khan their deputy for an annual tribute of 75 lakhs of rupees. Adina Beg did not like to stay in Lahore. He left Khwajah Mirza Khan, his son-in-law, in charge of the capital and himself set up his headquarters at Batala. He was, however, not destined to enjoy the Punjab viceroyalty for a long time. Early in September, he was taken ill, and he passed away on the 15th September, 1758.

The death of Adina Beg Khan was a signal for the forces of disruption and disorder to display themselves once more in the land of the five rivers. The Sikhs naturally took advantage of such a situation. They had already become supreme in the Punjab. Finding nobody to oppose them, they set themselves up as territorial chieftains, and they became absolute masters of the lands which they held under their protection. The local chiefs, both Hindus and Muslims, either submitted to the Sikhs on a definite promise to pay them a portion of their revenues, or they were swept out of existence. The Sikhs, however, offered generous terms to the chiefs and kind treatment to the people, and thereby won their good-will and co-operation.[16]

Territories acquired by Individual Sikhs in 1758-59.

1. Jullundur District.

The celebrated Jassa Singh Ahluwalia laid Rai Ibrahim of Kapurthala under contribution.[17] He also captured the *parganahs* of Maniwal, Kalanaur, Sahri, Marala, Dabwan, Jhora, Maknapur, Meghwal, Urmur Tanda, Sariha, Talwandi, Jandiala (near Nurmahal), Bhunga, Balachor, Haibatpur,

[16] Buti Shah, 242b-243a ; Ratan Singh, 489-92 ; Gyan Singh, 750-51.

[17] *Rajas of the Punjab*, 459-60.

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Nur Mahal, Sathiala, Cholha, Qaimpur and Sarhali, yielding about 10 lakhs of rupees a year.[18]

Sahaj Singh, a resident of Makhowal in Amritsar district, seized fourteen villages situated between Phagwara and

[18] *Raj Khalsa*, II ; Gyan Singh, 1036.

In the Kapurthala State Library there are several royal mandates, one of which, dated 15th May, 1758, runs as follows:—

"فرمان عالمگیر ثاني بنام راجه جسا سنگه اهلووالیه ' تحریر رمضان سنه ۱۱۷۱ه
مهر عقیدت و اخلاص دستگاه لایق العنایت و الاحسان جسا سنگه بعنایت بادشاهانه
مفتخر بوده بداند که درین وقف فرمان همایون ظل سبحانی از افق مکرمت ز
قدرداني شرف صدور یافته که عریضه آن اخلاص دستگاه از نظر انور گذشت و حسن
خدمات آن عقیدت نشان باعث مجرایی او شد آنچه تعلقات پرگنه هیبت پور یعني
فتح آباد وغیره و تعلقات پرگنه و تاله مثل ستهیاله و کوٹ مهتاب وغیره و تعلقه پرگنه
و سیاره (کذا) در تحت و تصرف شما است باید که بطور قدیم در تصرف آن عقیدت
دستگاه بوده معاف باشد از جاگیرداران قصبه کهرّه و کهرّهي کوتاه نذورات بدستور
جاگیرداران بی کم و کاست مي گرفته باشند و آنکه عقیدت انتباه هوي سنگه در ملک
خود جنگ و فساد با رعایا برپا مي دارد خوب نسبت باید که دست از فساد برداشته
مزاحمت بخلایق نرساند آن اخلاص دستگاه را لازم که معرفت عالی جاه رفیع پایگاه
نواب زین الدین خان خود را در حضور انور حاضر سازد تا بدان موجب حکومت و
منصب آن عقیدت نشان در ملک معین و مقرر باشد ' تحریر بتاریخ هفتم شهر رمضان
المبارک سنه ۱۱۷۱ه المقدس مطابق سنهٔ ۴ جلوس میمنت مانوس" .

Its translation as given in "Kapurthala State, its Past and Present" on p. 46 is wrong. My rendering is given below:—

"*Firman* of His Majesty Alamgir II, Emperor of Hindostan, to Raja Jassa Singh Ahluwalia.

(Imperial Seal)

To

The loyal and faithful Jassa Singh, worthy of favour, honoured with Imperial grace, be it known unto you.

As a mark of supreme favour and appreciation this auspicious *farman* is being issued with a view to inform you that your report has received the honour of our approval and that your good services have met with our approbation. Whatever *Talukas* Haibatpur or Fatahabad, etc., Sathiala and Kot Mahtab, etc., and *Parganah* Tiharah are under your control and your possession shall continue as theretofore, to be held by you as a free grant and you are hereby empowered as in the case of other *Jagirdars* to levy tribute from the *Jagirdars* of the towns of Khera and Garhi Kotaha. Besides, it is not proper that Hari Singh oppresses the subjects in his own country. He should abstain from such a policy and should not interfere with

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the Sutlej yielding about Rs. 20,000. His descendants still hold *Jagir* at Moron in *Tahsil* Phillaur.[19]

Nahar Singh, a Jat of village Man in *Tahsil* Batala of district Gurdaspur, captured several villages in Phillaur *Tahsil* where his descendants are still represented at Sarhali.[20]

Dasaundha Singh, a Dhilon Jat of village Jhabal in Amritsar district, occupied some villages in the north of Jullundur where his descendants still hold *Jagir* at Laroa.[21]

Lal Singh, a Jat of Amritsar district seized upon thirteen villages in the Jullundur Doab and south of it, where his descendants hold a *Jagir* at Bahram in the Jullundur district.[22]

Mahan Singh, a Ladhar Jat, acquired ten villages in Phillaur *Tahsil* where his family is represented at Thala.[23]

the people. He should present in our presence through Nawab Zain-ud-Din Khan so that his rank and rule may be established by us.

Written on the 7th day of the auspicious month of Ramzan, 1171 Hijri, corresponding to the fourth year of our august reign."

The evidence, however, seems to be against the authenticity of this document. No testimony is available to prove that Jassa Singh had got the title of Raja or he was acknowledged as such till this date. In May, 1758, the Sikhs were busy in punishing the Afghans as allies of the Marathas and Adina Beg Khan, and do not seem to have rendered any service to the Delhi court. Hence there appears to be no reason why Jassa Singh should have been offered such a generous treatment by the Delhi Emperor. Moreover, Alamgir II was not in a position to cause displeasure of the Afghan King by issuing such a mandate. Besides, the Emperor could derive no evident advantage by winning over the chief Sikh leader if he had desired to do so. The most glaring inconsistency with the actual facts is the mention of Garhi Kotaha as one of the *pargana*hs under the jurisdiction of Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. Garhi Kotaha is a hilly tract which is situated between the boundaries of British India in Ambala District and of the Sirmoor State. The Sikhs did not appropriate Ambala District earlier than 1764.

This view is further strengthened by the statement of the late Karam Singh in *Phulwari* April, 1929, on page 445. It says:—

"In past times there was a cunning man of Khwaspura, who cheated the chiefs of Kapurthala, Patiala and Bhadaur by forged mandates. The mandates are considered genuine documents even till this day and wrong conclusions are drawn from them in histories."

19 *Chiefs and Families of Note*, 301.

20 *Ibid.*, 313.

21 *Ibid.*, 318.

22 *Ibid.*, 319.

23 *Ibid.*, 321-22.

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The territories of Singhpuria *Misl* under Khushhal Singh comprised the southern part of the Jullundur *Tahsil* and extended into the south-west of the Hoshiarpur *Tahsil* and probably included part of the Dasuha *Tahsil*.[24]

Karora Singh, a Birk Jat of village Birkian, the leader of the Sikh band of his own name, took possession besides Harianah and Sham Chaurasi in the Hoshiarpur district, of lands in the north of Jullundur, where the confederacy is still represented by the *Sardars* of Naugaja in Jullundur and of Sirhal Kazion in Towshera and also acquired the country about Talwan in the south-west of Phillaur *Tahsil* and laid Mian Mahmud Khan of Talwan under contribution.[25]

The well-known Sikh chief Tara Singh[26] Ghaiba of the Dallewal *Misl* took Sarai Dakhni from Sharf-ud-Din, an Afghan of Jullundur. He then marched into the east of the district and took all the country about Rahon and Nawashahr and fixed the former as his residence. He then occupied the neighbourhood of Phillaur, which finally went to Tara Singh[27] Kakar. About a year afterwards, he took Nakodar from Munj Rajputs. In this campaign Sujan Singh Badecha was killed by a musket ball. Tara Singh amply provided for the *Sardar* who is represented by the *Sardars* of Shahkot and Dhanowal in the south-east of Nakodar *Tahsil*. He also acquired the country about

[24] Jullundur Settlement Report, 1892, p. 31.

[25] *Ibid.*, 1892, p. 32. ("The Talwan '*ilaka* extended from the Ghorewaha country in the east as far west as Shahkot. In the north, the Bein and Gurka were its limit and Sutlej bounded it on the south. It contained 360 villages. Talwan was part of the country occupied by the Munj Rajputs and was held by Mian Mahmud Khan at this time. He had a few hundred troopers of his own, but he found it advisable to take protection of Karora Singh. The Talwan territory was shut in one side by that of the *Sardars* of Nurmahal who were subordinate to the Ahluwalia chief, and on the other by branches of the Dullewalia confederacy, and was very circumscribed," *Ibid.*, pp. 32 and 77.)

[26] For interesting details about him see Buti Shah, 244b-249a.

[27] Buti Shah, 255b-257a.

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Mahatpur. On the other side of the Sutlej, Tara Singh was in possession of a part of the Ludhiana district, including the strong fort of Ghungrana.[28]

Karam Singh and his three brothers secured an estate at Saranpur worth Rs. 8,000.[29]

2. *Hoshiarpur District*

Jhanda Singh, a Jat of Sultanwind in Amritsar district, acquired sixteen villages in the territories of Basi Kalan and Singriwala in *Tahsil* Hoshiarpur, forty villages in Katgarh and seventeen in *parganah* Jamaitgarh of *Tahsil* Garhshanker, yielding an annual revenue of about one lakh. This family is represented at Katgarh and Sultanwind.[30]

Karora Singh seized upon the *parganahs* of Sham Chaurasi, Harianash, Khurdin, Kanori, Garja, Hoshiarpur, and all the four Basis.[31]

Gurdit Singh of Santokhgarh captured the whole of the Babhaur *taluk* and a quarter of Una.[32]

[28] Ganesh Das, 206; Buti Shah, 244b-249a and 255b-256a; Gyan Singh, 1014; Jullundur Settlement Report, 1892, p. 34; Imperial Gazetteer, 1908, Punjab, i 424. (Tara Singh Ghaiba was a resident of village Kang, in *Tahsil* Nakodar, lying about three miles south of Lohian on the south side of Bein stream. The title Ghaiba was given to him because he was very clever and he could understand mysterious things because Ghaiba means one who can solve mysteries. Originally he was a poor goatherd and used to pass his flock over the swollen Bein by means of ropes and thus won this title. His goats were stolen by a notorious Gujar robber Suleman and his few household effects were carried off by the revenue officials to pay the Government tax. Thereupon he left his village and became a Sikh taking *pahal* from Gurdial Singh. Even now he was badly provided with the necessaries of life. Tara Singh with his companions came across some troopers of Ahmad Shah who were in search of a ford to cross the Bein. Tara Singh offered them his services and showed them a place where they could safely cross the stream. These Sikhs were then employed to take their goods, horses and arms across it. When they got to the other side they did not think it necessary to return and immediately disappeared with the things they had secured. (Jullundur Settlement Report, 1892, 32; Ali-ud-Din, 174b; Buti Shah, 244b-545b.)

[29] *Punjab Chiefs*, 370.

[30] *Chiefs and Families of Note*, 344-46.

[31] *Raj Khalsa*, 33; Gyan Singh, 1007.

[32] Hosiarpur Gazetteer, 19.

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Jai Singh, the leader of the Kanhya *Misl* seized Nag, Mukerian, Haji, Kerrot, Uthian and other Awan villages.[33]

Hari Singh Dallewalia of village Kaleki near Kasur seized Garh Shankar[34] and the country in the neighbourhood.

Mansa Singh Dallewalia of Garhdiwala in Hoshiarpur was a Shihota (or Birk, as one account says) Jat and the post of *chaudhuri* belonged to his family. He fell into arrears with his revenue and was for some time in prison at Lahore, whence he escaped and joined the Dallewalia band. He became independent in his village and seized some territory in the neighbourhood. He also acquired Bahram in this district.[35]

Gurbakhash Singh, a Sindhu Jat of Kalsia, a prominent member of the Karora Singhia confederacy, wrested Banbeli.[36]

Jassa Singh Ramgarhia took possession of Miani and the country along the Beas.[37]

3. Ferozepur District

Jassa Singh Ahluwalia seized the estate of Kot Isa Khan from Qadir Bakhsh Khan,[38] the Dogar[39] territory of Mullanwala and the Nypal[40] territory of Mukku, and at both the places he built several fortified posts.[41]

Tara Singh Ghaiba of the Dallewalia *Misl* conquered the *Ilaka* of Dharmkot and Ghangrana which he kept for himself and *Ilaka* Fatahgarh which he made over to his cousins, Dharm Singh and Kaur Singh.[42]

[33] *Punjab Chiefs*, 316.

[34] Jullundur Settlement Report, 1892, 38.

[35] *Ibid.*

[36] *Chiefs and Families of Note*, 83.

[37] Gyan Singh, 1002.

[38] *Rajas of the Punjab*, 459-60.

[39] The Dogars, a pastoral people, all Muslims, inhabit the neighbourhood of Kasur and Ferozepur and along the southern bank of the Sutlej.

[40] The Nypals, a sub-caste of Bhattis, are mostly nomads and take to thieving. (*Rajas of the Punjab*, 459, foot-note).

[41] *Ibid.*, 459.

[42] Jullundur Settlement Report, 1892, 34; Gyan Singh, 1014.

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4. Gurdaspur District

Jai Singh, the founder of the Kanhya *Misl* seized the entire *parganah* of Batala together with the following territories :—Gharota[43] (7), Taragarh, Adalut Garh, Mirthal (17), Nangal Bhur (20), Jandichauntra, Bianpur, Durangla, Gurdaspur, Jhabkara, Khunda, Kalanaur, Fatagarh, Chitaurgarh, Shahpur, Dehr, Hara (16), Shakargarh (35), Kot Naina (54), Narot (65), Nattur (18) and Sohian.

Jassa Singh Ramgarhia took possession of the following :—Ghuman, Riarki, Kadian, Khakowal, Sri Har Gobindpur.

Amar Singh Bagga of the Kanhya *Misl* captured Sujanpur, Sukalgarh, Phulai (21), Pathankot (19), Adinanagar and Dharmkot.

Desa Singh, relation of Jai Singh Kanhya, made himself the master of 45 villages of the Kauntarpur, Mirthal, Garota, and Sujanpur *Ilakas*.

The Bhangi chiefs seized Bulaki *parganah* consisting of 29 villages.[44]

Natha Singh, son of Ramdev of the Kanhya *Misl*, took possession of the country around Rangar Nangal where he built a strong fort.[45]

5. Lahore District

The Nakka country lies between the Ravi and the Sutlej in the south of Lahore District. The word Nakka means border or edge. Hira Singh and his followers were called Nakais because their chief leader Hira Singh belonged to this country. He was a Sindhu Jat of village Bharawal in

[43] Figures in brackets show the number of villages in each *parganah*.

[44] Buti Shah, 222a; Khushwaqt Rai, 139; Ganesh Das, 207; Gurdaspur Gazetteer, pp. 12-19; *Cf. Punjab Chiefs*, 171, 305, 321-22, 375; Gyan Singh, 1016.

[45] *Punjab Chiefs*, 399.

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Lahore District. He took possession of many places in Chunian *tahsil* and south of it.[46]

Thakar Singh of Rosa near Chunian, *Risaldar* in the service of Adina Beg Khan, contrived to possess himself of a large tract in Gogaira.[47]

6. *Amritsar District*

Mirza Singh, a member of the Kanhya *Misl*, obtained as his share of the conquered territory the villages of Ratangarh, Uchak, Bhori, Bhiku-Chak, Rampur, Saluwa Malkanah, Ajnalah and several others worth Rs. 15,000 per annum.[48] Jassa Singh Ahluwalia captured the *parganah* of Fatahabad.[49]

7. *Sheikhupura District*

Santokh Singh of Kanhya *Misl* took possession of Talwandi and Dorangla.[50]

8. *Sialkot District*

Karm Sing, a member of the Bhangi *Misl*, took possession of Firozki, Kaleki, Rurki and Bajra besides holding Chinah and the neighbouring villages.[51]

9. *Gujranwala District*

Charat Singh of village Sukerchak in Gujranwala district, seized Eminabad, Gujranwala, Ramnagar and Wazirabad.[52]

46 Ganesh Das, 206; *Raj Khalsa*, iii. 24; *Punjab Chiefs*, 119; Montgomery Gazetteer, 30-31.

47 *Punjab Chiefs*, 341.

48 *Ibid.*, 230.

49 Gyan Singh, 1036.

50 *Punjab Chiefs*, 205.

51 *Ibid.*, 373.

52 Sohan Lal, ii. 5.

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10. *Sawal Singh Chamyariwala*

Sawal Singh, a member of the Bhangi *Misl*, seized a large tract of the country on the left bank of the Ravi including Chamyari Ajnala.[58]

[58] Khushwaqt Rai, 134; Buti Shah, 220b; *Punjab Chiefs*, 207-208.

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21

NATURE OF SARDESHMUKHI DURING SHIVAJI'S TIME

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Saradeshmukh a hereditary office—We learn from a document containing the judicial order of Shivaji himself that Rango Naik Mavlangkar be given the right of collecting *Sardeshmukhi* from the districts of Prabhavali and Dabhol. As this right had been enjoyed for generations by that family, it was evidently a very ancient one.[1] From the Sardesai Family History (Part I, p. 43), it appears that one Krishnaji Marsingh, who was a contemporary of the Shilahar king Nijayaditya of Kolhapur (1142-1154 A.D.), obtained the *Deshmukhi* and *Sardeshmukhi* of seventy villages. Thus the system of giving grants of the *Sardeshmuki* can be traced to the 12th century A. D. Besides the Mavlangkars, Khem Savant was *Sardesai* of Kudal as is evident from a document of the year 1635-36. A generation later, in 1659, a treaty was made between Shivaji and 'Lakham Savant Sardesai Bahadur'.[2] But the hereditary title and office were not limited to the Konkan as is asserted by the late distinguished historian C. V. Vaidya. He was sure that there were no *Sardeshmukhs* in Maharashtra before or in Shivaji's time, but this statement is contradicted by the following evidence.

Sardeshmukhs in Maharastra—(*i*) One *Deshmukh* of Kanadkhore was given *Inam* of *Sardeshmukhi* of Anturli

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village by Dadajī Kond Deva, the *Subedar* of Kondaṇa in 1645.[3]

(*ii*) That there were *Sardeshmukhs* in the Mavals different from *Deshmukhs*, is seen from a letter written by Shivaji in 1652 A. D. to *Karkuns*, *Sardeshmukhs*, *Deshmukhs*, *Desh Kulkarnis*, etc., of *Turf* Mosekhore.[4]

(*iii*) A letter was written in 1668 by Shivaji to *Subedar* and *Karkun* of Poona wherein he was also addressed as *Sardeshmukh*.[5]

(*iv*) Aurangzeb himself conferred *Sardeshmukhi* of Nusratabad in 1658.[6]

(*v*) Letters are addressed to the *Sardesai* of *Mamla* Mustafabad (Dabhol) and Muzafarabad (Probhavali) and to the *Desai* of *Turf* Sangameshwar in 1659.[7]

(*vi*) There are two Adilshahi letters of 1654 and 1673 mentioning *Sardesai's* right in places in the district of Goa, and a third from Shivaji continuing the Adilshahi rights to one Nagoji Naik Sardesai, wherein the *Sardeshmukhi* dues are stated.[8]

(*vii*) An arbitration was held in 1636 at some place in the Mamla of Muzafarabad and Fort Khelna. Therein three *Sardesais* were present along with other officers.

(*viii*) From a letter of 1642, it appears that *Sardeshmukhi* had been prevalent in the Poona district for several generations. Exemption from the cesses of *Sardeshmukhi* along with other cesses was given to the grantee in Jejuri.[9] There is a mention of another traditional grant of *Sardeshmukhi* in letters of 1696 and 1712 A. D. in the district of Supa.[10]

(*ix*) In the grants to the Gosavi of Margaon in the district of Poona, exemption from several cesses then current in the Deccan and especially in that district has been given.

3-7 P. S. S. Docs. Nos. 278-9,397, 597, 735. 749, 783, 887; Raj. XV, 269.

8 Sh. Ch. S. II, pp. 390-98.

9-10 Sh.

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Among the cesses one of *Sardeshmukhi* was fully recognized in Maharastra.[11]

(*x*) Another arbitration was held in 1652 at Khanapur in the *Mamla* of Walwa. Among the numbers of officers one *Sardesai* was also present.[12]

(*xi*) We read of *Sardesai*'s shares in the two documents of 1685. These give various cesses in the year 1685.[13]

(*xii*) *Sardeshmukhi* of Dharwar was conferred in 1704 or so by Muslim rulers. Thus this ancient custom continued even up to 18th century among the Muslim kings.[14]

(*xiii*) Shivaji himself conferred the *Sardeshmukhi* of Dabhol on Balaji Avaji.[15]

The Bijapur Sultan issued an order to the *Deshmukh* of *Thana* Mudhol in 1670.[16] There was a *Desai* in Athni in 1651,[17] *Desai* of Wai,[18] of Shirwal,[19] of Karad[20] in 1642, Kanhoji Jedhe, Desai of Fort Rohida[21] in 1638 and Kedarji Khopada Desai of *Turf* Bhor in 1648,[22] *Desai* of Kharepatan[23] in 1658.

Letters to the *Desai* of *Pargana* Kolhapur in 1660 and 1661 from Bijapur are available.

Desai Kanhoji Jedhe is called *Deshmukh* of Rohida in a *Sanad* of 1660.

It is, therefore, evident that the title *Desai* was also known as *Deshmukh*, and *Sardesai* was synonymous with *Sardeshmukh* even under the Adilshahi and Mughul regimes.

These officials were not limitted to Sawantwadi or even to the other parts of the Konkan, but were found in several parts of Maharashtra. *Sardeshmukhs* were common in the Konkan, the Mawals, Poona, Bankapur, Dharwar, etc., under the Bijapur Government and even in the Mughul provinces.

11-14 Sh. Ch. S. II, 170, 173, 380-1; III, 153, 162, 164, 219; IV, pp. 2-5.

15 Chitnis, Sect., 218.

16-23 P. S. S. Docs., 762, 1832, 2455, 2459, 2478-88, 2539, 2567, 2723.

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Desai officers functioned in such parts of the Karnatak as Terdal,[24] Mudhol, Manglage, Athni, Torgal, Tawargiri,[25] etc. Similarly, *Deshmukhs* flourished also in Khandesh and the Berars,[26] but *Sardeshmukhs* were not so common.

Sardeshmukhi a cess—It should be borne in mind that *Sardeshmukhi* was not one-tenth part of the land-revenue, but it was only a cess like so many other cesses to be paid by the cultivator over and above the land revenue. In a grant by Shivaji Raje dated 1625, the *Sardeshmukhi* cess (सरदेशमुखपटी) is counted along with the cesses given to goldsmiths, *payposhi*, etc.

There is an important grant of 1671 endorsed by the *Sardeshmukh* of Poona as representative of Shivaji himself wherein the contribution given to the *Sardeshmukh* is insignificant being only $4\frac{3}{4}$ out of 532 *Takas*. Similarly, in the revenue account of village Khore in District Poona, the *Sardeshmukhi* cess is mentioned as four out of 500 *Takas*.[27]

This nature of *Sardeshmukhi* is shown by several other grants. The *Deshmukh's* rights were many and quite different from those of *Sardeshmukhs*. The claim of 1/10th part of the land-revenue as *Sardeshmukhi* must have been started, if at all by Shivaji, in the latter part of his reign. It can be definitely said that even in Shivaji's time and before him *Sardeshmukhi* was only a cess.

Now it should be noted in passing that Shivaji had demanded the *Deshmukhi* and not *Sardeshmukhi* of Junner and Ahmadnagar from prince Muradbux in 1649,[28] though he was familiar with *Sardeshmukhi* as he had himself made several *Sardeshmukhi* grants.

[24-26] P.S.S. Docs. 545, 840, 2641, 2643, 2651-52, 2654-55, 2657, 2665, 2681.
[27] Sh. Ch. S. VII, pp. 14, 90, 112.
[28] P. S. S. Doc., 575.

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Deshmukhs were well-known throughout Maharashtra and hence there was nothing novel in the request of Shivaji for being granted *Deshmukhi* of the two districts. There is no mention of *Sardeshmukhi* here. Moreover, it was a small cess, not worth having. *Deshmukhi* alone gave him substantial rights of collecting land-revenue.

Conclusions—The study of the preceding documents leads us to the following conclusions :—

(1) Shivaji was not the originator of the *Sardeshmukhi* tax which afterwards came to mean one-tenth of the land-revenue.

(2) *Sardeshmukhi* was only a small cess or tax and it existed long before the days of Shivaji, at least from the 12th century A.D.

(3) It was not limited to the Konkan, but was found in the Karnatic and even in the Maharashtra.

(4) The Bijapur rulers, Aurangzeb and Shivaji himself conferred or confirmed the *Sardeshmukhi* right during the forty years from 1640-80 A.D.

(5) All writers like Duff, Elphistone, Ranade and a host of others who attributed the origin or the collection of *Sardeshmukhi* to Shivaji, are incorrect.

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22

SIDE-LIGHT ON THE MARATHA LIFE FROM THE BARDIC (गाहिरी) LITERATURE OF THE 18TH CENTURY

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The Marathi bardic poetry, consisting mainly of the historical ballads (*Powadas*) and the love songs (*Lavanis*), composed by the wandering sect of Maharastrian bards known by the name of *Gondhali* [1] during the 17th and 18th centuries, covers a vast province of the Marathi literature, little explored and deplorably neglected by the students and critics of the Marathi literature. This bardic school of literature took its rise in the latter half of the 17th century, with the rise of the spirit of patriotism among the Marathas,[2] and it flourished in the 18th century during the period which witnessed the zenith of the glory and prosperity of the Maratha Empire. Its rise was contemporaneous with that of another great school of Marathi poetry, essentially different in spirit and form. The famous Marathi poets, Waman Pandit and Moropant, were amongst others the exponents of this other school of poetry, while Parsharama, Prabhakar, Ram Joshi, Honaji Bal, Anant Fandi, Saganbhau were the chief poets belonging to the bardic school. The poetry of Waman Pandit's school is devotional, didactic and often philosophical in nature and aims at preaching an ideology of moral and spiritual development of the human mind and soul; on the

1-2 Acworth—*Ballads of the Marathas* (1894).

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other hand the function of the bardic poetry, as conceived by the bards (*Shahirs*), was to stir the patriotic sentiment of the people and to yield a sensuous pleasure. This radical difference between the two schools regarding the function of poetry has led to a divergence in topics and subject-matter chosen for their poetry as well as in the mode and form of their expression. The bards have chosen the subjects of their ballads and lays mostly from the current historical events of the time and occurrences from everyday life and ordinary human passions and sentiments. The selection of the familiar and ordinary subjects for the bardic poems imparts a rare realistic liveliness to these bardic poems and songs and in them we find a reflection of the social life of the time. My aim in writing this paper is to take a brief review of this bardic literature of Maharashtra as throwing light on the life of the Marathas of the 18th century. In doing this I propose to confine myself to the two main branches of this literature, *viz.*, the *powadas* (or the historical ballads) and the *lavanis* (or the love songs), although a large number of other types of poetical compositions forms part of this bardic literature. It would also be impossible to take a detailed survey of these two branches of bardic poetry within the limited compass of this paper and I have to confine myself to a broad review of these poems as throwing light on the Maratha society of the 18th century.

The various forms of bardic literature, varying though in form and subject-matter, have got a common background, and this is the glorification of the national achievements, customs and sentiments. The chief sentiments which find expression in these bardic poems and songs are patriotism and sensuous passion. The *powadas* usually give expression to the former while the latter finds expression in *lavanis*. This does not mean that other sentiments did not find place in these ballads or lays. But the predominance of these two sentiments in this poetry is noteworthy and can be explained

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to be the inevitable result of the peculiar social and political conditions prevailing at the time, which gave birth to and favoured the growth of this literature.

Of these two forms of bardic poetry *powada* was of an earlier growth. The *powadas* were composed by *Gondhalis*, who officiated as priests at certain religious functions known by the name गोंधल (Gondhal).....worship of the goddess Amba-bhavani. On these occasions of worship, songs used to be sung by the Gondhalis after the worship was over, before the congregation of devotees. Up to the middle of the 17th century, the subject-matter of these songs used to be religious and mythological. But a great wave of patriotism had swept over the Maratha country in the beginning of the 17th century giving an impetus to the Marathas to take up arms for the deliverance of their motherland and the great struggle for national independence launched by the great Shivaji was closely associated with the cult of the अम्बा भवानी (Amba-Bhavani) worship; the goddess Amba-Bhavani came to be looked upon as the martial deity and her favour and boon were sought to ensure success in the national struggle. Consequently, the religious and mythological songs sung at the *Gondhal* functions gave way to historical ballads (*powadas*), as more fitting to these occasions. This change took place sometime in the middle of the 17th century and one of the earliest *powadas* known is composed on the subject of the destruction and annihilation of the Muhammedan *Sardar* Afzul Khan by Shivaji in 1659. The *powada* is entitled अफझुलखान वधाचा पोवाडा (*powada* of the killing of Afzulkhan) composed by the *Shahir* अज्ञानदास (Ajnandas) sometime in the year 1659. This is probably the earliest of the known *powadas*.

These historical *powadas*, however imperfect in form and rhythm, possess a singular beauty of their own which lies mainly in the unartificial expression of the national sentiment and patriotic fervour of the people of the time,

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as found in them. They depict faithfully and simply the political events and conditions in Maharashtra during the 17th and 18th centuries and in them a student of the history of the time will find a mine of information, more accurate and reliable than that derived from any other sources of the Maratha history. The composers of these ballads usually possessed a first hand and often personal knowledge of the incidents narrated and described by them and these compositions can be taken to be authentic records of the historical incidents narrated therein. Almost all the important episodes from the Maratha history have been commemorated by the *shahirs* in their *powadas*, *e.g.*, the destruction of Afzulkhan by Shivaji, the siege of Sinhagad and death of Tanaji, the siege of Bassein, the battle of Panipat, the assassination of Narayanrao Peshwa, the battle of Kharda. All these momentous events in the Maratha history have been narrated in various *powadas* by different bards, in a graphic and powerful manner, in their true historical settings and without infidelity to facts. They give us, besides an authentic report of the historical events, a vivid idea about the civil and military life of the Marathas of the 18th century, their military organization and equipment, the mode of their warfare and their military strategy, etc. They tell us how the whole nation of the Marathas was knit together by a common bond of national unity, forgetting all the differences of caste, creeds, sects, etc. The people had, no doubt, all the failings of human nature; but their one great quality, which makes us forget their weaknesses and pardon their occasional follies, is their intense patriotic sense and burning desire to free their homeland from the clutches of the Muhammadan despots and end their tyranny and religious oppression. We find a reflection of this sentiment of the Marathas everywhere in these *powadas*.

The second branch of the bardic poetry comprising the love lyrics and didactic poems known by the name

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lavanis, was of a later growth. This type of bardic poetry was very popular and in great demand during the second half of the 18th century. Most of the important poets who have produced this type of poetry flourished during this period. It is not at all difficult to see why this class of poetry should have flourished during this particular period, if we study the historical events and the social and political conditions in Maharashtra at the time. The second half of the 18th century in Maharashtra, was the period of the height of glory of the Maratha Empire, excepting for a few unhappy incidents which gave a set-back to the Maratha glory and prosperity, and these songs were the natural result of the popular demand for poetry to please and entertain a large section of the population imbibed with a desire for sensuous pleasures and enjoyments typical of those times. The foundations of the Maratha Empire were firmly rooted and a new and unprecedented era of prosperity had set in as a result of achievement of national liberty and end of foreign oppression. The military struggles and campaigns were by no means over; but with the consolidation of the Maratha Empire, the Marathas had developed their military strength to such a degree of efficiency that they were invariably the victors on the battle-field. The Maratha soldiers, who had to spend the major portion of the year outside home far away from their motherland, in search of opportunities to use their swords in the service of the motherland and returned home after a long and weary period of absence to rest their swords and enjoy the warmth of the hearth, cherished quite naturally an eager desire to amuse themselves as best as they could, during the comparatively short period of rest. The amusements and recreations indulged in by them were bound to be of a light nature. They could not be expected to have recourse to abstruse studies of religion or philosophy or to any other serious mode of relaxation, after having spent months abroad under-

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going all sorts of toils and hardships and in constant danger to their lives and bodies, in service of their motherland. Naturally enough, the Maratha soldiers, whenever they returned home from their weary campaigns, sought pleasure in lighter types of entertainments, the chief and most popular of which was the *Tamasha*—a concert at which light songs known by the name *lavanis* were sung accompanied by dancing. The subject-matter of these *lavanis* was usually the descriptions of amourous intrigues or erotic passions and sentiments, although philosophical teachings have sometimes formed the subject-matter of these *lavanis*. The narrations and descriptions contained in these *lavanis* were very often quite sensuous and voluptuous, but the spirit behind these is truly the spirit of the time. The average Maratha of the time could little understand and appreciate the higher literature that was available to him at that time in the shape of the philosophical, devotional and narrative poetry of the poets of the school of Moropant and others; nor could he find in them a gratification of the passions uppermost in his heart. He was a true soldier, but at the same time a simple man, with ordinary, humdrum tastes and likings and what could please him was something from everyday life. The *lavanis*, narrating or describing the episodes of common life and ordinary human passions and emotions suited his taste and understanding admirably and hence the popularity and rapid growth of this class of literature during the period. The bards or *shahirs*, who used to compose and sing *powadas* formerly, began to compose *lavanis* and sing these themselves or supply them to the bands of singers who sang at the *Tamashas*.

Still another cause of the popularity of this type of songs was to be found in the growth of a taste for an easy luxurious life with the stability and prosperity of the Maratha kingdom. The long contact with the Muhammadans could not fail to create in the Marathas a liking for leading

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a luxurious life for which the former were well known. The simple Maratha soldier of the early days leading a very simple life at home had vanished in the period of prosperity of the Maratha Empire. An increasing desire for comfort and luxuries, both bodily and mental, was to be found in the soldiers of this time. With the establishment of a national empire in Maharashtra and the growth of a sense of security from foreign invasion and oppression, the wealth of the nation increased considerably and the people were in a position to lead a more comfortable and luxurious life than before. Amusements and recreations came to be sought by the Maratha soldiers during their leisure time at home and these *lavanis*, which afforded them a sensuous pleasure, quite legitimately sought after the dangers and hardships of the camp life, became popular. A number of companies which performed *tamashas* at which *lavanis* were sung, came into existence and this pastime was universally popular in Maharashtra till the end of the Maratha Empire. The structure and rhythm of these *lavanis* was eminently suited for their use at these musical concerts and the musical quality of the *lavani* contributed greatly to its popularity.

It will thus be seen that the *lavani* literature was a product of the popular demand of the Maratha society of the 18th century and its popularity lay in the universal appeal contained in these *lavanis* for the people of the time. This universal appeal of the *lavanis* proceeded from the fact that they were about everyday incidents and common passions of the ordinary people and the songs contained a vivid and realistic description of these. They were the embodiment of the national sentiment and passion of the time and typical of the society of the time. They cast an illuminating light on the social conditions of the time about which they sing just as the *powadas* give us knowledge about the political conditions of the time. The *lavanis* are truly national in their spirit and subject matter and appeal to the readers and

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listeners and they reflect the national character of the time. They are, it can be said without much exaggeration, a mirror of the Maratha society of the 18th century. Nowhere else can we find such a fine and realistic picture of the Maratha society of the 18th century as in these *lavanis* and therein lies the importance of this branch of bardic poetry.

The very first thing, which is impressed upon our mind on a study of the *lavani* literature, is the laxity of the ideas of morality prevailing during the 18th century in the Maratha society. The moral standard of the society of the 18th century in general, as is reflected in these poems, differs widely from that of to-day and the considerable laxity of morals of the Marathas of the time is likely to shock many of us. But it must be remembered that the conception of morality of the people of that time is quite in consonnance with the spirit and ideology of the time. A large section of the Maratha society of the time comprised, as we have observed above, a warrior class fighting for the national cause at great individual sacrifice. In such people, who can hardly look to any mental or bodily comforts while on duty, a strong wave of reaction is bound to set in whenever they are off duty and the result is considerable laxity occurring in their moral conceptions. Excess of bodily discomfort and hardship tends to increase the desire for greater comfort and luxury, excess of mental strain due to the constant shadow of danger incidental to the warrior's profession, tends to a relaxation of the rigid standards and conceptions of morality and other social conduct, whenever conditions change. This is a psychological truth and explains the laxity in the ideas of morality of the Marathas of the 18th century. This laxity of moral ideas on the part of the Marathas was the natural result of the circumstances and deserves to be excused and overlooked especially in view of the fact that it is but the counterpart of their intense passion for the deliverance and glorification of their homeland.

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Most of these *lavanis* give expression to the sentiment of passionate yearning of young ladies for union with their lovers. In those times the youths of the nation had to be away from their homes for the major part of the year and their sweet-hearts at home had to spend all that time suffering the pangs of separation and pining away for their lovers. There are numerous *lavanis* wherein wild state of mind due to separation reflects this aspect of the society of the time most realistically and vividly, *e.g.*, Honaji Bal describes the state of mind of a lady long separated from her husband :—

विरह व्याप्त आज सखे राजमंदिरीं ।
अशा संकटा मध्ये पती द्विपांतरी ॥
जिंकीत जीवमात्र समुली विषय रोग हा ।
अन्यत्र तें दुःख व्यर्थ शरीर भोग हा ।
थोर दुःख मुख्य सखे पतिवियोग हा ।
भ्रमि समन होऊनी फिरे पिशाच्या परी ॥ [3]

There are numerous other *lavanis* of this type and they very vividly depict the state of mind of the ladies long separated from their lovers.

The absence or scarcity of a thing makes its want felt all the more intensely; this is a universal truth. The long breaks in the marital and domestic happiness of the people of the time roused their passions intensely whenever they were free from the turmoils of warfare and a transgression of ordinary limit while seeking their gratification was natural. The voluptuous excesses, depicted in many *lavanis* are not, therefore, mere exaggerations but reflect the occasional relaxation from the intense mental and physical tension of the Maratha soldiers. The continuous warfare in which the Maratha soldiers were engaged took a heavy toll of youths yearly, not to speak of the heavy massacre at the battle of Panipat, and great numbers of young

[3] होनाजी बाल कृत लावणी 'चित्रशाला' ed. 3 Lavani 51, p. 76.

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widows, most of whom had little enjoyed the hapiness of married life, were left behind to spend their lives in wretched misery. It cannot be thought unnatural if these circumstances gave rise to numerous amours which have so often formed the subjects of the *lavanis*. The *lavanis* are, therefore, truly representative of social conditions of the Maratha country of the 18th century.

Another frequently occurring sentiment in these *lavanis* is the laments of the sweet-hearts over their lovers' infidelity to them and their constant resort to other women. This also reflects the moral laxity of the Maratha society of the time, which was the inevitable result of the long absence of the Maratha soldiers from home and long separation from their wives and sweet-hearts. The passions of these Maratha soldiers were after long periods of abstinence kindled all the more intensely by the comfortable and luxurious surroundings at home. Favourable opportunities for enjoyment could hardly find adequate gratification at home, and the oft-deplored infidelity of the Maratha soldiers to their wives was natural. The bardic poets describe the people of Maharashtra in their true colours, with all their glories and weaknesses and hence their literature serves as a mirror wherein is found the true reflection of the society of the time.

The vivid and detailed descriptions which we come across in these *lavanis* paint before our mental vision realistic pictures of the society of the 18th century Maharashtra, in all its aspects. All these songs are replete with beautiful and graphic descriptions of the manners, customs and superstitious beliefs of the Maratha society of the 18th century, of the passions and enjoyments of the people, of their dresses, ornaments and house-decorations and of many other minute details of their lives. I shall proceed to quote below a few illustrations from this lore of *lavanis* and show how they throw light on various aspects of the social life of the Marathas of the 18th century.

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These poets give beautiful pictures of typical soldiers or courtiers of the time. Below are quoted a few lines from a *lavani* by Honaji Bal, entitled 'मुशाफर', giving a graphic picture of the typical Maratha soldier of the 18th century.

शिरी पगडी कंगणीदार आंगावर ज्वाहार... ।
तुमचा वारू बहु रंगी चतुर... ।
वर खड्या पट्याचा जोन कलगी सगोन हातामध्ये... ।
डोईस बांधिला चिरा झल्कलो हिरा तुज्या शेजारी ।
शिरपेच कंठी चौकडा पदक तलवटी गला माझारीं ।
माणिक मोत्यांचे हार आंगावर ज्वाहार झलके भारी ।
मुद्रिके पवित्रे करी सख्याचें शिरी शोभे आब्दागिरी ॥[4]

Here the poet gives a vivid and accurate description of the dress and ornaments, of the accoutrement, etc., of the typical Maratha soldier.

The poet Prabhakar paints a graphic picture of a typical Maratha lady of a high family in one of his *lavanis* in the following lines :—

लांबलचक वेणी, विणुन त्रिवेणी,... । बुचड्याचा
आधीं झोंक, त्यामध्यें ठेवी कोंक नोक,... । सुकुमार
नार, फार गुले अनार, शाल दुशाल पांघरलो ॥
राखडो केतक कुहरी । बोर नच्चोदार लहरी । केवड्याची
धउण शहरी ।...गलयांत गलसर । मोतियांचे सर,
सतीं हातसर जवे वेगले । तोडि गोठ गोल गजरे ।
गुंफिले करून रजरे ।...पुढें मागे शिपाई हुजरे ।
मुखरणी करितो मुजरे ॥ पोल्याजवल वोपो तबक । आपुण
मधी सुबक । साखलयांचो खुलखुल, तोरड्यांचो घुलघुल... ।
जोडयांचां सणसण, मासोलयांची झण झण... ।[5]

[4] होनाजी बाल कृत लावण्या edited by S. T. Shaligram, published by चित्रशाला प्रेस; Lavani 134, p. 170.

[5] प्रभाकर कृत कविता, पदें, पोवाडे व लावण्या 'चित्रशाला प्रेस' (1920); Lavani 15, pp. 111-12.

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In these lines the poet gives a minute description of the dress, toilet and various ornaments of a typical Maratha lady.

The poet Ram Joshi in one *lavani* describes the dress, ornaments and toilet of a Maratha lady in the following lines :—

सद पदरिचे पातल जरिच राव राव कसिद्याचि मुत ओतली ।
कुचतटी बलकट कंचुकि चापट ।
चटपट अणवट जोड्याचो झटपट दाहि बोटी मेंदी रंगली... ।
जडिताच बाजुबंद कानि कुसुमाचे गेंद... ।
पिंवल चमक नवि धमक अंगात भांग टिल्याची खूबी भारी ।
त्याजवरी बिजवर रुचिर बहु उभी सख्या...
राखडां जडिल वरी हिच्याचो टिकली दांव
ठकडि आकउ कडि मुदभारी ॥ [6]

In those lines also we find a picturesque and detailed description of the various head-ornaments, ear-ornaments, nose-ornaments, neck-ornaments, wrist-ornaments and foot-ornaments. We can get from such description a great deal of information about the tastes and likings of the society in the matter of dress or ornaments, etc.

Then we come across several descriptions which present to us the tastes and ideas of the Marathas of the time in the matter of the house decorations and furnishing. Below are given a few lines from Prabhakar containing a vivid description of a typically decorated and furnished hall :—

...केली मजसाठीं रंगति हवेली स्वामी ।
कृते आरशांची बशिवलों रंग गुलबासी ॥
खांब चौगर्दी सरुदार मधिल मजल्यासी ।
रेशमी दोप्या शोभताती झींपालयासी ॥

6 Prabhakar, Lavani 2, p. 92.

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कजामे खालीं मऊ साफ खच्छता त्यासो ।
...हवाशेर डडतो कारंजीं ठाईं ठाईं ॥...
...फाणसे झाडि फिरंगाणीं काम बिलोरो ।
लाङ्गन मेणबत्या भंवताव्या हारोहारो ॥
पउदे किनखाबो मशरूचे भारो भारो ।
रोगणो भिंतो लखलखाट वर तय्यारो ।
बोलतो पक्षो मंजुल बाई पुढत्या हारीं ।[7]

In one song Prabhakar narrates the daily life of a lady from a high family :

सकालीं उठतां क्षणीं । पुढें मऊ जोडा
सरसाविलो ॥ ...आरसा उघडोन दाविलो ॥ पदांटे
अशा येतुनो...नेउनो तलीं ताब्या देविलो । पाट
चौरंग तेथ आणविलो ॥ हलु हल् चौघो जणीं पदरानें
पुशिलो ॥ ...वेलो घट्ट घालिलो । .. स्नान वर खालीं होउं
लागले ॥ ...पितांबर पैठणचे नेसल्यें ॥ ...मांग घडे घरीं
पुजा—धर्म होइ दुजा—कधीं महापुजा—करित बैसल्यें
...धिवर जिलब्यांनीं फेल पोसल्यें ॥ आंचवून गालिचावर
क्षणभर बसतसें सोन्याचें वर्खहो विद्यांत खातसें ॥
पोशाग करुन मग खाशांकडे जातसें ॥
...अशा माहलो—होतां काहलो—परांच्या—न्यहालोवर
खेलत्यें । .. सुगंध जल प्यावया—उद्या घ्यावया—
घट्या त्यावयास कंहालत्यें । चहाच्या गर्मीनें व्याकूलतयें ॥
...गंजिफा दूपाखर खेलत्यें ॥ दरबार मजेचा
लिसरे प्रहरीं भरे ॥ पचांस कणसें अलिबें जांब
हरभरे ॥८॥[8]

The poet describes in the above lines the getting up of the lady, her bath, worship, dinner, pastimes, etc., and gives us

[7] राम जोशी कृत लावण्या आवृत्ति ३री ' चित्रशाला प्रेस, लावणी 69, p. 61.

[8] प्रभाकर लावणी १११ पानें २२८-२९

an idea as to the mode of daily life of the Maratha ladies of the 18th century.

In another song Prabhakar describes the proficiency of a Maratha lady in classical music, ennumerating different *Ragas* with the appropriate time of the day for singing them and refers to the traditional belief in the effect produced by the music :—

अलापिलां मतहार थेंब तलीं मेघ मंडलाहुन गलतो ॥
उदास धुन सारंग ऐकतां ब्रह्मचारी वेला चलतो ॥ ...
...दिवा अथवा रात्रौ मृणाला योग्य मदोदित तो सोहोनो
मूर्तिमंत केदार वरुन तूं आणिलास जैसा वाहोनी ॥
मालकौंस हिंदोल अवंतर रागरागिण्यांमधो पाहोनी
आधींच रिश्मयांचा कंठ तशामधी पूर्वी खुले तिसरे प्रहरीं ॥
...नको घेंडु तरी तान अतां या परज वसंताची कहर्रा ॥
दीप भूप कल्याण तूं गाता प्रकाश साज्या खलीं पहतो ।
...बिभास भेंख ललत सूकुन मधुन प्रबंधादिक भउतो ॥
होउन राहिली राम कलीची घटा[9]...

We can infer from such descriptions that there was a taste for classical music in the Maratha society of the 18th century and even the ladies were all versed in classical music.

We also find some evidence in the literature in support of the fact that the Maratha females of the 18th century were not utterly uneducated. They used to receive at least some elementary education and the boys and girls used to receive their early lessons together. One of the heroines of Prabhakar says—

एके ठायीं धुलाक्षर लिहिले...[10]

We also find many passages in these *lavanis* describing beautiful celebrations of different religious festivals and from

[9] प्रभाकर लावणी ११६ पानें २३६-३७
[10] प्रभाकर लावणी ६७ पान १७२

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these we get a good idea about the social life, custom and celebrations of the people of Maharashtra during the 18th century. The different Hindu festivals frequently form the topics of *lavanis*, *e.g.*, Prabhakar describes in one *lavani* the celebration of the शिमगा (*Shimga*) festival :—

सण शिमग्याचा आला । उठा आनंदामध्यें रंग खेलूं चला ।
...बसा भुल्यावर झोपाला झालविते ॥ रंग पुटे ठेविते ।
आरसे भंवले चोगर्दा लाविते ॥ पिचकाऱ्या आणविते ॥
रंग केशरी तुम्हावरी डडविते ॥ ...गुलाबदाण्या भरुन ॥
सख्या तुम्ही खेला प्रीति करुन...
जिकडे तिकडे गुलालगर्दी उठ । मुख झाका बलकट[11]...

The important feature of this festival, *viz.*, the sport of spraying coloured water and throwing *gulal* (red powder) is described in the above lines. In another song he describes the celebration of the नाग पंचमी (Naga *panchami*) festival :—

नाग पंचमी

लिहून मितिवर भुजंग मरिला रंग चिताऱ्या काढून ।
सडा घालिते द्वारा पूढून । ...पूजन करूं
जोड्याने यथाविधि शास्त्रमार्ग निवडून ।
पाक पाजिवला सगऱ्या वरून । तलुन मलुन
बोटवे वलुन वाढीन पदर सावरून··· ॥[12]

The poet describes here the worship of the image of Cobra and the feast in honour of the deity.

The famous festival of नवरात्र (*Navaratra*) is also described by the same poet in another of his *lavanis*, in the following lines :—

नवरात्र

[11] प्रभाकर लावणी ७; पान ९६
[12] प्रभाकर लावणी २१, पान १२१

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नऊ दिवस नवरात्र गेही प्राणसखा नाहीं। घटी ग बसली अंबा बाई॥ दिव्य चितारुन मिंती सखे संजाम करती। लाउन जाळया मखरे भरती। चंद्र ज्योतिच्यापर्श दिवे झलकतात वरती। किल्ली ग पुतळ्या गरगर फिरनी पडदे चिकाचे सभोवती मांडुन मुरती। सदा ह्वाई आरती... नाच कथा बैठका गुणी राग वसुन कुडती। गति भ पखवाजांवर झडती। रंगित पिंपामधि सरकारंजी खडनी। ...काळ कर्णे वाजती पुढें भाग्याची चढली[13]...

The poet describes the various decorations made in honour of the festival and the musical performances, etc., during the nine days of the festival.

From such accounts of the Hindu festivals contained in these *lavanis*, we can get an idea how these religious festivals were celebrated with great pomp and enthusiasm, reflecting the prosperity of the period. They also show us how they had become a part of the national life of the Marathas and how the religious sentiment was inseparably connected with the patriotic sentiment of the people. These festivals, indeed, kept alive the patriotic ardour of the Marathas. Some of the festivals were celebrated publicly at the court. We find a beautiful description of the royal celebration of the Ranga *panchami* festival at the *durbar* of the Peshwa Sawai Madhavrao, in a *powada* of Prabhakar, entitled 'सवाई माधवराव पेशवे रंग खेलले त्याचे वर्णन-पर पोवाडा'[14]

In these *lavanis* we occasionally come across references to the superstitious beliefs and customs prevalent among the people of the time. There are a number of *lavanis* describing various superstitious observances practised by issueless mothers for begetting children. Parasharm in one of hits

[13] प्रभाकर लावणी ३२, पान १३४

[14] प्रभाकर, पोवाडा २, पान ३९

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lavanis gives a graphic description of these :—

पोट पिकेना सूणून बांधिले भाराभर गंडे ।
पंचाक्षरी आणून आधी । घरबंधन मी केले ।
लेकाचो माय पाहून गे तिच्या बाजीजवल गेले ।
तिशी ना कलता चोरून गे जावकाचे केस आणिले ।
…सुप हलव्या देव देन्हारे । घुमविले आणून घुमारे ।
पंचरंगी रेशमि कोरें । गईं गईं बांधिले दोरे… ।[15]

Then the poet goes on describing the various religious places of worship all over India, visited by the lady in order to worship different deities for getting a child. The poet refers to more than two dozen shrines spread all over India. The poet also describes how the lady travelled to Dwarka in a ship. It will be seen from all this description that the Marathas (even the ladies) used to travel all over India, mostly with religious motives. The dangers and hardships attendant on such long journeys in most primitive conditions of means of communications are simply unimaginable and the fact that such journeys were undertaken shows the firm belief of the people of the time in the efficacy of the worship at different shrines in the fulfilment of the desired object and also the sense of grief and misery of ladies at childlessness.

The belief in various omens as indicating the happening of certain events, prevalent among the Marathas of the time, is also referred to in these *lavanis* now and then. For example, Honaji Bal describes in one *lavani* certain omens regarded by a lady as favourable :—

आज कागे काग बोलतो घरावरी । हाचो शकुन
साच पातें येत असे घरी । शुभ चिन्हे आज

[15] परशरामी लावण्या, भाग १ ते ३, प्रकाशक—तुकाराम पुंडलीक मिरजे (१९३४) भाग ३ लावणी ८१ पान १३३-३६

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होती चांगलीं वलचणीस पालवरो बोलं लागलो ।
आपापर्त्ता भेदतोल आस लागलो । बाहीस्फुरे तेमकवे हर्ष
अंतरो ।...अकस्मात घरी आले कांत त्या क्षणीं... ।[16]

The crowing of a crow in the house, throbbing of eye, etc., are regarded by a lady favourable omens indicating the happening of an eagerly awaited event, *viz.*, the return of her husband.

The Maratha bards do not confine themselves merely to descriptions of social life and customs of the people, but also give occasional glimpses of the economic and industrial side of the national life. In a *lavani*, the poet Parashram gives in a nutshell an account of the textile industry of India :—

खंबायति पितांबर तो मद्रा कडकडो ।
कालो चंद्रकला जरा वेंगणिर्या चुनडो ।
बहुमोलाचो मुंबदचो पातकं जरो ।
अष्टगोल किनखाप बुहेदारो ।
शाल मैलरचा शिट संगमनेरी ।
चोकि महेश्वरो नाम गोउ किनरो ।
अष्टिचा धोतर जोड़ा मोलकर शाहण्या ।
नारायण पेठ बन्हाण पुरचा जुना ।[17]

The poet enumerates herein the various centres of textile industry of India with their specialized products e.g., Pitambar (पितांबर) of Cambay (खंबायत), जरो पातळ of मंबई (Bombay), अष्टीचा धोतर जोम Dhotirs of Astee.

So far I have taken up a few aspects of social life of the Marathas of the 18th century as reflected in the bardic literature of the time, especially in the *lavanis*, and from the illustrations cited above it will be plainly seen that a good deal of

[16] होनाजी बाल, लावणी ९४, पान १३‡ ।

[17] परशराम लावण्या भाग, लावणी १४, पान २२ ।

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light is thrown on the social conditions of the time by this branch of Marathi literature. The above review is but a cursory survey of this vast province of the Marathi literature but it will be sufficient to reveal the potential value of this branch of Marathi literature as a source of information regarding the social life of the Marathas of the 18th century in all its aspects. It can be said with trust that the *powadas* and *lavanis* jointly present us a true and faithful picture of the social and political order of the 18th century Maharashtra and as such deserves a close and sympathetic study at the hands of students of Maratha history and sociology, whatever may be the poetical merits and demerits of these compositions.

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SOME SOURCES OF SIND HISTORY

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For writing the history of Sind, the majority of original sources are Arabic and Persian MSS. As a result of the decision of the meeting of workers in Indian History at Kamshet (1938) to organise a search for family records throughout the country, a considerable number of MSS. was rescued from neglect and eventual destruction. It will be seen from the list given in the report of the 15th Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission that all these MSS. are invaluable to students of Oriental Learning while not a few of them are rare being several centuries old.

Material exists in the language, archaeology and legends of Sind. It is gratifying to note that even novices in the art of research are taking day by day more interest in these records, thanks to the inspiration and help unstintingly afforded by that eminent historian, Sir Jadunath Sarkar.

I wish to point out particularly how valuable material for reconstructing the lost and broken threads of Sind History exists in various parts of India. My friend, Chevalier Panduranga S. Pissurlencar, informs me that various records in Portuguese relating to the history of Sind exist. To mention only two, *Albuquerque's Cartas* (letters) in seven volumes published in the 16th century at Lisbon and *Bocarro's Fortalezas da India* (Fortresses of India) written in 1635-1636, in which we find references relating to the contemporary religious and commercial relations between Sind and Goa. Of

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this work Chevalier Pissurlencar possesses two editions published at Lisbon and at Goa.

A number of papers which throw a flood of light on the political and economic conditions of Sind, in the days of Sir John Shore, are available at the Bombay Records Office. Some of the Persian MSS. relating to the history of Sind, available at various libraries in Bombay, have been examined in a paper read by me at the last session of the Indian Historical Records Commission. Various articles of Fr. Hosten, who was interested in Sind and had visited it, are said to be in Goethal's Library, St. Xavier's College, Calcutta.

Sind has been a buffer state absorbing the shocks of various invasions; hence, it is not unreasonable to expect that researches in its history would reveal a wealth of information affecting the history of the entire country. I give below a list of MSS. available at Karachi :

I. Collection of Dewan Kemalram Dayaram preserved at Karachi Central Library.

1. *Tarikh-i-Balochi* (تاریخ بلوچی)

The book deals with the fall of Kalhoras and the rise of Talpurs and was written by one Abdul Majeed Jokhis. It was copied by Dewan Chainrai Gidumal and bears the date 12th October, 1854.

2. *Sikandar Nama* (سکندر نامه)

A detailed account of Alexander's exploits written by Nizami.

3. An historical account relating to the period of Shah Tahmasp (name not given).

4. *Bayanu-larefeen Va Tumbiholghafeleen*

(بیان العارفین و تنبیه الغافلین)

Some account of the life of Sayyid Abdul Kareem, and his teachings and experiences.

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5. *Kherud Namaye Sikandari* (خرد نامۂ سکندري)

Contains eulogic verses about Aristotle, Malik, Izzuddeen, Alexander and some other personages.

6. Sri Krishna's *Lila* recorded from Bhagvat (ليلاى سري كرشن)

7. *Shahname-i-Ferdowsi* (شاه نامۂ فردوسي)

Well-known ancient history of Iran (Persia) by Firdowsi

II. List of MSS. in the Victoria Museum, Karachi.

1. An old copy of commentary on the Quran by Mr. Mahomed Yaqub, s/o Usman, s/o Mahmood, s/o Mahmed Ulghaznavi, afterwards titled Jargiab Birazi.

2. Srimad Bhagwat, hand-written by Mahraj Karamchand Choithram Kotai, Kotri, Sind.

3. An old hand-written Quran in Arabic with Persian translation.

4. The Expedition of Hazrat Ali.

5. The Works of Poet Khakani.

6. Hand-written *Masnavi* of Jalal-ud-din Rumi about 225 years old, written in 1134, Hijra.

7. Original Treaty between the East India Company and the Ameers of Sind, dated Bombay, 9th November, 1820.

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TALIKOTA AND PANIPAT

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(*Abstract*)

In this paper a comparision is drawn between the battle of Talikota of 1565 and the Third Battle of Panipat of 1761.

There are several interesting points of similarity and contrast between the two. The facts are collected from "The Cambridge Shorter History of India" edited by H. H. Dodwell and published in 1934.

The writer is not giving any new facts but is merely drawing a comparison between the events and the effects of these two battles. The writer believes that till now no historian has drawn attention to these unique points of similarity and of dissimilarity between these two celebrated battles.

Similarities :—

(1) Both the battles were fought in the month of January and that too in the sixties of the century.

(2) Both the battles were fought between the Hindus and the Muslims. In both the Hindu armies there were Muslim soldiers.

(3) The commanders of the Hindu armies in both the battles had the same name—Sadashiv—and by a strange irony of fate both of them were killed in the action.

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(4) In both, the ultimate result was the same—the Hindus were defeated.

(5) In both the battles, the Hindu armies in the beginning were successful but later on they lost.

(6) Both the great battles were finished in one day. Just before both the battles the Hindu powers were enjoying their most triumphant days but as a result of the battles the Hindus lost in only 24 hours what they had gained by years of labour.

Dissimilarities :—

(1) The Muslims in the Hindu army at Panipat remained loyal to the cause of the Hindu army but at Talikota they betrayed the cause of their Hindu friends.

(2) At Talikota there was an alliance of four Muslim states against one Hindu power whereas at Panipat there was a confederacy of five Hindu powers against one Muslim power.

(3) Talikota destroyed completely the defeated Vijayanagar Empire and its capital, but Panipat only checked the defeated Maratha power but did not destroy it nor was the capital Poona even attacked.

(4) The effects of Talikota were felt only in South India and that too for a short time comparatively; but the effects of Panipat were felt all over India. 'All hopes of a Maratha Empire were destroyed at Panipat.' The East India Company began to dominate in Indian affiairs after the Maratha defeat of 1961. Thus we feel the effects of Panipat to this day!

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THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STATE-CRAFT OF SHIVAJI

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Out of nothing Shivaji the Great raised the magnificent edifice of a kingdom at least as big as Great Britain. He was great as a General and a Conqueror but he was perhaps greater as a Founder of a kingdom and as an Administrator. All available records bear testimony to the fact that he brought into being a systematic and orderly government whose rule was effective from the biggest garrisons of the army to the tiniest huts of the peasantry.

As the military exploits, diplomatic triumphs and personal feats of daring of Shivaji inspired so many bards and chroniclers, his governmental and administrative measures gave the clue to some theorisers on Statecraft and impelled them to write something on the general principles of *Rajaniti* or "the Rules of Kingly Conduct." Thus, two treatises on *Rajaniti* have come down to us; one, alleged to be written by the famous Ramachandrapant Amatya and the other said to be composed by Malhar Ramrao Chitnis. Besides these two independent works, detailed observations concerning the system of government built by Shivaji are made by Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad and Malhar Ramrao Chitnis in their respective '*Bakhars*' or chronicles of Shivaji. Thus the *Rajaniti* (otherwise called *Ajnapatra*) going under the name of Ramachandrapant, the *Rajaniti* written by M. R. Chitnis, the *Sabhasad Bakhar* and the *Chitnis*

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Bakhar—these are the four main sources which have been drawn upon by all modern writers on this subject.

The four documents mentioned above greatly differ from one another. The *Rajaniti* or *Ajnapatra* is the most realistic of the four. Sabhasad and Chitnis, in their respective *Bakhars*, give actual details of the governmental machine, the internal framework of the civil and military administration, while the author of the *Ajnapatra* is a theoriser pure and simple; he does not touch the internal details of administration, does not allude to the graded framework of servants of the State (except to some extent in the case of the administration of forts). Yet he theorises on the basis of reality. His statements are pithy generalisations of the actual state of affairs that existed at the time of Shivaji, combined with astute pieces of advice gleaned from the wise measures introduced by that noble sovereign. He lays down general rules that should guide the conduct of the king and makes observations as regards the general policy that should guide the different functions of the State. His great dislike of *Vatandars* (owners of perpetual freeholds), his strict injunctions against grant of lands to anybody on any account, his keen sense of the importance of forts and his minute and rigorous instructions as regards their management—all these had their source in the actual state of affairs that existed at the time of Shivaji. His solicitude for traders and capitalists, his expatiation on the importance of the navy are also significant, because they are also borne out by independent evidence as being important items in Shivaji's policy.

The portions in the two *Bakhars* on State-craft differ greatly from the *Ajnapatra* in tone and in actual content. They do not offer us generalisations and impersonal rules of conduct; for, what they intend to write is biography and not a manual of Politics. As mentioned before, they give grades of officers, their duties, their emoluments—in

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short they give us a more or less detailed description of the framework of administration and the actual functions of the State. Yet, in a way, they miss somewhat the realistic tone of the *Ajnapatra*. Their descriptions appear to be so systematic and ordered in a numerical array, that they give rise to a suspicion of not being based on the actual state of things to a great extent. Besides, many things seem to be borrowed from the ancient Hindu and Mahomedan ideas on State-craft. Thus the twelve '*mahals*' and eighteen '*karkhanas*' are borrowings from the Mahomedan theories of Politics. That so many *mahals* and *karkhanas* actually existed then has yet to be proved by unassailable contemporary evidence.

All this is more true of the *Chitnis Bakhar* than of the *Sabhasad Bakhar*. Sabhasad is matter of fact, while Chitnis is in many places, imaginary, pedantic and encomiastic. The descriptions of *Shadguṇas*, *Dvādaśa Mandala*, four *Upāyas*, etc., and the anecdote of Bhukhan Kavi may be cited as instances in point. He manifestly draws upon the ancient Hindu Science of Politics and ascribes all the good qualities of a king described therein to Shivaji. In drawing upon the ancient Hindu Political Science, Chitnis comes very near to the fourth source book mentioned above, namely, the manual of *Rajaniti* going under his own name. This *Rajaniti* is, of course, a compendium of general rules and has no reference to any particular king. But unlike the *Rajaniti* (*Ajnapatra*) passing under the name of Ramachandrapant it altogether misses the realistic note. It is not simply a Marathi version of an old Sanskrit work. It is certainly more genuine than that. It does indeed draw upon the ancient Sanskrit lore to a very great extent, but the author discriminates and makes use of other sources also. He mentions the twelve *Koshas* (*Mahals*) and eighteen *Shalas* (*Karkhanas*) more than once and in his fourth chapter entitled "The officers of the State including Public

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Servants," he gives a lucid description of the *Ashta-pradhan* system exactly as established by Shivaji. Thus it cannot be alleged that this *Rajaniti* is simply an imitation, an imaginary *tour de force* borrowed from Sanskrit. Yet the fact cannot be gainsaid that it has no reference to the state of things that existed under the Maratha rule. Rather it is an idealistic picture of what the writer thought a Hindu sovereign and his government should be.

In point of similarity we can divide these four works into two groups: the first group comprising the *Ajnapatra* and the *Sabhasad Bakhar* and the second consisting the *Bakhar* and the *Rajaniti* going under the name of Chitnis. The first group is much anterior in point of time to the second; it reflects the conditions existing at the time of Shivaji much more faithfully and can serve as a reliable guide if we wish to learn the principles underlying the system of government which Shivaji established.

One great feature of Shivaji's State-craft is its strong anti-feudal tendency. This is unmistakably clear from the observations contained in the *Ajnapatra* and in the *Sabhasad Bakhar*. In describing the revenue system of Shivaji Sabhasad clearly says, "The *Ryots* (peasants or tillers of land) in the country were freed from the yoke of *Jamidars*, *Deshmukhs* and *Desais*. Even if they intended to oppress by exercising their supremacy they could not do so. In the Adilshahi, Nizamshashi and Mongalai (Mughul Empire), the peasantry was under the thumb of the *Patils*, *Kulkarnis* and *Deshmukhs*. They used to collect the revenue and pay (to the treasury) some uncertain amount. These holders of hereditary rights (*Mirasdars*) would pay to the government only two or three hundred for a village from which they would collect one or two thousand. Consequently, the *Mirasdars* accumulated wealth and erected castles, mansions, fortifications, engaged soldiers and thus became powerful. They never appear before the State authorities; when the

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State demands more out of their grains, they begin to quarrel. In this way (these *Mirasdars*) having become unruly, the countryside become defiant. The Raja (Shivaji) therefore captured countryside places, and razed to the ground the towers, mansions and the fortifications. If a fortress had become famous he posted his own garrison there taking care to oust the *Mirasdar* from it. In this way having stopped the privileges of the *Mirasdars* by virtue of which they were drawing revenue according to their sweet will, he fixed the share of the *Jamidar* in coin and in kind and strictly regulated the rights of the *Deshmukhs, Desh-Kulkarnis, Patils* and *Kulkarnis. Jamidars* were enjoined not to build a mansion with bastions; they must build simple houses for their residence. Thus the country was brought under discipline."

What a vivid picture of feudalism that was rampant in Maharashtra before Shivaji and what a clear statement of the steps which Shivaji took to annihilate it! The *Ajnapatra* is even more emphatic on this point. It says, "The *Vatandars, Deshmukhs, Desh-Kulkarnis, Patils*, etc., in a State are really its enemies. They have not got the mentality to remain content with the rights over lands (*Vatan*) which they already possess and to behave with loyalty towards the Sovereign. They have a strong desire to go on acquiring newer and newer (estates), to wax strong, to use that strength in dispossessing others and in carrying on depredations." The writer thus goes on passing his strictures to the end of the chapter which he specially devotes to these feudatory chiefs. Thus both the works point out in the clearest terms how the country was a hot-bed of feudalism before the advent of Shivaji and how Shivaji tried to eradicate feudalism with determination.

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It is very interesting to note the penetrating manner in which these writers made their observations and the ingenuity with which they grasped the significance of things they saw around them. Chitnis makes a note of the fact that Shivaji did not engage *Shiledars* and, if he did, reduced them to the position of *Bargirs* (regular servants in cavalry). Sabhasad also makes a similar observation. The *Ajnapatra* sets down the rule, that in the *Huzurat* (The Royal Militia) no *Shiledar* should on any account be engaged. The concurrence of these three is really a matter of great moment. The Maratha *Shiledar* was a peculiar product of feudalism. He was more or less a free-lance owning the horse which he rode and the weapons with which he fought. He could fight with tenacity for his home and his *Vatan* if there was any, but he was very little amenable to the discipline of the State. Thus he was a miniature feudal lord. And feudalism as we know was a negation of the sovereignty and the discipline of the State.

And Shivaji was a disciplinarian first and last. An autocrat cannot but be a strict disciplinarian; and a benevolent autocrat he certainly was. Benevolent autocracy is in need of discipline all the more, as it must needs curb the irregularity of its servants, not only for the sake of maintaining its own sway but for the sake of the well-being of the subjects also. Contemporary records as well as *Bakhars* and other works abundantly testify to the rigorous discipline sought to be imposed by Shivaji. Strict discipline in all the departments of the State is the main burthen of the *Ajnapatra*. In the correspondence published by Rajwade there is a letter written by Shivaji to his army officer in Chiplun enjoining the strictest discipline (Rajwade M.I.S., Khanda 8, 28). The letter is authentic and is very interesting as it shows the penetrating insight, the firm grasp

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of details and the solicitude for the civil population, of the great leader, in addition to the spirit of discipline above referred to.

Strict discipline in the conduct of the government was thus in harmony with the anti-feudal policy of Shivaji. He carried on his crusade against feudalism with the help of the merciless weapon of discipline. Not only did he try to eradicate the weeds of feudalism that had already overgrown the soil, but he took care not to be instrumental in sowing the seeds of it which may shoot out in future. He was extremely averse to giving grant of land on any account to anybody. Whenever he wanted to bestow advantages upon or show favours to any one he gave drafts upon revenue recoverable in cash, but never made a gift of any rights on land. All the three source books, *viz.*, the *Ajnapatra*, *Sabhasad* and *Chitnis* concur in making a specific note of this policy. The *Ajnapatra* has a special chapter devoted to this question of granting *Vritti* (permanent source of income) and therein the author lays down emphatically the dictum; "Hence the king who wishes to govern, who wishes to add to his kingdom and to achieve glory as a benign ruler, should on no account yield to the temptation of granting even a speck of land measurable by the breadth of a grain of *yava*, with *Inam* rights."

This anti-feudal policy of Shivaji has been noted and remarked upon by modern writers on this subject, particularly by Dr. S. N. Sen in his work on the Administrative System of the Marathas. The recognition of this great truth leads us to inquire into the why and wherefore of this tendency on the part of Shivaji. It was not for nothing that Shivaji started on this crusade against feudalism. His actions were not aimless; nor were they caused by the personal motive of self-aggrandisement. He could have been a tyrant pure and simple like Timur or Nadir Shah or,

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for the matter of that, like Alexander the Great, over-running countries and tracts with irresistible military forces. But his genius was constructive. He did not aim at establishing a militaristic State, propped up by the strength of an efficient army and by the grabbing and tyrannical mentality of a conclave of war-mongers. Out of the ashes of feudalism he wanted to raise a nation, strong and sturdy and progressive. It behoves us to see on what foundations and with what aims he carried on his nation-building operations.

If we again refer to contemporary records and to the three source books already mentioned we get a clue to the policy of Shivaji. The *Ajnapatra* contains a chapter on the importance of traders, bankers and capitalists to the State. Therein he expresses great solicitude for this class of persons and says that the State profits very much by giving shelter to bankers, etc. We may here quote the author's own words: "A banker is a great ornament of the State and the glory of the State. The State which consists of bankers prospers. The existence of bankers enriches the State, makes rare commodities available and enables the State to obtain loans in times of need, thereby making it possible to tide over national difficulties. It is thus extremely advantageous to shelter the bankers. For this reason bankers should be greatly honoured."

If these observations really reflect the policy of Shivaji —and we cannot doubt that they do, as they are supported by independent evidence of contemporary letters, etc.,—then we can arrive at a plausible conclusion that Shivaji had a great predilection for the traders, bankers and capitalists. There are many letters in Rajwade's 8th Khanda and elsewhere testifying to the great care and solicitude with which he tried to foster trade and commerce. Instances abound wherein he pays close attention to the production, carriage, excise and marketing of merchandise. His hankering after

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money and bullion and his tendency towards hoarding are also in evidence in many places. All this shows that he was consistently trying to make money the chief supporting principle of his State-craft.

Feudalism is nothing if it does not idolize heredity. Social rank must depend upon the accident of birth in this system of social structure. But when commercialism and the god Mammon begin to rule, the high-born are levelled to the ground and the commoner is lifted up to occupy his place. True to his principles, Shivaji was a great elevator and a champion of the commoner. The story that he chose *Mavala* boys, *i.e.*, the children of the peasantry of the region around Poona, to be his playmates is not without significance. The story of the quarrel of Maloji Bhosle (Shivaji's grandfather) with Lakhuji Jadhavrao, a hereditary lord who was over-conscious of his high pedigree, indicates that the family of Bhosles was one of self-respecting commoners who relied upon their personal qualities and gazed full in the face of the pride of pedigree. That spirit was inherited in an augmented form by Shivaji. All his comrades, lieutenants and officers were men from the commonost ranks, either poor Brahmins, peasants or petty *Vatandars*. He raised such men to the rank of ministers, paid them munificent salaries, but never granted them an inch of land nor conferred on them any hereditary title.

Viewed thus, Shivaji's policy and his activities appear to us to possess an inner meaning. His was an attempt to reorganise society on a modern and more efficient basis. From feudalism he tried to turn to plutocracy through the intervention of autocracy. Autocracy as a principle of government cannot lead us very far. It must either be based on militarism pure and simple or must presuppose a social structure in which the king is supported by a religious hierarchy. Both the conditions were wanting in Shivaji's case. Shivaji did indeed build up a strong military organisa-

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tion. But his was far from a militaristic State. People were not held in subjugation to him under a military regime. On the other hand, all accounts go to show that Shivaji's rule was regarded as a deliverance. People felt as free and contented under his rule as they had never felt before. They were undoubtedly fired by a sort of religious zeal; but religious fervour cannot alone build up a kingdom, much less hold it together for a great length of time. Religious zeal alone would produce a Mary, a Philip or an Aurangzeb; it cannot achieve anything constructive politically. It is quite common to regard the advent and rise of Shivaji as a Hindu revival and in a sense it was so. Shivaji was a staunch Hindu who regarded the cultural heritage of Hinduism with reverence. It was, therefore, natural that Hinduism and its cultural concommitants got a great lift and were congenially nourished in Shivaji's regime. But all this came as a matter of course. It would not be correct to describe religious zeal as the main-spring of Shivaji's activity. Those who would carefully read Sabhasad, the *Ajnapatra* and the contemporary records would never come to a conclusion that Shivaji, in all his exploits and constructive activities, was actuated by religious fervour pure and simple. The key-note of his policy is to be found elsewhere. It is in the economic sphere that we may search for it. The rise of Shivaji really indicates a great socio-political revolution impelled by economic causes. It was a revolt of the commoner against the misrule of the wrangling barons,—the Mores and the Jadhavs and the Jedhes and the Ghorpades, who tyrannised over their own countrymen and bowed meekly before the Sultan of Bijapur. Instead of a social order based on heredity and pride of pedigree, Shivaji wanted to build one based on the power of money and he utilised masterfully the discontent existing in the common people for that purpose.

The significance of all this will become apparent if we examine world conditions in the period in which Shivaji

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lived. In Europe 15th century registered the decay of feudalism. By the end of this century, the feudal order of society had died out and the autocracy of kings and emperors supported by the Christian hierarchy took its place in the more important countries of Western Europe. But Papal Supremacy was soon threatened and the Reformation heralded the rise of the commoner. The artist, the farmer, the sailor, the petty merchant—all these were in revolt against the tyranny of the religious autocrats. In England the regal autocracy divested itself from religion sooner than in the other countries. King Henry VIII started the experiment and Elizabeth made it successful beyond doubt. The successful daring of the English seamen in the sixteenth century gave the whole nation a hint of the direction in which its prosperity lay; and fortunately it was not lost upon the people or on the monarch either. While the other countries were immersed in internecine quarrels which the relics of feudalism, the tyranny of religion and uprising of the commoner made inevitable, England found her destiny in trade and commerce and gradually threw herself more and more into that wealth-begetting activity until at last Napoleon could, jeeringly though truthfully, say that England was a mere nation of traders and shopkeepers. The truth of this observation was incontestible but the jeering tone was unjustified, as it was this nation of traders that alone could withstand the onslaught of military Imperialism sought to be established by Napoleon. It was the money and the grit of commercial England that brought on the downfall of Napoleon. This was inevitable. An Empire solely propped up by military strength must needs crumble when it is at grips with a commercialised nation headed by a strong oligarchy; for, on the whole, commercialism leading to plutocracy represents a more advanced stage than feudalism and autocratic militarism, in the evolution of human society.

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The genius of Shivaji had a prevision of this truth. He tried to eradicate feudalism and to implant in its place a social order which was very much advanced so far as conditions in India in those times are concerned. An autocratic regime he could directly establish. But he did not appear to be satisfied with this. An efficient navy was certainly not required to establish unhampered sway over Maharashtra. The Peshwas with all their plans of overrunning the whole of Hindustan did not, as we know, pay attention to the navy; in fact they did so much to weaken it. The creation of an independent navy was one of the superb ideas of Shivaji, and of Shivaji alone, among the Marathas. His solicitude for traders and bankers cannot also be explained in any other way. Any one who reads the chapter on *Sahukars* (bankers, etc.) and the chapter on the Navy in the *Ajnapatra* cannot but be convinced that they convey a mission inspired by a vision of a new order of things. Many contemporary letters not only justify but support this conclusion. The writer cannot, within the short space of this paper, substantiate his argument by adequate references to published records, etc.; but they could be easily pointed out if required. Shivaji's anxiety for abolishing all sorts of dealings without the payment of money is a thing which may also be noted in this connection. Serfdom is a concomitant of feudalism and even of military autocracy. And it is well known that Shivaji insisted on bringing all dealings between men on a contractual footing. He enjoins that even the smallest item of service and the smallest thing acquired must be paid for. What does it indicate if it may not be regarded as an attempt to bring about a new order of social values based on money and capital?

It is an evidence of the far-sighted genius of Shivaji that he foresaw and gauged the trend of world events—may be, instinctively, intuitively or from conscious knowledge and experience—and tried to shape things so that they may

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usher in the new era. If the attempt of Shivaji had succeeded, the Indian communities—at least the Marathas—would have advanced many steps in the stages of social evolution. Indian society would thus have become abreast of the times and would have held its own when the impact, which was soon to come, came with the most advanced commercialised nation in the West. But that was not to happen. Shivaji was rather too much ahead of his times. He himself was short-lived and his ideas did not permeate. Soon after his death, the country again relapsed into feudalism. The place of *Deshmukhs* and *Desh-Kulkarnis* of old was taken by *Inamdars*, *Mansabdars* and *Jagirdars* of the new age and the old rut began again. The confidence and the self-consciousness that was roused by Shivaji was turned into channels not very edifying. The newly created energies were spent in overrunning neighbouring provinces and in establishing feudatory principalities. When the impact with the national commercialism of the West came, it was a foregone conclusion that the edifice of the Maratha Confederacy showing some of the worst features of feudalism should totter and crumble.

The famous Maratha poet Moropant makes a very sagacious remark in one place :—कारिति जनत वतन पतन मत न भल्याला तथापि तें वरितो । (" People protect their *Vatan*, so much so that they would court their downfall which is not liked by good people, in their attempt to protect it.") How exactly this befits the later trend of Maratha History ! They accepted their downfall in trying to save their personal *Vatana* !

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26

THE SIKHS IN THE SOUTH

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I propose in this paper to show how the Sikhs became conspicuous in the South, especially in Karnāṭaka, from the latter half of the seventeenth century A.D. onwards. The following remarks are based on stone inscriptions, copper-plate grants, *sanads*, and a work in Kannaḍa called *Hydernāmā* on the life of Sultan Hyder Ali of Mysore.

It is well-known that the Sikh community was transformed from a socio-religious group into a military power by the last prominent Sikh *guru* Govind Singh (1675-1708). We know likewise that the far-sighted Guru, who had exchanged religious exclusiveness for political activity, was murdered at Nānder in the Deccan by an Afghan in 1708.[1] During this period ranging from 1675 to 1708, which marks Sikh enterprise in the north, we see evidence of the Sikh penetration into the South as well. A stone inscription on a pillar of the *samādhimaṇṭapa* on the hill called Cuñcanagiri in Cuñcanahalḷi, Nāgamangala *tāluḳa*, Mysore State, is of much interest in this connection. It is written in Devanagari characters and in Hindi, and is dated only in the cyclic year Āngīrasa. It runs as follows :—"(The pillar set up by) Haranāth-Guru-bai for the good Rāmanātha of Cuñcanagiri, in the service of the Kurukṣetra Nātha (*Śrī Cuñcanagiri ḳā Rāmanātha-svāmi*

[1] *Cf.* Vincent Smith, *Oxford History of India*, pp. 454-55 (2nd ed., Oxford, 1928).

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Āngīrasa-samvatsara Kurukṣetra-Nāthaki sevame Haranāthaguru-bai)."[2] The identity of this Sikh lady cannot be made out, nor how she came to set up a votive pillar in a distant part of Karnāṭaka.

But that the Sikhs were giving ample evidence of their generosity in this part of India is evident from the three following records which deal with a Sikh military officer, who was obviously in the service of the Mysore Government. These three records are the following—the *sanad* in the possession of Joḍidār, Malūr-Dod *akere*, Malur *tāluka*; the stone inscription at Varadaṇḍuhaḷḷi to the north of Malur Doḍḍakere in the same *tāluka*; and the stone inscription at Tambuhaḷḷi, also in the same *tāluka*. All these three records, found in the Mysore State, are written in the Kannaḍa language and script, and give a short history of the Sikh military officer. He was called Hṛdaya Rāma, the son of Rāmacandra and the grandson of Gopala Singh. Hṛdaya Rāma was a *jamādar*, and is said to have belonged to the Bharadvāja *gotra*, and to have been "a moon to the ocean—the Cayisa *kula*." The *sanad* also calls him Hṛdaya Rāma Jamādār, and it opens with an obeisance to Venkaṭeśvarasvāmi. It is dated thus—*Śrī vijayābhyudaya Śalivāhana śaka varṣāngalu*, 1683 *Vikrama-nāma sam(vatsa)rada Kārttika Sud(dh)a* 5 *Somoparāga*. The cyclic year does not correspond to the Śaka year, for the cyclic year Śaka 1683 was vṛṣa, while that of Śaka 1682 was Vikrama. The date may stand for A.D. 1761, November 2, Monday.[3]

The *sanad*, however, registers a perpetual gift of specified land in Varadaṇḍuhaḷḷi belonging to the *hobḷi* of Malur of the Haveli *taraf* in the Hosakoṭe *pargāna*, to the donee called Venkaṭācārya (whose descent is stated in detail), by Hṛdaya Rāma Jamādār, with all rights. The *sanad* ends thus—

[2] *Epigraphia Carnatica*, IV, Ng. 63, text p. 375.

[3] See Swamikannone Pillai, *An Indian Ephemeris*, VI, pp. 325, 326. If it is Śaka 1682, it may correspond to A.D. 1760, Thursday, the 13th November.

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"This may you, your sons and posterity enjoy in peace, and grant your blessing to me," and contain the final verses usually found at the end of grants.[4]

In the Varadaṇḍuhaḷḷi stone inscription which opens with an obeisance to Gaṇādhipati, the same donor is said to have granted in the next year (1762) the village of Varadaṇḍuhaḷḷi (location specified as above), for the service of the god Śankaranārāyaṇa Malūr.[5]

The same donor in the same year (1762), "as advised by the Svāmi" (unnamed) (*śrī Svami ākhyātavāgt sadā barat*.....), granted the Tambihaḷḷi village, a *mauje* belonging to the Lakkūr *taraf* in the Haveli-*sammat* of the Hosakōṭe *pargana*, to the Bhairāgis and Brahmans who were constantly coming to provide for their daily expenses.[6]

Chronologically, we should cite here the example of a daring Sikh military leader, who almost proved a serious rival to Hyder Ali of Mysore. But I may continue with the history of Sikh benevolence in Mysore. It is gathered from a copper-plate in the Mallāpura *maṭha* at Puṣpagiri, Arehaḷḷi *hobli*, Beḷūr *tāluka*, Mysore State. This record is written in Sanskrit and Telugu, and it opens with an invocation to Girīśa and his praise. It then proceeds to narrate the following—Instructed by the wisdom of the *guru* named Nānak, Candūlāl Prabhu, on the specified date (A.D. 1821), granted the village of Ningāla in the *khasba tāluka* as an *agrahāra* (Brahman endowment), for the decorations, illuminations, and offerings of the god Mallikārjuna, the lord of Brahmarāmbikā, freed from a number of imposts which are mentioned in detail. The donor's praise, we may also note, is thus given in the same record—Candūlāl Prabhu was true of speech, of the Kausalya *gotra*, granter of a village for the

[4] *Ep. Car.*, X, Mr. 81, p. 174.
[5] *Ibid.*, Mr. 80, p. 174.
[6] *Ibid.*, Mr. 76, p. 173.

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lord of Brahmarāmbikā, born in the Mehari-Khatri-*vaṁśa*, grandson of the lord Lacchirāma, son of the lord Nārāyaṇa Dāsa and Nānu Bai, Mādyandina reciter, versed in the Āpastambha *sūtra*, and able in bearing the burden of the world.[7]

By the middle of the eighteenth century an enterprising Sikh military adventurer had already made himself felt in the politics of Karnāṭaka. This was Hari Singh, who, as mentioned above, at one time nearly eclipsed Hyder Ali himself. We learn about Hari Singh and his doings at the Mysore Court from the Kannaḍa Ms. styled *Hyder-nāmā* which was discovered in the Mysore Palace, and an abstract from which has been published in the *Mysore Archaeological Report for the year 1930* (pages 79-106). The anonymous author of this interesting work was in the service of both Hyder Ali Bahadur and Tipu Sultan.

He informs us that in Śaka 1618 (A.D. 1756) the two *dalavāyi* (General) brothers Devarājayya and Nañjarājayya fell out on the question of the treasury, and that the former left Seringapatam and remained at Satyamangalam. At that time Hyder Ali, his brother-in-law Sayyid Muqadam, and *Dewan* Venkat Rao were sent against the Nāyars of Calicut. These latter were defeated, and they agreed to pay a tribute of twelve lakhs of rupees to Hyder Ali. But they secretly negotiated with General Devarājayya, and promised to pay him the stipulated sum of 12 lakhs instead of to Hyder Ali, if only he caused the army of Hyder Ali to withdraw from Calicut. General Devarājayya then asked Hyder Ali to return to Mysore, but he refused to do so until the expenses of his army, amounting to three lakhs of rupees were paid. General Devarājayya paid this amount, caused Hyder Ali to withdraw with his army, and then sent Hari Singh, who had been a *Jamadār* under General Devarājayya,

[7] *Ep. Car.*, V, Bl, 234, p. 111.

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to Calicut to collect the amount of the tribute.[8] Both the anonymous author of the *Hyder-nāmā* and the compiler of the modern work in Kannada called the *Annals of the Mysore Royal Family*, compiled under the orders of H. H. Maharaja Kṛṣṇarājendra Odeyar V, confirm the fact of Hari Singh's having been in the service of the Mysore State.[8]

General Devarājayya thus played off Hari Singh against Hyder Ali. For he knew very well that keen rivalry existed between these two military leaders.[9] But Hyder Ali's chance soon came to do away with his Sikh rival. In the same year (A.D. 1756) the Marathas invaded Mysore, and in their wake troubles crowded upon the Mysore State. The worst of these was that relating to the treasury which had now become empty. The soldiers in the Mysore army offered *satyagraha* (*dhārna*) at the gates of the palace of the king of Mysore and of the residence of General Nañjarāja Urs. There was only one person who could pacify them—and that was Hyder Ali. Therefore he was requested to put down the rebellion in the army. This he did at once although with some show of reluctance. He accomplished his object by an equal distribution of force and politeness, and collected enough money to meet the need of the time. But one of those who suffered was Hari Singh who was put to death, and whose wealth was seized. Thus was removed the only capable rival Hyder Ali had from the scene.[10]

But Hyder Ali knew well the worth of the Sikhs. This explains why he entertained in his service, when he had

[8] *Mysore Archaeological Report for 1933*, p. 83; *Annals of the Mysore Royal Family*, I, p. 191.

[9] Wilks in his *Sketches of the History of Mysore*, also refers to this rivalry between Hari Singh and Hyder Ali, but I have abstained from citing from him.

[10] *M.A.R. for 1930*, p. 84.

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gained complete military and political control of Mysore, capable military officers like *Risaldar* Surat Singh, *Jamadar* Cchattar Singh, *Jamadar* Ranjit Singh, *Jamadar* Gangaram, and others, as mentioned in the *Hyder-nāmā*.[11]

[11] *M.A.R. for 1930*, p. 106.

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SECTION V

MODERN PERIOD SECTION

(Including later Maratha-Sikh History)

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

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I

I am very grateful to the organizers of the Indian History Congress, Calcutta, for having conferred upon me the honour of presiding over this Section, keenly conscious as I am that there are many scholars working in this field who are more worthy of filling this place. I have been an humble camp-follower for many years now in this division of our army of historical workers; and my election to this place is, in my view, only an illustration of that sense of democratic equality that prevails among all our scholars alike, great and small, experienced and raw.

It has been a most healthy feature of our activity that the scope of this Congress, which was limited at its birth to the recent centuries of India's growth, has since been extended to cover its whole legitimate field at its widest extent. Much of the work of our scholars has been carried on in the different parts of our land and in foreign centres of learning under conditions of varying difficulty and with different degrees of fruitful and permanent results. The sifting of data, the tentative inference of conclusions, the equipment of historical criticism and the final shape of presentation accompanied by a due regard to the nature and character of the material used and to the genius of the period, topic or movement taken up for study, have been, on the whole, done with a fair amount of success and an appreciable crop of excellent harvest. The credit for these results should, in large measure, go to those

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venerable pioneers in this field, to whom we all owe so much and some of whom have been fortunately spared to us and are still active. Their task was in the beginning a most difficult one, as it involved a heavy uphill strain for them to take up their due share in work that was almost completely monopolised till about half a century back by European scholarship. The collaboration of Indian effort in this field has been particularly fruitful, because the task of interpretation of phases of institutional and cultural growth of Modern India and even of the right exposition of the interaction of military and political forces, foreign and indigenous, that India has been subjected to in the last three or four centuries, has been rendered more real and more rational by the addition of indigenous talent to European effort in research, collation and conclusion.

II

The history of our land in the British Period possesses a significance for the understanding of the present-day problems which cannot be easily underestimated. There are possibly in this period, more numerous and more markedly divergent points of view, though a smaller number of gaps, and more urgent and vital problems awaiting solution that are of significance to the present and the future of our land than in similar periods of the past. The amount of material at the disposal of the student is staggering in quantity and perplexing in its range and in the difficulty of co-ordination that it presents. The dross of romanticism and sentimentalism, which can easily permeate research in more antique epochs, indeed affects this period in a far smaller measure; but there is also operating the more serious, if more insidious, danger of the researchers trying to read, either by reason of unconscious bias or by force of convinced determination and subconscious analogy, a great deal more in the strictly assessed objectivity that should mark rightfully the study of the causes of the

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decay of the Muslim and Maratha powers and the rise and establishment of the British, in preference to any other, European domination. As Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan has pertinently remarked elsewhere, the difficulties of the student of Modern Indian History consist not so much in the collection of material as in its selection. The facilities provided by the rich treasure-houses of archives, in the capitals of those European States which have indulged in Eastern enterprise, have been made increasingly available not only to those scholars who have the resources and the facilities to study at those places themselves, but also to others lacking the ability to study on the spot, by means of printed lists of calendared documents, photo-prints of manuscripts and other facilities of recent invention which reproduce, cheaply and in *facsimile*, manuscripts old and new. These new processes have the additional advantage of enabling even distant places of learning situated in remote corners of our land to secure copies of all valuable manuscripts and records treasured in the different museums and record-offices both in India and abroad.

It is difficult to get, at one view and by a mere first effort, a true perspective of the trend of growth in the last two or three centuries. The enormous quantities of record and manuscript material pertaining to the growth of the power of the European Companies are to be explained in a considerable measure by the meticulous and almost Venetian supervision attempted to be exercised by the home authorities over their servants and settlements in India. In addition to these records, there have been accumulated a staggering amount of pamphlet literature embodying the swaying passions and prejudices of the men who played a part in the drama of Eastern enterprise, and of the collections of letters received and copies of letters despatched which it was usual for men in high offices in those days to keep for themselves.

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III

The decaying days of the Mughul Empire have been examined and interpreted by a band of scholars headed by the veteran, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, with some amount of appreciable fullness, with reference to Northern India, to those regions in which the Maratha power extended its sway and even to Rajputana, the history of whose States has been receiving increasing attention at the hands of scholars. With reference to the Deccan, the foundation on a firm basis of the Hyderabad State by Nawab Asaf Jah and its continuous vitality since its inception have been noticed by its own historians, while the record-treasures in the *Daftar* houses in the State have also been utilised by them. With regard to South India, the situation is far more complex. From almost the beginning of the 17th century, the penetration of the Muslim power into the interior of South India and the establishment of the factories of the different European nationalities, coupled with increasing loss of vitality that marked the rule of the indigenous princes and the spread over the land of a quasi-feudalism that fostered no institution in particular except that of the tax-collector and his whip and ate away all the old native machinery of local administration—these render the drawing up of pictures, on a rational and conspective basis, of the history of South India very difficult. It was largely due to the pioneer efforts of the early British historians and writers of South India, of whom Col. Mark Wilks is the most shining example, that some systematic attempt came to be made in the matter of the interpretation of the currents and cross-currents that continued to agitate the face of the land till the first decades of the 19th century. Of Wilks it was said, shortly after his work on "Historical Sketches of the South of India" was published (1810-14), that "the book will prove to the world that the East India Company had long possessed, among its most active and laborious servants, men, whose genius, talents

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and acquirements would confer distinction upon any country however enlightened." It was he who projected for the first time a comprehensive account of the recent history of South India, studied with primary reference to Mysore, on the basis not only of official information and records of which he himself was a perfect master, but also of memoirs and materials culled from the family papers preserved by the nobles of the land and from quasi-historical pieces of work of the kind that were then available among the indigenous chroniclers. One such example of the latter class of writers was furnished by a Tamil chronicler, Narayanan, who wrote the "History of the Karnataka Governors" about 1803 and who said in the preface of his work that he based his account on large books of history (*Tavārīkh*) such as Ferishta and submitted what he wrote for verification to the Muhammadan *amirs* of the age and others well learned in Tamil, who were then living at Arcot, like the Company's *sadar* at Vellore. His account has remained long buried deep in the midst of the manuscript treasures accumulated by Colonel Colin Mackenzie and stored away in the Government Manuscript Library in Madras, having been only brought to full light and utility by scholars, like the *doyen* of South Indian historians, Diwan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, who have discovered in it a considerable amount of corrective to the prevailing notions about the Mughul siege of Gingee and the subsequent establishment of Mughul sway in the Carnatic on either side of 1700.

Similar value attaches to material accumulated by the *rāyasams* (Indian letter-writers) of the English Company at Madras belonging to the Paupiah family and to the observations recorded by the Pondicherry courtier and *Dubash*, Ananda Ranga Pillai. The harnessing of such indigenous historical output had been made by writers of note of a former generation like J. H. Nelson, who found the

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manuscript material of Ponnuswami Thevan of Ramnad invaluable for the compilation of his well-known work "The Madura District, A Manual" (1869), and Lakshmana Rao, the factotum and *diwan* of Sir Thomas Munro and of Colonel Read (who were in charge of the Baramahal District on its acquisition by the Company), who left an interesting account of the circumstances that led to the different experiments at land revenue settlements made in that district that finally culminated in the triumph of *ryotwār* in the greater part of the Southern Presidency. Proper work in these fields and the right methods of the tapping of material, a great quantity of which still lies buried away from the ken of the researcher, should supply the remedy of the defects pointed out by Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan in his valuable Presidential Address to the All-India Modern History Congress at its First Session in Poona, namely, that the first half of the 18th century has so far remained comparatively unexplored and that there has been a lack of really sound books on the administration of the Company in Madras and Bombay in that century, which was marked, so far as the rebirth of India was concerned, only by confusion and anxiety outside the Company's territorial limits and by peaceful and quiet developments inside them. Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar has been the guide and the norm for many workers in this field; and I have, in an humble manner, written a history of the city of Madras, constructed mainly from a study of contemporary material, both official and otherwise, and made a critical study of the historical material embodied in the Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai, the Courtier of Pondicherry. The great doings of Lawrence and Clive, of Coote and Pigot and of their co-workers who really laid the foundations of British supremacy in South India, have been portrayed in standard works, like those of Orme, Cambridge, James Mill, Forrest and Wyllie—to mention only a few spread over several generations. But, perhaps, an obvious defect in

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them has been a comparative neglect of indigenous sources leading to a lack of sufficient appreciation of this category of material and of the contributions of Indian agency towards the achievements of their own heroes. The tendency to overlook the importance of, and sometimes even the part played by, the Indian co-adjutors and co-operators of these men who had attained to historic fame, has been attempted to be rectified by the comparatively late efforts of scholars who have been working out, among their other tasks, the part played by Nawab Muhammad Ali and his followers in the Carnatic and by the Nawabi officials in Bengal in that formative epoch. Indigenous, illustrative and supplementary sources available for this line of work are accumulating in the hands of scholars and throwing light upon the merits and doings of the enemy personages that confronted and tried to stem the tide of English expansion—like Hyder Ali, Mir Qasim, Nana Fadnis and Ranjit Singh—and even the less significant and potent forces like the *poligārs* who resented and strained against the rapid descent of the Bramah-press of the British over them.

Throughout the 18th century and down to the close of it, no power that flourished in South India, including even the British, was sufficiently conscious of its stability to devote a substantial portion of its attention and resources to the improvement of administration. Thus the progress of administrative reform and reconstruction, that began in Bengal comparatively early in the growth of the British power, was consequently somewhat belated in the Madras Presidency, though the problems that awaited solution here were in certain respects even more complex than those that cropped up in Bengal and in the territories that were annexed to that Presidency in course of time. The Madras administrative system as it grew up thus, first tentatively and hesitatingly and later with conscious effort, depended primarily for its lever of improvement on the condition of the *ryot* and parti-

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cularly on the margin that was left to him for recovery from the effects of famine and for his maintenance over and above the expenses of production. Thus the reform of the land-system occupied an important place; while the development of recognised laws and law courts, though an equally important necessity, held a somewhat secondary place. A centralised government and administrative system necessitated the suppression of centrifugal elements like the *poligārs* who had become so widely spread and whose status in the political system of the country and its evolution were far different from those of their compeers in Bengal and Oudh. It was early seen that conditions in Madras were fully different from those that were applicable to Bengal and to the old North-Western Provinces beyond it. The *ryotwāri* system found its champion in Munro, who became almost the foster-father, if not the actual parent, of many of the most notable and enduring features of the present-day Madras district administration. It is unfortunate that, of Munro and his achievement, we should still have to be content with the existing biographies of Gleig, Arbuthnot and Bradshaw. The genesis and growth of the Madras administrative system constitute a fruitful tract for the exploration of the researcher and await his clearing and culture. Indeed, Madras was in a thoroughly unwholesome condition even in the beginning of the 19th century; and its administration was even then marked by rife faction and a spirit of defiance of authority bred of a long period of lax and corrupt administration and intemperate attacks on Government that were rarely curbed with severity. Similar in a large measure were the features of the Bombay administration even during the Governorship of the illustrious Elphinstone. Episodes connected with crises that were not infrequent phenomena in those times have formed the subjects of monographs and treatises and would still offer a fertile quarry for the efforts of the student of local history on an intensive scale. The interest of the student in the

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history of the Madras Presidency is marked in yet another field. It was now that the famous Colonel Colin Mackenzie made his career so useful for the present day in research and reconstruction of history and accumulated his historical and antiquarian treasures that can well claim to be the most extensive and the most valuable collection of historical documents relating to India that ever was made by any individual in Europe and Asia. Mackenzie might well be regarded as having been the British pioneer to kindle the lamp of historical and antiquarian research in the South Indian mind; and he is also noted as the founder of peripatetic parties for the search of manuscripts and the discovery of archaeological finds that have developed into a potent instrument of recovery of literary and architectural material in our land.

The value of the Mackenzie Collection was first perceived by Colonel Mark Wilks and was later amplified by the efforts at their classification and calendaring made by successive generations of scholars, both European and Indian, and comprehending such names as H. H. Wilson and W. Taylor on the former side and headed on the latter side by Venkataboriah—who opened a "new and rational" avenue to Hindu knowledge to Mackenzie himself—and stretching down to the present-day scholars led by the veteran Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar who has been persistently endeavouring, during a period of three decades, to persuade our administrations—central, provincial and Indian—to make their collections of records available in the fullest measure for the public and for the research worker. His attempts have served as the starting point of a persistent demand that the Mackenzie Manuscripts should be published *in extenso* or in *precis* in some convenient form or other so as to serve the purposes of the scholar. He has been urging it on the Indian Historical Records Commission for the last ten years and more.

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IV

Prof. Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan has brought prominent attention to bear upon the dangers that confront the worker in the matter of a correct and impartial evaluation of the achievements of the builders of the British dominion, as well as of the British administrative system. He says that the task in these cases is infinitely difficult; and he would urge all who work in the field, great and small, to be animated by a supreme desire for truth. From the days of Caraccioli down to the recent biography of Mervyn Davis, the whole chain of writers on Clive can be brought forward in illustration of the striking flux and changes of sympathy and opinion that beset the Muse of History in her never-ceasing advance. Similarly, with regard to the discreditable period of British rule in Bengal and Madras which lasted on down to the administration of Warren Hastings and persisted even for some years longer in the Southern Presidency, the student should guard himself against the dangers of pamphlet literature of all views thrusting itself forcefully upon his attention. The enigmatic figure of Warren Hastings serves even now to cast a spell upon biographer and reader alike. Compared with the charm that has always attached itself to the ever widening literature on Warren Hastings and despite its varying value, the books published on Cornwallis, Wellesley and Lord Hastings fade into relative dullness and prolix rigidity.

The British power, as it grew up in the first half of the 19th century, lacks even to-day a comprehensive and classic writer who may take his place by the side of Orme and Mill. The available sum-total of books on this period has still many gaps alike in military operations, administrative development and biographical sketches, though several writers from Kaye downwards were particularly attracted by this period and field. Fierce controversies have reigned over

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particular topics like the Afghan wars, Bentinck's reform measures and the causes of the outbreak of the Great Mutiny as well as the methods of its suppression.

The publications of the Record Offices in India and in Britain and of numerous papers of private families like the Ellenborough Papers have enlarged the sources available for the student of recent Indian history. As we advance in point of time, one of the principal sources of information, in the shape of the proceedings of the Political Department of the Government of India, becomes increasingly inaccessible; but till almost the end of the pre-Mutiny period the danger, most to be guarded against by the student, is falling a prey to the oft-staggering quantity of the material and giving undue value to some kinds of even contemporary publications, pamphlets and secondary works.

V

An insidious danger that even now, after this lapse of time, lurks in the interpretation of the phenomenal success of the British in building up their Indian Empire lies in the tendency that has marked a large portion of Indian writers to find extra-historical and quasi-providential reasons for the appearance and vitality of such a phenomenon. The classic historian, Polybius, in the preface to his *Oecumenical History*, apostrophizes his readers in this vein, when describing what struck him as the 'wonderfully rapid' establishment of Roman ascendancy over the Greek world. He wrote thus:—"What mind, however commonplace or indifferent, could feel no curiosity to learn the process by which almost the whole world fell under the undisputed ascendancy of Rome within a period of less than fifty-three years, or to acquaint itself with the political organization to which the triumph—a phenomenon unprecedented in the annals of Mankind—was due? What

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mind, however infatuated with other spectacles and other studies, could find a field of knowledge more profitable than this?" (*Historiae*, Book I). As Polybius was brought up in a social *milieu* in which there was a long tradition of public service, so a similar environmental influence has been marking the mental and spiritual tone of the bulk of our *intelligentsia* and our historical writers in particular. This has been specially insidious in its effect in making them live and write with an almost English mentality and with disproportionately stressed admiration for English political and administrative ideals. Such a deficiency has led to some degree of a lack of really accurate subjective treatment of the topics treated as ascertained first hand, and to their presentation with a facility that seemed quite natural in the 19th century, but now appears somewhat obsolete in these resurgent days of nationalistic feeling. These deficiencies operated even on the minds of the Hindu historians of the age of Muslim domination, as noticed by Sir H. M. Elliot in his preface to the *Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Muhammadan India*, Vol. I (1849), where he regretted that the average Hindu historian of Muslim rule completely displayed "a lack of the feelings, hopes, faiths, fears and yearnings of his subject race and showed nothing to betray his religion or nation except perhaps a certain stiffness and affectation of style which show how ill the foreign garb befitted him." Are we not even now, one may ask very pertinently, wedded in our writings to the self-same style and manner of appreciation and taking over the phrases and formal language of our British rulers ? It is the duty of every historian and writer to avoid making his work "a mere charnel house of facts"; and perhaps it should be indeed a justifiable desire on his part that in Modern India, wherein has been steadily growing an increasingly vigorous, intellectual, political and religious life, thoroughly impulsed and influenced by

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British political practice and ideology and literature, there may well be some measure of this tendency prevailing. The growth of Indian nationalism has accentuated this bias, which has, however, strangely enough, worked both-ways. One set of our writers, which certainly is wider than the circle of authors of books intended for use in our schools and colleges, is dominated by an apprehension of the possible repercussion of their views on the administration and they deny themselves the full freedom of expression which is their right. In the words of two eminent historians, they have been " accustomed to interpret everything from the standpoint of the administration asking themselves this question: 'Will this make for easier and quieter government;' and might too easily succumb to the touchy fear contained impliedly in the saying 'he that is not for us is against us.'"

The above feature has produced a great evil which is in marked contrast to the earlier and freer writings of the historians of the 18th and 19th centuries. Thus the historians above quoted conclude:—"The writer of to-day inevitably has a world outside his own people, listening intently and as touchy as his own people, as swift to take offence.....This knowledge of an overhearing, even eavesdropping public, of being in *partibus infidelium*, exercises a constant silent censorship, which has made British-Indian History the worst patch in current scholarship. Orme, Elphinstone, Montegomery Martin, Marshman, Thornton, Keene, Beveridge, Mill and Wilson, and most of the earlier historians of separate episodes are vivacious reading and kept the subject alive." [*Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India*, by E. Thompson and G. T. Garratt (1934), p. 665]. One other complication that marks the position of the student at the present time, besides the danger of falling into a titled national or racial bias is the accumulating harvest of scholarship of a kind showing itself in the shape

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of books centering round great personages and marked by a tendency to weave destiny round them, instead of allowing the story of their destiny to unfold itself. Such a type is symbolised in R. J. Minney's *Clive* in which, though there is the obvious element of examination of the right kind of source—material like relevant private letters and papers, despatches and documents and records of the Indian Office, the British Museum, etc., and which is marked by otherwise faultless array of historical and biographical equipment, this tendency is present in a marked degree.

VI

British Indian History should be primarily based on an interpretative hypothesis, which presumes an endeavour to arrive at a scientific explanation of every phenomenon. The materials available for it are quantitatively staggering, but must be subjected in their qualitative selection to strictly scientific tests, including a scrutiny as to their possession of indicative quality and therefore of scientific value. The British environment, material and administrative in its physical aspect, cultural, ideological and literary in its moral and spiritual aspect, has got to be carefully evaluated with particular reference to the effects caused by changing conditions and by circumstantial pressure of contacts, and rivalries due to their impact on the variegated mass of the Indian peoples. The problem before the historian of British India is to make as much as possible of a reality, concrete and alive, combining in it both the actuality of the field of treatment and a justifiable and well-founded morality of analysed conclusions while always taking care to avoid the narrative degenerating into romance of one kind or another. Such a happy mean has been attempted to be reached by the tall historians of our land, who have been inculcating a spirit of their own moderation, sobriety and

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caution coupled with a living touch that should run through their writings and to such we owe a great duty, the most valuable essence of which lies in trying to follow their methods and their ideals with necessary modifications. Of these great men still spared to us, mention should be first made of the venerable Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar of Madras, who has been the fountain-head of a welling stream of historical scholarship and research, comprehending all the processes from the spade-work of quarrying the material to the artistic varnish and fretwork coming at the end. In the north, we have the veteran Sir Jadunath Sarkar, who has made the history of North India in 17th and 18th centuries his own in a peculiar measure, and who is the unfailing nourisher of several centres of historical studies working under his guidance and inspiration. Equally eminent and fertilising have been the services of Professor Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, who has built a particularly valuable school of historical research with special reference to Modern India. Among other leaders and schools of historians of this period may be mentioned the indefatigable workers in the resuscitation and publication of Maratha documents of which Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai is the typical exponent and the B. I. S. Mandali is the model organ; besides the groups of workers in the histories of particular nationalities and areas like the Sikhs, Assam, etc.

Under the lead of men like these, scholarship has spread to every University centre and place of learning and made itself many-sided in its scope and reach. If the far-reaching vistas of work and harvest opened out by these workers have proved beautiful and attractive, it is not merely on account of the themes and their inspiration, but also because the history of our people in the recent centuries has been largely the maker and the inspirer of our present-day life, while powerful extraneous forces have been reacting upon our growth and civilization. One caution, however, has

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got to be added and was expressed in a wonderfully apt manner by the great patron and promoter of higher learning, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, who, in the course of his address to the Orientalists assembled in this noble University in 1922, expressed himself as follows :—"Let me, therefore, appeal to you with all the emphasis at my command, not merely to content ourselves with the investigation of the facts of Indian History, but also to make a supreme effort to ascertain their real significance, so as to illustrate that search after truth is after all far more ennobling then quest after facts. You will then have justly earned the everlasting gratitude of every man and woman in this vast continent, for you will have discovered and thereby helped us to eradicate the deadly causes of this intellectual stagnation."

The new school of Modern Indian Historiography that is developing has naturally been claiming attention at the hands of public authorities and help from them in the matter of increased availability of the records and of their contents and also the starting, as part of their necessary equipment, of a clearing house and mutual exchange of such material, which can best be conducted in a permanent or quasi-permanent institute of scholars, expert in calendaring and sifting work and working in co-operation with bodies like the Indian Historical Records Commission and this Congress. The assignment to Modern Indian History of its due place, in the proposed scheme of a comprehensive national history of India on the lines of the Cambridge Historical Series, which is to be thrashed out in its preliminary details at this Congress, will be greatly facilitated by the supplementary efforts of such a body. As Dr. Bal Krishna suggested in his Presidential Address of the Modern History Section of the Allahabad Session of this Congress, the plan of having a Federal Research Institute, which should accumulate copies of records from European centres and a library of printed records and books available

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in any form, may serve as a distributing agency for research material that may be required by scholars working in different parts of the country and on different topics; such an institution will give "an extraordinary urge to the creation of a vast historical literature of permanent value to this country and the world at large."

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1

SETTLEMENT OF THE PESHWA'S TERRITORIES

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The complete collapse of the Maratha military power in 1818 is easily explained. A feudal force of ill-paid, ill-equipped and badly-led mercenaries yielded to superior organisation, superior science and superior leadership. It marked the triumph of progress over stagnation, of heterodoxy over orthodoxy, of growing nationalism over feudal decadence. The success of British arms caused no surprise. Conquest was easily achieved, annexation followed as a matter of course, the Peshwa went to exile, but few could foresee at the moment that the Marathas would so readily accept the new order of things. They did not lack in martial ardour and they stood to lose every thing they had so long held dear. Yet the annexation of the Peshwa's territories was not followed by any serious outbreak. Here is verily a miracle that demands explanation.

The credit of this marvellous achievement must go to Mountstuart Elphinstone. The final authority of approving or disapproving a particular policy, of pursuing or avoiding a particular course of action, did indeed rest with the Marquis of Hastings. But Elphinstone was the man on the spot and enjoyed to a remarkable degree the confidence of the Governor-General. His knowledge of men and things in the Maratha land was both intimate and wide, and he had been closely associated with the Poona Darbar during the closing

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years of its chequered existence. When the brief war was speeding on to its conclusion, the Governor-General wisely left to Elphinstone the supremely important and far more difficult task of consolidating the gains of war through the slower and surer process of peace. The settlement of the Peshwa's territories amply proves that his confidence was not in the least misplaced.

The main details of the settlement are quite well known and the principle underlying them is not difficult to infer. But Elphinstone has not left us to grope in the dark and to guess his aims and objects as best as we can. In a despatch, dated the 18th June, he so clearly explained his scheme to the Governor-General and so lucidly argued its utility with reference to the political condition of the Maratha empire as to leave nothing in doubt or obscurity. It is a pity that, while his Report on the Peshwa's Territories has been printed more than once, this unique state paper has not yet been brought to light.

Elphinstone was too keen an observer to indulge in sweeping generalisation. The keynote of his policy was forbearance and conciliation. He knew that the Maratha empire was not a harmonious whole but a loose union of heterogenous units. Each interest had, therefore, to be separately treated with particular reference to the local condition. The Maratha soldier and the Brahman administrator had so long been accustomed to look after their own individual interest irrespective of the national welfare at large. In fact ties of nationality were yet ignored though the bonds of religion and race were frankly recognised. Elphinstone felt that, if he could allay the natural apprehension of the *Jahgirdars*, *Inamdars* and petty *Watandars* about their own status under the new dispensation, his task of restoring peace and order in the recently reduced territories would be considerably facilitated, and for the time being at least the class that counted would not seriously challenge the new adminis-

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tration. He set himself to earn the confidence of the gentry who stood to lose by the Peshwa's fall, and he framed his scheme of the new settlement with that object in view.

According to Elphinstone, the Peshwa's territories fell into four distinct divisions—(1) the Karnatak between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra, (2) the Maratha country proper, (3) the Konkan and (4) Khandesh. At the time he wrote his despatch, the Karnatak, the Maratha country and the Konkan had been completely subjugated, but in Khandesh the Peshwa's partisans were still in arms. The Kanarese speaking people of the Karnatak had no love for their Maratha rulers and were not likely to regret a change of masters provided they were fairly and efficiently governed. The Marathas, however, could not be expected to reconcile themselves so easily to the loss of their national greatness. The peasants who formed the bulk of the population took little interest in politics and would passively submit to any administration that guaranteed to them the fruits of their labour. The soldiery and the ruling classes would have to be seriously taken into account and the military forces would have to be kept on the war footing as a necessary measure of precaution.

Elphinstone then sums up his main proposals in one brief paragraph: "Next to maintaining such a force as shall prevent all thoughts of rebellion, the best means of securing the tranquillity of the conquered country is to conciliate the people: the Marathas, by setting up the Rajah of Sattara and by liberality to the Jageerdars: the Bramins by keeping up their pensions and religious institutions; both castes by finding employment for the civil and military servants of the former Princes, and all by just and good Government. It is however to be remembered that even just Government will not be a blessing if at variance with the habits and character of the nation." In short, Elphinstone wanted to render the revolutionary change, which the

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British conquest necessarily implied, as imperceptible and as inconspicuous as he could. The fall of the Peshwa was a patent fact but the Peshwa was only the *de facto* head of the Maratha empire, the Raja of Satara was the *de jure* sovereign. His authority, revived within a limited area, gave the Marathas some semblance of national independence. And the civil administration in the rest of the empire was to be conducted on the old lines with maximum of efficiency and the minimum of abuse.

It was left entirely to Elphinstone's discretion whether the Raja of Satara should be assigned a small sovereignty or a suitable *Jahgir*, and he deliberately decided in favour of creating a small independent principality for the lineal descendant of Shivaji. It was not merely a concession to Maratha sentiments but it constituted a formal guarantee to the vacillating military elements in the country that their economic interests were not to suffer and there still remained an ample sphere for their professional employment. "At the time when I had to decide," writes Elphinstone, "the Marathas showed no disposition whatever to quit the Paishwa's standard, and it appeared not improbable that the dread of the complete extinction of their national independence and still more that of the entire loss of their means of subsistence from the want of a Government likely to employ them would induce them to adhere to Bajee Row with an obstinacy that could never have been produced by affection for his person or interest in his cause." The newly constituted principality of Satara would therefore offer a new avenue for the ambition of the Maratha soldier and civilian. Nor was that all. If the entire country had been immediately placed under British administration, the discontented elements however insignificant would be a cause of constant worry and anxiety to the British rulers. But if the old ruling family of Satara was restored to a fragment of its former kingdom, on the analogy of the Hindu dynasty of Mysore,

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people, rightly or wrongly aggrieved with the new state of things, might migrate to Satara where the indigenous system still survived.

The revival of the Chhatrapati's sovereignty, even within a restricted sphere, was not without its inherent risk. With the deposition of the Peshwa disappeared the last visible bond that still gave the loose feudal empire an apparent form of unity. The Chhatrapati of Satara had inherited great traditions and might serve as a symbol of the vanished glories which a later generation might aspire to revive. The Raja of Satara might still rally all the discontented elements in his race under the ochre-coloured standard of Shivaji. A far-sighted statesman, Elphinstone could not possibly overlook this latent danger. He therefore recommended that "the Rajah's Dignity should be scrupulously preserved while his total separation from all the former dependents of his nominal state should be explicitly declared." The principality of Satara was to serve as a safety valve against Maratha discontent brewing underground without being a breeding place for future troubles. Elphinstone also suggested that "some provision may be necessary to secure the Jageerdars who are under him from being worse off than they were under the Paishwa."

He next dealt with the *Jahgirdars* who occupied an important place in the Maratha scheme of things. The friendly *Jahgirdars* were to be liberally rewarded with addition to their fiefs (and in Elphinstone's eyes neutrality, apparent or real, was as good as friendly co-operation) but unfriendly chiefs were not to be entirely deprived of their means of subsistence. Under the first category came the great Patwardhan Chiefs of the southern Maratha country and the Desai of Kittur. The attitude of the Patwardhans had at first been wavering and undecided, but they ultimately took the important step of withdrawing from the Peshwa's camp. With characteristic caution they kept the route of

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retreat open and did not entirely burn their bridges. While they opened friendly negotiations with the English, they maintained an outward show of loyalty towards the Peshwa; but Elphinstone maintained that "the impression made by their conduct was nearly the same as that of an open defection," and he recommended an addition of three lakhs to their *Jahgir*. The Desai of Kittur stood on a different footing. His ancestors were ruling princes but the principality had been reduced by Tipu Sultan of Mysore. In 1792 it was ceded to the Marathas, and during the anarchy and chaos that followed the second Baji Rao's accession to the *musnad* the Desai promptly asserted his independence. He was, however, persuaded by Sir Barry Close to come to terms with the Peshwa. When war broke out, he stood aloof and "though he might have had a small party of horse with the Paishwa, he showed much more readiness to act with General Munro than with that Prince." Elphinstone, therefore, agreed with General Munro that the Desai should be formally restored to his ancient status of a tributary prince and the arrears of his rent, which the British Government as the *de facto* and *de jure* successors of the Peshwa might legally claim, should be totally remitted.

Far different was the case of Appa Desai of Nipani. Unlike the Patwardhans he remained with the Peshwa until his defeat by Col. Adams but like them he always kept up a friendly communication with General Munro and Mountstuart Elphinstone. As a consequence he did not entirely lose his bet though he had backed the wrong horse. He was now deprived of Chikali and Manoli and these two *talukas*, long coveted by the Raja of Kolhapur went to reward his zeal and fidelity. These *Jahgirdars* were left in enjoyment of all their ancient rights and privileges and did not lose even the advantages derived from the laxity of the former administration. Elphinstone wrote: "These Jageerdars must by our agreement with them continue to be

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governed according to terms of Punderpoor which are founded on the ancient custom of the Maratta Empire. They must therefore have the entire management of their own jageers including the power of life and death, and must not be interfered with by Government unless in case of very flagrant abuse of power or long continuance of gross misgovernment. Their contingents ought only to be called out for general service, but they ought to assist in quelling any disturbance in their immediate neighbourhood. When their contingent is called out, it ought not to be strictly mustered and one fourth of the stipulated number of Horse ought to be considered sufficient; if any stricter rule is observed they will be losers by their transfer to our Government."

The lesser *Jahgeerdars* belonged to two main classes—(1) those who held lands for the payment of troops besides rent-free grants for their personal expenses and (2) those who held lands for their own support alone. Unlike the bigger fief-holders they enjoyed no independent jurisdiction and it was obvious that they would have to live like ordinary citizens under the British magistrates. Elphinstone pointed out that the magistrates should for a time at least exercise their authority "with caution and consideration for the habits and practice of the Maratta Chiefs." Those of the lesser chiefs who did not promptly lay down their arms after Elphinstone's first proclamation would be permitted to retain their personal *Jahgir* alone and forfeit such grants as they might enjoy on terms of military service. "It is politic and humane," Elphinstone observed, "to allow a liberal maintenance even to those who have obstinately resisted us, but it is neither required by humanity nor policy to give such persons the command of troops paid from the revenue which have fallen into our hands."

Policy demanded that the religious establishments of the old government should not be discontinued all at once. The last Peshwa used to spend nearly 15 lakhs of rupees per

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year in indiscriminate charity from which Brahmins alone, irrespective of their learning and piety, profited. The *Dakshina* gifts had a long history and were first instituted by the Dabhades of Talegaon. Elphinstone suggested that the huge amount spent in useless charity might be conveniently reduced to a more reasonable proportion and profitably utilised in instituting two Hindu Colleges at Nasik and Wai, both well-known centres of Sanskrit learning, while the Raja of Satara could be expected to maintain the ordinary religious establishments of Maharashtra.

The auxiliary forces were not to be immediately disbanded; firstly, because they might be required to suppress any political disturbance that might break out in the fair season; secondly, a large number of men so long accustomed to derive their livelihood from the military profession was not to be suddenly thrown out of employment. A necessary respite was, therefore, given them, so that they might adjust themselves to the new order of things. A fair proportion of them was expected to find employment in the newly constituted principality of Satara, while others might be recruited by the bigger *Jahgirdars*. Elphinstone was anxious to maintain the economic stability of the conquered country at all cost and to give as few occasions for discontent as possible.

With regard to the civil administration also, the same policy of caution was to be pursued and all innovations were to be avoided. "This last rule I am still anxious to enforce," he wrote, "and to endeavour to show the people that they are to expect no change but in the better administration of their former Laws." He added, "Even if they were quietly imposed, it is a question whether our regulations would be beneficial to the people in their present state." After enumerating the evil effects such experiments are likely to have, he opines "the present system is probably not bad in itself as the country has prospered under it notwithstanding

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the feebleness and corruptness with which it was administered. At all events it is generally known and understood. It suits the people, whom indeed it has helped to form, and it probably is capable of being made tolerably perfect by gradual improvements introduced as they appear to be called for." So the *Patil* and the *Mamlutdar* continued to function, the *Panchayets* still met and deliberated under the village tree and the village community was granted a fresh lease of life. The shepherd tended his flock by the green hillside, the peasant reaped his harvest in the valley below, the artisan plied his ancestral trade within the village wall, unaware of the great political change that had taken place at Poona and Satara while revolution that was to overtake their secluded world crept on slow, imperceptible and unobstrusive. When the *Patil* was shorn of his power, the *Panchayets* made room for trained judges and the village communities became a vague memory, the Marathas had quietly beaten their swords into plough-shares and had calmly taken to the peaceful avocations that Pax Britannica permitted. Elphinstone knew that patience and forbearance pay even in politics, that conciliation is a potent sedative while force frustrates its own purpose, that toleration even of prejudices paves the way of reform far more surely than intolerance, and that real statesmanship avoids unnecessary haste, repression and intolerance and takes a long view of things.

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2

THE MARATHA-SIKH TREATY OF 1785

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With the return of the Emperor Shah Alam II in the protection of Mahadji Sindhia, it became necessary for him to protect the Imperial Capital and its neighbourhood and to repel the incursions of the Sikhs who were threatening them. With the Emperor's approbation, it was his intention to place His Majesty in the fort of Delhi, and then to lead an expedition against them. But he could not leave the siege of Agra, and then of Dig, into hands other than his own. He, therefore, entrusted the management of his affairs at Delhi to one of his lieutenants, Ambaji Ingle, and on the 19th of January, 1785, got him appointed the *Faujdar* of the 28 *mahals* of Sonepat, etc., bordering on the Sikh territories. This part of the country was then in a disturbed state. Ambaji feared opposition from the Sikhs on the one hand and from the Rohelas of Ghausgarh on the other. But as Zabita Khan was not keeping good health, there was very little fear of disturbance from his side. Moreover, his eldest son Ghulam Qadir had been for years under the protection of Mahadji Sindhia himself and had been lately reconciled and sent back to his father. This had cemented their cordial relations. The death of Zabita Khan on January 27,1785, however, left no cause of anxiety for the Maratha Chief, because a *protege* of Mahadji himself was now to succeed him and he could be easily brought to terms. It was the Sikhs alone whose presence in the neighbourhood of Delhi was a source of anxiety to Mahadji Sindhia.

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Ambaji's main mission, therefore, was to protect the capital from them and to contract a friendly alliance with their *Sardars* so as to remove all danger to the Imperial territories from that quarter.

While conveying to Hastings at Calcutta the news of the death of Zabita Khan, Major James Browne wrote from Dig on February 1, 1785, "it is probable that Scindiah will support him (Ghulam Qadir) in the succession on certain terms. At present the Seiks are likely to interfere, their Grand Camp (the *Dal Khalsaji*) being in that district, and this may produce hostilities between them and the Marathas." Any interference on the part of the Sikhs in the succession of Ghulam Qadir to the office of his father was feared to cause a disturbance in the peaceful administration of the capital and its neighbourhood. Mahadji, therefore, could ill-afford to displease the *Sikh Sardars*. Anderson tells us in his letter, dated 1st February, 1785, addressed to Warren Hastings, "He has lately dismissed the Vakeels from the Seiks with presents to their Chiefs and I understand he has offered to take 5,000 of them into his service." (*For Dept, Secret Consult.*, 19th February, 1785).

Mahadji could see that as long as the Sikhs were free to carry their incursions unopposed into the territories under his protection, he could not establish his own government successfully. Nor could he, without befriending the Sikhs, reduce the power of the various Mughul *jagirdars* amongst whom a great part of the country had been parcelled out. He, therefore, wished to divert the attention of the Sikhs from his side. There was only one other side in this part of the country to which the Sikhs could be turned, and that was that of the Nawab Vizir of Oudh. (*Lieut. James Anderson to the Hon'ble John Macpherson, Governor-General*, 23rd March, 1785).

The first intelligence of the Nawab Vizir of Oudh apprehending "a combination to be formed betwixt Scindia and

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the Seiks of a nature hostile to the Vizier" was forwarded from Fatehgarh on the 4th February, 1785, by Colonel Sir John Cumming to Major General Hibbert the Commander-in-Chief, on the authority of a letter from Major Palmer, the Resident at Lucknow. "The Great Camp of the Seiks" had "passed the Ganges into the Vizier's country" in the second week of January and had plundered Chandausi on 3rd Rabi-ul-awwal, 1199 Hijri, 15th January, 1785.[1]

On the 12th Rabi-ul-awwal, 24th January, while the Sikh Sardars Baghel Singh, Jassa Singh Rangarhia, Gurdit Singh, Sawan Singh, Bhag Singh and others were encamped near Benampore and were waiting for Sardar Karam Singh Nirmala, letters were received from the army of Mahadji Sindhia. According to Major Browne's informant, "they left the army and went under the trees where they had consultation and read the letters. We hear from some of them that Baghel Singh had advised that the plunder should be left to the other side of the Jumna and.....ten or fifteen thousand horse, being crossed again over the river, should go plundering as far as Bareilly." [*Intel. of the Sikh Army*, 12th Rabi-ul-awwal, 1199; *Major Browne to Hastings*, 28th January, 1785].

When the Sikh horsemen returned after examining the fords for crossing the river, Sardars Jassa Singh, Gurdit Singh and Baghel Singh held consultation and decided "that they must with expedition cross the river and plunder some

[1] *Intelligence of the Seik Army, 4th Rabi-ul-awwal, 1199; Major James Browne to Warren Hastings*, 22nd January, 1785.

Raja Jagannath, the *Amil* of Rohelkhand, "affirmed to me," wrote Sir John Cumming to the Hon'ble John Macpherson from Anupshahr on February 27, 1785, "that Moraudabad has not been touched and that the depredations were confined solely to the towns of Chandaucey and Sumbul. He acknowledged that the bazaars of these two places were pillaged and burnt and that a considerable number of bullocks loaded with plunder found there had been carried across the river." (*Secret Consult.*, March 22, 1785).

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place. At this time the news arrived that Navab Zabita Khan was dead. Upon hearing this, Baghel Singh said that it was proper to cross the river towards Ghousghurra (Ghausgarh)."

On the 20th Rabi-ul-awwal, 1199, 1st February, 1785, while the Sikh Army was encamped four *kos* to the west of the river opposite to the "Sebulghurrah" *Ghat*, fourteen *kos* from Sitabad, Ambaji arrived with letters from Rao Partap Singh of Macheri and from Raju (?) Mall, the *vakil* of Baghel Singh in Mahadji's Camp.

The following is the substance of Rao Partap Singh's letter :—

"The expulsion of the Turks will be easily effected, and it is a business in which your religion is concerned. If you are desirous of joining in the attempt, give immediate information, so that, having settled the matter with Scindia, I may send the necessaries. Many particulars will be told you by Hurjee Ambazee which you will consider as true.. I am going to Appajee to the neighbourhood of Delhi. Where you may appoint, I will have an interview. Scindia is turning his thoughts to the conquest of new countries."

And the *vakil* of Baghel Singh wrote to his master :—

"Having settled all negotiations with Scindia in the firmest manner, I have received my dismission and am coming with Apajee. As soon as the army arrives in the neighbourhood of Delhi, I shall quit it and being soon arrived at your presence will inform you of Scindia's designs."

[*Intell. of the Sikh Army*, 21st Rabi-ul-awwal, 1199, 2nd Feby., 1785 ; *Major Browne to Warren Hastings*, dated Deig, 9th Feby., 1785.]

On the following day, 2nd February, 1785, news arrived that Sardar Karam Singh, Sardar Dulcha Singh, Sardar Rai

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Singh and other Sikh Chiefs had arrived from the neighbourhood of Ghausgarh and were encamped four or five *kos* from the Khalsa Army. Immediately Baghel Singh went for an interview with Sardar Karam Singh Nirmala and "shewed him the letters of Scindia and Raja Himmut Behadur, and the *arzee* of Raju Mall Vakeel and the letter of Row Pertaub Singh of Machree addressed to him and informed him of Hurzee Ambazie's arrival and negociation." (*James Browne to Hastings*, 9th February, 1785, *with enclosures*).

"Having written an answer to the letter of Rao Pertaub Sing, they sent off Hurjee Ambajee" on the 5th February. The answer mentioned "that they will first have an interview with him, and, then, agreeable to what he may advise, join him with the greatest pleasure."

On Sunday the 6th February, 1785, the Camp of the *Dal Khalsaji*, or the Grand Army of the Sikhs, moved to the neighbourhood of Daryapur, about two *kos* from the *Ghat* of Maheshgarh. Hearing of the projected invasion of his territories by the Sikhs and finding himself incapable of opposing the invincible *Dal*, Ghulam Qadir Khan deputed Haji Hussain Khan to wait upon the Sikh Sardars Jassa Singh and others, offering to pay the usual tribute for *Raakhi* (protection) and *Karah Prasad* and requesting them "to remove their Army from his country and not to ruin the villages." [*Intell of the Sikh Army*, 26th Rabi-ul-awwal, 1199, 7th February, 1785.]

This surrender of Ghulam Qadir Khan added to the anxieties of Mahadji Sindhia and alarmed him about the fate of the Imperial capital and the neighbouring territories at the hands of the Sikhs. He was further alarmed at the movements of the British troops under the command of Colonel Sir John Cumming who had, in fact, marched out of Fatehgarh to defend the Nawab Vizir's territories from the incursion of the *Khalsa Dal*. Negotiations were, therefore,

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started with the Colonel with a view to ascertaining the intentions of the Company's Government and to assure him of his own good will towards them.

Upon the arrival of Colonel Sir John Cumming at Anupshahr, a Maratha *vakil*, says the Colonel in his despatch, dated February 27, waited on him with a letter from Malhar Bapu, " a person of great trust and confidence with Sindia and who rents all the districts situated betwixt Delhi and this part of His Excellency the Vizier's dominions." The letter assured him, as did the *vakil* verbally, that the Marathas had ordered all their officials to afford every possible assistance in point of supplies to the British troops, whether encamped on their frontiers or passing through any part of their districts. " Understanding that the march of the troops from Futtygurrh has alarmed Sindhia and the Mahratta Government," Sir John continues, " I have judged it necessary, both in my letter to Malhar Baboo and in my conversation with his Vakeel, to give the strongest assurances of the friendship and attachment of our Government towards the Mahrattas. I have begged him to inform Sindhia that the sole object of the march of this detachmen was the defence of the Vizier's frontiers from the incursions of the Seiks. And I have added that should the Seiks come down in such force that the Mahratta troops on this frontier should be unable to repell them, I am ready to assist them against the Seiks as a proof of the friendship of our Government towards the Pateal," provided the Marathas on their own part also " would give a proof of the sincerity of their friendship towards us by attacking some bodies of the Seiks that had lately made an incursion into Rohilcund and now hovered on our frontier. And I concluded with assuring them that whenever the Seiks should be compelled to return to their own country, and we should be satisfied that no further danger was to be apprehended from these plunderers, I should return to Futtyghurr with the troops I brought with

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me from thence."[2] (*Secret Consult.*, March 22, 1785; *John Cumming to John Macpherson*, 27th March, 1785; *Secret Consult.*, April 12, 1785.)

This stroke of Cumming's diplomacy succeeded in bringing about a rupture between the Marathas and the Sikhs and the two came to grips in the neighbourhood of Panipat. To prove to the satisfaction of Cumming the sincerity of their friendship for Company's Government, the troops under Ambaji and Malhar Bapu attacked a body of about five hundred Sikhs, killed two hundred of them and took seventy horses. This unwarranted attack on the part of the Marathas under Malhar Bapu and Ambaji, while their master Mahadji Sindhia was making overtures for a friendly alliance through Rao Partap Singh of Macheri and Raju Mall, *vakil* of Sardar

[2] This assurance of Colonel Cumming to the Marathas was not considered politic by Major General C. Hibbert, the Commander-in-Chief, who thus expressed his opinion to the Govenor-General and the members of the Supreme Council, Secret Department, in his letter of the 4th April, 1785 :—

" With respect to the assurance of the amity of this Government given by Colonel Cumming and his offers of co-operating with him to expel the Seiks, I suppose he must have some authority for judging that they will be agreeable to the intentions of the Board. I shall only observe that however prudent it may be to preserve the friendship of Scindia, it will not, I think, be politic, to assist him against the other powers to the westward, for the more he is involved in troubles with them, the more will his present schemes of dominion be retarded, and the less leisure will he have to meditate hostile designs against the Vizier. And it may be apprehended that should he acquire universal power over the countries held in the name of the King towards which he is advancing with hasty strides, his ambition may lead him to pursue further schemes of conquest. At least he will become, if not actually a troublesome and dangerous enemy, a neighbour whose designs must always be suspected and guarded against."

The Board agreed with the Commander- in-Chief and warned Sir John Cumming against giving effect to his assurance to the Marathas in their letter, dated Fort William the 9th April, 1785.

" We have very maturely considered the subject of these letters and think it necessary to restrain you from giving effect to the offer which you have made to Scindia until you shall have received our sanction and authority for that purpose. We do not wish to interfere in Scindia's disputes with other powers to the westward. We are not sure that it would not be most politic to allow them their fullest operation."

(*Secret Consult.*, 12th April, 1785).

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Baghel Singh, caused great resentment amongst the Sikh *Sardars*. They retired beyond Panipat to their own frontier and drew together a force of twenty thousand cavalry, a body of infantry and a few guns. They then attacked the town of Panipat, plundered and burnt it and cut off an entire battalion of sepoys that were in garrison there. This battalion was one of those formerly commanded by Sumro, and now in the service of Sindhia.

While conveying this intelligence to the Hon'ble John Macpherson, Sir John Cumming wrote from Anupshahr on March 27, 1785, "I have also information of their having cut off another battalion, but the Maratha Vakeels not admitting the truth of this last intelligence, I do not give it as altogether certain. I consider it a point of utmost consequence to engage these two powers in hostility and no endeavours have been wanting on my part to effect it." "By engaging Ambajee and Mulhai Baboo in hostilities with the Seiks," he wrote two days later, "I am happy to observe that I have chalked out sufficient employment for their forces at present." [*Col. Cumming to Major General Hibbert*, 18th March, 1785, *Secret Consult.*, 9th April, 1785; *Cumming to Macpherson*, 27th March, 1785, *Secret Consult.*, 12th April, 1785; *Cumming to Macpherson*, 29th March, 1785.]

The Sikhs had now lost all faith in the sincerity of Mahadji's negotiations for a friendly alliance. They needed no proof of his hostile attitude towards themselves, as it had already expressed itself through the behaviour of his lieutenants. They also perhaps saw in this behaviour the hidden intentions of Mahadji to possess himself of some of the Sikh territories, as he himself later on confessed it to Lieut. Anderson on the 13th April as one of the objects of the Treaty of 31st March. To safeguard their interests, therefore, they chose to ally themselves with the East India Company and opened friendly negotiations with them.

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Having been assured of the friendly intentions of the Company through the messages of Sir John Cumming to himself in the last week of February, Mahadji turned his attention to the Sikhs and the Mughul officials and *Jagirdars* at the Capital.[3] So far his measures in this quarter had involved him in much additional expense without any substantial advantage in return. He found that the system pursued by Mirza Najjaf Khan, the *Wazir-ul-Mumalik* at Delhi and his successors had parcelled out in *jagirs* a great part of the country amongst their friends and followers. He could not, therefore, derive any benefit from his position there without their resumption. But it was not an easy task and could not be hastily materialized. His impoverished finances, however, left him with no alternative. As a preparative to a more general measure, he was induced, to begin with, "to take possession of jagheers of the princes, with a promise to pay them an equivalent in money. But the step was so violently resented by the King that Scindia was forced to recede from it." "In the meantime the Mughul Chiefs," according to Anderson's despatch of 23rd March from Sindhia's Camp near Agra, "have had sufficient cause of alarm on this head, and it was suspected that some of the principal amongst them have entered into a secret confederacy with the Seiks for an eventual junction with them in case of the resumption of their jagheers."

The surrender of Ghulam Qadir to the Sikhs and the detachment of several of the Mughul Chiefs for a combination with them hastened the plans of Mahadji for a speedy reconciliation with the Sikh *Sardars*.

Ambaji had by now had the experience of an armed conflict with them and of the heavy loss that their retaliation had

[3] The first intelligence of Scindhia's negotiations for an engagement with the Sikhs, for active assistance with troops, whenever he may require them, for a certain subsidy, was received by Major James Browne on March 6, and he transmitted it to the Hon'ble John Macpherson on the 8th in his letter from Agra. [*Secret Consult.*, 5th April, 1785].

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inflicted upon him in cutting off a battalion of sepoys at Panipat. Cumming told Anderson on March 31, that "they think of nothing but the Seiks. The Seiks have again crossed the Jumna and Ambajee and Mulhar are not able to look them in the face, which they at last from necessity confessed to me." (*Secret Consult.*, 12th April, 1785.)

Fearful of the continued retaliation from the Sikhs and further humiliation at their hands, which might bring him to disgrace in the eyes of his master, Ambaji actively busied himself in the last week of March, 1785, to effect a reconciliation with them and sought the mediation of Maharao Pratap Singh of Macheri to bring it to a successful conclusion. Pratap Singh, as we know, had already been in correspondence with the Sikhs and had invited them to join hands with Mahadji Sindhia for "the expulsion of the Turks" and "the conquest of new countries" from the Nawab Vizir of Oudh, the Mughul Chiefs of Delhi and the Rajas of Jaipur and Marwar. Rao Partap Singh and Ambaji marched northwards and held consultations with the Sikh *Sardars* at Bakhtawarpur, 13 miles north of Delhi, from 27th to the 31st March, and the following Treaty was concluded between Ambaji and the Sikh *Sardars* :—

Copy of the Treaty concluded between Raja Ambaji Ingle and the Chiefs of the Sikhs, 31st March, 1785

Between this party (Raja Ambaji) and the Chiefs Bughel Sing Bahadur, Kurrum Sing Bahadur, Dooljah Sing, Bhaak Sing, Dewan Sing, Baak Sing Dilowalah, Gohir Sing and the other Chiefs of the *Khalsajee* (the Seik Government) in friendship with the above mentioned Chiefs, an unity of interests and Friendship has been established on oath, through the intervention of Maha Row Purtab Sing Bahadur.

The friends and enemies and the prosperity and adversity of each are mutual. Not the smallest degree of jealousy or difference subsists between us; and God is witness that there shall be no deviation.

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The Seik Government from a consideration of the firm friendship that is established agree to forego their exactions of *Raakee*, and this party from the share he now takes in their interest agrees to go himself in person or depute some other to his master the Maha Rajah (Sindia) in order to promote the settlement of the objects of the Seik Chiefs in regard to a provision for their expenses, &c., and whatever may be settled by the Maha Rajah shall be duly performed.

Of whatever either on this side or that side of the Jumna, independent of the Royal Territories, may be taken in concert with each other from the Hindoos and Mussalmans, one third shall be given to the Seik Chiefs together with other points settled for them.

Marching and halting and other points, great and small, shall be settled with the mutual consent of the parties.

The contracting parties shall unite their Forces to repress any disturbances that may be excited by their enemies.

Written on the 19th Jummadi awal, of the 28th year of the Reign, corresponding with the 31st day of March, 1785 A.D.

A true translation from the copy given to me by Mahajee Sindia.

JAMES ANDERSON,
Rest. wt. Mahajee Sindhia.[4]

On the conclusion of the Treaty, Ambajee sent it on to Mahadji Sindhia for his approbation. Mahadji desired him to come up personally to his camp, and he arrived there on the night of 10th April, 1785. [*Major Palmer to the Governor-General*, and *James Anderson to the Same*, both dated 11th April, 1785; *For. Dept. Secret Consult.*, 26th April, 1785].

In the meantime Lieut. James Anderson, the Resident with Mahadji Sindhia, Colonel Sir John Cumming, the officer

[4] *For. Dept. Secret Consult.*, 3rd May, 1785.

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commanding the detachment of the Company's troops on the frontier, and Major Palmer, the Resident at Lucknow, had been reporting to the Government at Calcutta the news and their views regarding the Treaty. They saw in its materialization a danger to the political interests of the East India Company and to the territories of their friend, the Nawab Vizir of Oudh. Therefore, they directed all their efforts towards its nullification by whatever means it could be brought about.

Lieut. James Anderson waited on Mahadji Sindhia on Wednesday, the 13th April, to have "some satisfactory explanations in regard to his late negociations with the Seiks." "He immediately acquiesced," wrote Anderson on the next day, "and having caused the original treaty to be produced and read, he proceeded to make some remarks upon it. The first article, he observed, wherein the friends and enemies of each are specified to be mutual, ought to be considered by us as a full refutation of any insidious reports, that might have spread, of its evil tendency towards us. As to the other articles, he said, he had two objects in view from them; the one was by aiding the party of the Seiks with whom he had formed the treaty, against their enemies in the state, to possess himself, in virtue of their agreement of partition, of a great part of their country; and the second was to avail himself of their assistance in the reduction of the Jeypore and Marwar Rajahs, who had of late withheld their tribute from him.....I mentioned to him, however, that the specification of the Hindoos and Mussulmans on this and that side of the Jumna might be liable to wrong interpretations, and that I thought it would be better if stated in absolute and irrelative manner.....

" He added that as he was answerable for the peaceable behaviour of the Seiks towards the Vizier as the ally of his friends the English, so he expected that we should be answerable for the conduct of the Vizier towards him.....

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" Mahajee made uncommon solicitude to vindicate himself against the insidious reports which had been propagated against him, and to assert the warmth of his friendship for the English. Possibly his fears, excited by the conduct of Colonel Cumming, may have had some effect over him on this occasion.....

" These two [objects of the treaty as given out by Mahadji] are strongly supported by probability, for the Rajahs of Jaypore and Marwar have both of them for many years past shewed an open contempt for his authority, and his resentment against the former has been heightened by his violation of all the terms of agreement into which he had entered with him last December, and of which the exigency of Sindia's affairs at that time prevented his enforcing the performance. Besides a report, and seemingly well founded, has of late prevailed that these Rajahs, from their apprehension of Sindia's enmity, have, with a view to defeat the effects of it, been endeavouring to contract an alliance with the Seiks, and to counteract this scheme must have been a very prevalent motive with Sindia for hastening his treaty with them. In regard to his aiding the extensive divisions of the Seiks, however extravagant it may appear, it must be allowed to suit admirably with the crafty policy, by which he has hitherto pursued his objects here. The prosecution of a plan of this nature is at all events much more probable than that of his joining with them in open opposition to us." [*James Anderson to Macpherson,* 14th April, 1785; *Secret Consult.* 3rd May, 1785].

On another occasion it was suggested to Sindhia by Lieut. Anderson to include in the Sikh Treaty the English and the Vizir as his friends and allies, and instead of specifying the conquests to be made on this and that side of the Jumna, it should be absolutely expressed " whatever new conquests might be made." (*Anderson to Macpherson,* 28th April, 1785; *Secret Consult.*, 12th May, 1785).

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A few days later Sardar Dulcha Singh also arrived in the camp of Mahadji Sindhia to settle personally the various other points with him on behalf of the Sikh *Sardars*. But he was surprised to find the deceit practised upon them by Mahadji. " His original proposals communicated to them verbally by Ambajee were that on relinquishing their demand of *Raakee*, he would confer on them a jaghier of ten lacs annually, and that whatever countries they might jointly conquer should be divided in a certain proportion between them (one third being the share of the Sikhs). In place of these terms he now ammended that they should relinquish their *Raakee*; that they should unite their forces with him for the conquest of the territories of those Seik Chiefs with whom they were at variance; that as he did not mean to take any share of the conquests himself, they should consider his cession of the whole as an equivalent for the jaghier; and that instead of general conquests (with particular reference to Aligarh) that he had proposed to them, he had now expressly excluded them from the territories of the Vizier and the Company, with whom he was in strict friendship." But Sardar Dulcha Singh was not prepared to agree to these amended terms. Mahadji, therefore, detained him in his camp till the signatures of the other *sardars* had been subscribed to the new definitive treaty. (*Anderson to Macpherson*, 10th May, 1785; *Secret Consult.*, 26th May, 1785).

The following is the text of the Definitive Treaty of 10th May, 1785 :—

The Definitive Treaty of 10th May, 1785

The Chiefs of the Khalsa with a force of 5,000 horse being united in connection with the forces with the victorious army shall receive allowances and a jaghier of 10 lacs of rupees according to the following particulars.

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Of this Jaghire 7½ lacs of rupees are in the neighbourhood of Karnal and 2½ from the country of the Sircar, and they shall attend in union, and besides their allowances and Jaghire, the Sircar shall have authority over the whole dependency of Karnal and the country without interference. And if in the authority of the dependency, the authority (? income) should be less than this engagement, some thing shall instead therefore be granted from the Sircar. In case the army of the said chiefs should be summoned to the Sircar before they have authority and possession in the Jaghire, half a rupee shall be paid from the Sircar for each horseman after they be recorded. And after possession and full authority, no claim of pay for the sepoys shall be attended to. For supporting themselves on the Jaghire and considering their union to be finer than a hair, let them employ themselves in the obedience to orders and let them prevent their people from taking the *Raakee* in the circuit of the royal place and in the possessions of the Sircar, and by no means let any disagreement remain in future.

I am in friendship with the Chiefs of the English Company and with the Nawab Vizier, let there never be any injury offered to their country.

In this agreement God is between us, so no deviation shall ever happen.

Written the 29th Jumadie-as-Sani at Muttrajee.

A True Copy

Sd. James Anderson

During his detention in the camp of Mahadji Sindhia, Sardar Dulcha Singh from necessity agreed to the terms of the Treaty, but he was irritated at the unfriendly treatment that he received at his hands and at the tone of superiority that had been assumed by him. He, therefore, sent a *vakil* in the garb of a merchant to Lieutenant James Anderson,

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the Company's Resident in the Camp. The *vakil* saw Anderson's *maulvi*, the confidential clerk, on the 9th May, and " complained bitterly of the deceit which had been practised upon them by Sindhia. ...Duljah Singh, he said, being at present in the power of Sindhia had from necessity yielded to these terms, but he declared that as they had discovered clearly the insidious scope of Sindia's designs, they were determined not to adhere to the Treaty. And as Sindia had insinuated that in case of their disagreement, the English would join with him against them, he wished to know what " the real intentions of the English " were in such an event. He concluded by observing that if the English were desirous of a connection with them, he would immediately procure letters.....with the offers of friendship from several their Chiefs " for the Resident.

As in the opinion of Lieut. Anderson, agreeable to the views of his masters, it was " more favourable to the interests of the Company that they should continue to be disunited," he directed his *maulvi* to inform the Sikh *vakil*, " that the Seik Chiefs may rest perfectly assured that it is not our intention to take any part with him [Sindhia] against them." He regarded the intercourse of friendship by letters between the Sikh *Sardars* and the Company's Government " extremely proper," but as his residence in Sindhia's camp rendered it impolitic to become the channel of this correspondence, he suggested " that it should be managed through Major Palmer," the Resident at Lucknow. [*Lt. Anderson to Macpherson*, 10th May, 1785; *Secret Consult.*, 26th May, 1785].

The other Sikh *Sardars*, on hearing of the treatment meted out to their ambassador Sardar Dulcha Singh in the form of his forcible detention in the Sindhia's camp, were also disconcerted and they decided to break away from Mahadji, as no reliance could any longer be placed on his promises.

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They renewed their negotiations with Colonel Sir John Cumming, the officer commanding the Company's detachment on the Vizir's frontier. The letters of Sardars Gurdit Singh and Baghel Singh forwarded to the Governor-General on May 4, 1785, exposed to him the anti-English tendencies of Sindhia and his offer of a share of six annas in a rupee from the territories of the Company (evidently those of the Vizir under their protection) that might fall into their joint possession. The *Sardars* offered to have an alliance with the Company if the Company wished, and said, "if you will make friendship and alliance with the Chiefs of the Khalsa, know us also on our parts to be inclined to your friendship." (*For. Dept. Secret Consult.*, 26th May, 1785).

In the meantime Sir John Cumming had received the views of the Government at Calcutta for his guidance in regard to the negotiations with Sikh *Sardars* in reply to his previous communications on the subject. They had written to him on the 19th April, 1785, "It is certainly not for the interest either of the Company or the Vizier's Government that the Chiefs of the Seik tribe should form any friendly connection with the Mahrattas. On the contrary a disunion between them is much to be desired, and if any assurance to the Seiks of our determination not to interfere in such disputes could foment or add to them, such assurances ought to be conveyed." (*For. Dept. Secret Consult.*, 19th April, 1785).

Sir John Cumming could now clearly see that the Sikhs had lost their faith in the earnestness of Sindhia's alliance with them, and if there were anything that could keep the two together, it was the fear in the minds of the Sikhs that "in case of their disagreement with him, the English would join with him against them." If he could remove this fear, even without committing the Company to an alliance with the Sikhs, the object of keeping the two in disunion and hostility towards one another could be easily gained.

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He, therefore, wrote to the Hon'ble John Macpherson, the Governor-General, on the 9th May, 1785, "The bad tendency of this is so obvious and striking that, though I shall not write to the (Sikh) Chiefs, I shall, in conformity with your ideas, give them privately the strongest assurances that under no circumstances shall we take any part against them, provided they on their part will abstain from depredations on the Vizier's provinces. I shall adopt the same private mode of encouraging an opinion, which they already entertain, that the success of the Mahratta schemes on this side of India may eventually prove fatal to their power and independence." (*For. Dept. Secret Consult.*, 26th May, 1785).

In their letter of 26th May, 1785, from Fort William, the Governor-General and Council wrote to Colonel Cumming "We approve of the assurances that you propose to convey to the Seik Chiefs of our determination not to take part against them in the event of a rupture between them and Mahajee Sindia."

Two more letters from the Sikh Chiefs on the subject of these negotiations, one from Sardars Gurdit Singh and Mohar Singh and another from Sardars Bhanga Singh, Gurdit Singh (Gur), Bokhsh Singh and Jodh Singh were received by Sir John Cumming and forwarded to the Governor-General and the members of the Supreme Council on May 14, 1785. But as there was no fresh cause for a change in the Company's policy, nothing further than the usual assurance from Colonel Sir John Cumming was advanced to the Sikhs.

Thus the treaties of Madhaji Sindhia with the Sikhs and the proposed alliance of the Sikhs with the East India Company in 1785 fell through and did not come to fruition.

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3

GOPAL SAMBHÀJI

MR. GANPAT RAO GOPAL KHONDEKAR

Panth Piploda

Gopal Sambhaji was the founder of the Khondekar family of Panth Piploda.

The Panth Piploda Estate comprises ten villages and is held directly from the British Government in the Malwa Political Agency, in Central India. Originally it was called "*Tappa* of Piploda" and formed part of the old *Pargana* of Mandawal, in *Sarkar* Mandsour. Its separation as another unit of political authority from the *Pargana* of Mandawal, of which the greater portion belongs to the Nawab of Jaora, dates back from a grant made in 1765 [1] by Peshwa Madhav Rao I, bestowing the *Tappa* in *Saramjam Jagir* upon Gopal Sambhaji. The prefix *Panth* (a way), applied to the name of *Qasba* Piploda since the advent of the British supremacy in that part of the country, denotes the situation of that place on the old track leading to Rajputana, and distinguishes it from some others of the same name in the neighbourhood. In a letter addressed by the Peshwa to the Pavar of Dhar [2] who then held the entire old *Pargana* of Mandawal together with others in the *Saramjam*, assigned to him, it was stated that Gopal Sambhaji had requested for the said ten villages, and that these were accordingly granted. The late Mr. K. K. Lele, History Officer, Dhar State, on reading the letter remarked that the Peshwa had entertained the grantee to a meal in which the dishes of all his likings were served.

[1] *Sanad*, dated the 24th December, 1765.

[2] Dated the 28th April, 1764.

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By Article 14, of the Treaty of 1817 between the Peshwa and the British, the *Tappa* came to be a cession to the latter, and became British territory. By a resolution passed in October, 1928, the Secretary of State in Council has made a Chief Commissionership of it and conferred on the Hon'ble the Resident in Central India the additional designation of Chief Commissioner in connection with the control thereof.

Unfortunately for the family, towards the end of the Peshwas' Government, they lost "saven camel loads" of their valuable records from their house, which Gopal Sambhaji had built at Poona, and which on visiting it the Peshwa himself had thought to be a fine building. These related to the activities of Gopal Sambhaji at various places, then under Maratha rule or influence in the country. The writer, who is a descendant of his, has very meagre material at home to rely upon for even a brief sketch of his ancestor's life, and had recourse to the researches made by Mr. Rajwade, and Rao Bahadurs Lad, Parasanis and Sardesai. It is still unknown when Gopal Sambhaji was born, and where he was educated or when he was invested with the sacred thread or married. Indeed, the exact date even of his death has been forgotten. To satisfy the curiosity of having a look at his ancestor's own handwriting, the writer had to travel all the way to Nasik, where, however, he was delighted to find in a heap of old manuscript books, stored by the noted family of the local priests, the reverend Bhadkamkar *Shastris*, an entry [3] made by Gopal Sambhaji himself regarding his pilgrimage to that sacred place. A photograph of the entry has been taken.

Gopal Sambhaji was born in the Khondekar family of the village Burumbad, which is situated in the Samgameswar *Taluq* of the present Ratnagiri Collectorate in the Konkan. The *gotra* (race or lineage) of the family

[3] Dated the 3rd February, 1752.

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is Gargya. From Emperor Aurangzeb's times the family had held hereditarily the office of *Kulkarna* of that village and also of four others in the neighbourhood, from their benefactors, the Mavalankar Sardesais. The plinth of the old family house at Burumbad, which was spacious, having the necessary arrangements, may be still seen and is honoured by a visit of the annual procession of the village tutelary gods, during the Holi festival.

His elder brother, Ganesh Sambhaji, like himself, spent most of his life in the service of the Peshwas holding positions of trust and responsibility. His younger brother, Vasudev Sambhaji, served the Holkar.

Though there is no documentary evidence available so far to prove the fact, yet Gopal, like his elder brother, very probably commenced his public career by entering the service of the Peshwas in the time of Baji Rao I, as all the references made to him and which are published show that from 1758 at any rate he had occupied distinguished and responsible positions. In a letter, dated the 9th May of that year,[4] the third Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao wrote to Appaji Ganesh, who had been appointed to the charge of Gujrat, that Gopal Sambhaji had been deputed to Jambusar to punish the Raja of Banswada, who had troubled the Ruler of Sunth and had captured even Lhaikh Murtaxa, the *Killedar* of Pawagarh, who had been sent for the relief of that Chief.

In 1759 he with Yeshwant Rao Pawar of Dhar and others was a member of the mission sent out by the Peshwa to watch the movements of, and negotiate with, the English when they took Surat. His letter of April 4, 1759,[5] from Varase near Surat, to the Peshwa, and the letter, dated the 4th March, 1759[6] from Yeshwant Rao Pawar,

[4] No. 196 of Volume 24 of the Selections from the Peshwa Daftar.
[5] No. 191, *Ibid.*
[6] No. 232, *Ibid.*

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as also the letters from the other members of the mission on the subject to that high authority, show how shrewdly the English had managed the whole thing from the beginning so as not to let another power successfully contest with them in the matter.

In 1760-61, he was Minister to the Pawar of Dhar,[7] holding the appointment direct from the Peshwa as the Ministers to all the Chiefs of the Maratha Confederacy, subject to the Central Authority at Poona, did. The Ministers were to some extent like the Political Agents in the States at present.

In this capacity he was at Panipat when the battle was raging.

The Peshwa's letter, dated the 10th April, 1761,[8] to Gopal Sambhaji in reply to his of March 7 previous, is worth a perusal in this connection. Evidently, the latter having been on the spot and taken stock of the situation had suggested measures such as conciliating the Chiefs of Rajputana for the Maratha cause, and the former, expressing his own views on the suggestions, conveyed directions for his guidance, assuring him that he had written to Raja Umed Singh of Shahapura, a vassal of the Maharana of Udaypur, to proceed to his help.

The *Sanad* regarding the grant of the *Saramjam Jagir* alluded to in Para, 2 above, records a full appreciation of Gopal Sambhaji's services at Panipat.

There is also available in the family records in original a letter[9] from Satvoji Jadhavrao, addressed to Gopal Sambhaji, regarding a part repayment, and proposals for

[7] Representation from Anandrao Pawar of Dhar to Major Walker of Baroda, received in February, 1804.

[8] Mr. K. K. Lele, the late History Officer of the Dhar State, had the original of the letter in his possession, and kindly supplied the writer with a copy of it.

[9] Dated the 26th Rajab. The year is not mentioned. It bears the seal of the writer.

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the full liquidation of the arrears due to the addressee on account of some transactions made at Panipat.

In 1763 the Peshwa entrusted Gopal Sambhaji with the *Kamavis* of *Pargana* Mandawal[10] where accordingly, like all *Kamavisdars* in those days, he exercised the military as well as civil control. In view of more important and pressing engagements elsewhere, Gopal Sambhaji employed one Govind Keshav, of course with the knowledge of the Peshwa, for carrying on the usual routine of the administration of the *Pargana*, and the Peshwa very kindly wrote not only to Kedarji and Mahadji Sindhias[11], but also to Mirza Adil Beg, their *Kamavisdar* of Mandsour and other *Parganas* to render every help to Gopal Sambhaji and Govind Keshav. At this time Gopal Sambhaji took a liking for the said ten villages of "*Tappa Piploda*" alluded to.

In 1764 the Peshwa's uncle, Raghunath Rao Dada Sahib, had a son born of his wife Anandibai Sahiba at Chanvads (Anandvalli), in *Pargana* Nasik. Several officers and others offered *Nazars* to Dada Sahib on the occasion, and Gopal Sambhaji also did so.[12] Obviously, Gopal Sambhaji wished to please not his master alone, but also the master's relations.

In 1765 the Peshwa conferred the *Saramjam Jagir*, referred to, on Gopal Sambhaji, who thereupon built, in due course, a *Garhi*, on an elevated spot, in the heart of *Qasba* Piploda (the chief town of the *Tappa*), for his residence, planted the Maratha flag and established his *Thana* for the conduct of administration.

The same year the Peshwa led an expedition in Berar against the Bhonsla Raja, and levied heavy tributes from Akola, Balapur, etc. When he arrived at Balapur, he

[10] *Sanad* dated the 29th October, 1763.

[11] Letter dated the 30th October, 1763.

[12] Diary of Peshwa Madhav Rao I (by R. B. Lad), Vol. I, No. 106.

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had an army numbering 18000 strong, of which 2000 men were commanded by Gopal Sambhaji and Krishnaji Anant Tambe.[13]

The Peshwa appointed Gopal Sambhaji to be a member of the Arbitration Assembly, constituted under his orders for the settlement of a long standing dispute regarding an adoption, among the Sardesais of Devle in the Konkan.[14]

On the 10th June, 1767, Gopal Sambhaji stood security for the payment of Rs. 2,00,000 and shortly afterwards paid that amount, which was part of the heavy *Nazrana* realised by the Peshwa from Tukoji Holkar I, on his being entrusted with the management of the affairs of the late Malerao Holkar.[15]

In 1769-71, he attached *Parganas* Meerut and Bijnor in the course of the Maratha expedition in Upper India, undertaken with a view to avenge the Panipat disaster in 1760-61.[16]

On the 18th August, 1771, he obtained two *Farmans* from Emperor Shah Alam II, in connection with the office of *Kulkarna* of the two villages Burumbad and Makhjan[17] in the *Pargana Amla* Sangameswar, *Suba* Rajapur, *Prant Tal* Konkan (in the Ratnagiri Collectorate).

There were differences between Balaji Govind and Gangadhar Govind, the sons of Govind Ballal Bundele (Kher), with respect to the management of Saugar, Kalpi and Jalon ; and the matter was represented to Vishaji Krishna (Binivale). Gopal Sambhaji had probably something to do with it.[18]

[13] Mr. Yadav Madhav Kale's History of the Nagpur *Prant*, pages 161-62.

[14] " *Mavalankar Sardesais*," Vol. I, part II, page 190.

[15] The dairy of Peshwa Madhab Rao I, Vol. I, Letter No. 176 (520).

[16] *Vide* the two Memorandums in the family records regarding some monetary transactions of the period.

[17] See para 2 above of this paper in this connection.

[18] Parasnis' " *Marathayanche Parakrama* " (pages 162-68), particularly page 165,

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Between 1776 and 1778, he was in charge of the two sister *Parganas* of Bhilsa and Khamkhed, with also the control of the fort at Bhilsa; which was an important centre of the Peshwa's artillery. To This centre were brought all the pieces of ganon which had been captured from the fort of Pathagarh Najibabad, belonging formerly to the Rohila chief, Najibudaula. When needed for use in Upper India, pieces of cannon were ordered from the fort and Gopal Sambhaji furnished the same.[19]

From 8th February, 1777, Dhondo Gopal, the elder son of Gopal Sambhaji, nominally held the *Mamlat* of the *Parganas,* which he was ordered to make over to Mahadaji Sindhia on the 26th March, 1778.[20]

Gopal Sambhaji died some time before the 27th October, 1785.[21] His wife, Gopikabai, immolated herself on his pyre[22].

The narrative above is a bare outline of his public career from May 9, 1758, to March 26, 1778, a period of 20 years.

Gopal Sambhaji's keen solicitude for the Maratha cause would be apparent from his letter to Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao, who received it on the 4th February, 1759.[23] It deserves a perusal.

The fact that his security for two lacs of rupees was accepted by the Peshwa and that he actually paid over the amount for Tukoji Holkar I would suffice to show that he had means. Two memorandums are still available, in the family records, which show that he had some goodly amounts to his credit in the accounts with the Peshwa. He had invested heavily in the transactions of the *Mamlat* of Bhilsa and lost most of the money as he had abruptly to hand

19 The dairy of Peshwa Madhav Rao II, Vol. I, letter nos. 11 (324), 13 (387) and 19 (526).

20 D. O. Nos 13 (387), 261 (533) and 262 (537).

21 Sadashiv Dinkar's letter of the 27th October, 1785, to Nana Fadnis.

22 A memorandum in the family records.

23 Selections from the Peshwa Daftar, Vol. 12, No. 17.

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over the two places to Sindhia, with whom, indeed, he had resolved to fight, though he was prevented by Nana Fadnis from carrying out the hazardous resolution.[24] As at Poona, he owned a commodious house also at Barhanpur, which place being mid-way between the Deccan and Upper India, suited to facilitate his work in both the regions.

The Peshwa invariably addressed Gopal Sambhaji in the dignified style "*Akhandit Lakshmi Alankrit Rajmanya Rajashri*" and subscribed himself as his *Sevak* (a servant).

Peshwa Madhav Rao II confirmed the grant of the *Saramjam Jagir* in the names of his two sons, Dhondo Gopal and Janardan Gopal.[25]

[24] There is a number of papers, in original, in the Satara Museum, on the subject. Mr. Diskalkar has kindly supplied the writer with a copy of some of them, through his friend and relation Sardar M. V. Kibe.

[25] The order, dated the 22nd May, 1798, to the *Chaudharies* and *Qanungos* of *Pargana* Mandawal.

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4

THE LION OF THE PUNJAB AND THE MARATHAS

RAO BAHADUR SARDAR M. V. KIBE, M.A., M.R.A.S.

Indore

(Abstract)

The Sikhs first came into contact with the Marathas when the latter's general Raghoba Dada, a brother of the then ruling Peshwa, visited the Punjab in the fifties of the 18th century. At that time the former were not a nation but were led by scattered bands. Although during the campaign of Ahmad Shah Abdali of Afghanistan which ended in the disastrous defeat of the Marathas, affecting both the combatants, the Sikhs could not assert themselves against the Afgan King, during his subsequent invasions they harrassed him and thus materially helped the Maratha nation in re-establishing its supremacy in Northern India. But it was during the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, known as the Lion of the Punjab, that the Marathas under Maharaja Yashwantrao Holkar received from the Sikhs such powerful support as compelled the British Government to restore a large part of the territories sequestered from Maharaja Yashwantrao Holkar by the Treaty of Bias.

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5

MAHARAJA RANJIT SINGH

(The Man—His Achievements and Ideals)

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During the turmoil following the death of Emperor Aurangzeb, the Mughul Empire underwent fast disintegration and its provinces became the hunting ground for foreign invaders or indigenous powers. It was a period of anarchy and disruption in which all questions of right rested merely on might. The heir of Babar had long become a mere puppet in the hands of his ministers. Under Muhammad Shah, foreign invaders like Nadir and the Abdali had come and perpetrated their work of destruction and slaughter. The provincial governors like Asaf Jah or Saadat Ali had laid the foundations of their independent power. The Marathas carrying their arms to Delhi and Agra had made a bid for universal domination and had overrun for a time the Punjab but their power had been crushed by an invader, the Abdali. Of the provinces of the west, the trans-Indus regions had passed to the Afghans. The Punjab had also passed under his sway. But successful in war against the Mughuls and the Marathas he had to deal with other enemies. A new power had grown up in the land and the dispersed Jat, so long downtrodden, had grown up in political consciousness. They had in an age of political unrest and religious intolerance adopted the creed of Baba Nanak. Govind, the tenth spiritual successor of Guru Nanak, had formed them into a military commonwealth and had turned them into soldiers of faith. Smarting under illtreatment

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and burning for vengeance, one of Govind's disciples, Banda Bahadur, had roused the Sikhs to join in a war of retribution. Gaining initial successes, he and his successors suffered defeat and cruel death in the hands of Mughul officials. But though crushed for a time the Sikhs raised their heads during the age of turmoil to follow. They followed the forces of Nadir on their way back from Delhi and harrassed his troops. Next, when the Punjab was being overrun by the followers of the Abdali, the Sikhs under the leadership of Jassa Singh Kulal proclaimed the establishment of the *Khalsa* and coined money in its name (1748). After this though their progress was checked by the Marathas and the invasions of the Afghans, the Sikh fighting forces collected themselves under different leaders and thus arose the *Misls*, which for a time divided the greater part of the country among themselves. The *Misls* paralysed the Government of the Mughuls and levied the '*Rakhi*' from the local inhabitants. But with all their activity, with all their gaining strength, they could not unite. They had moreover to face a foreign enemy namely the Abdali himself and after his death his sons who entertained the idea of annexing the fertile valley of the five rivers to their dominions. But in the face of the constant attacks of the Sikhs the Afgans could do nothing. In fact the Punjab had passed under a dual government. Nominally it had passed to the Afghans who claimed the right of conquest but in reality the real authority had passed to the Sikh confederacy. The fighting strength of the *Misls* was far from inconsiderable. The twelve *Misls* which had come into existence had according to the computation of Prinsep (p. 29) an army of 69,500 horsemen.

The defect of the *Misls* was that they could not unite. While fighting the foreign enemy and upholding

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the rights of the *Khalsa*, they had their own jealousies, internal conflicts, their own blood-feuds. Indeed, the Sikhs wanted a man to unite them and weld their fighting forces into a national army.

But such men do not happen to be rare in such troublesome times. Anarchy and political upheavals always hold out an opportunity to men of genius. It is only in troublesome times that the latent energies and the hidden potentialities of unlettered men find room for manifestation. India in that age had produced many such men. Among the Marathas innumerable such men had arisen. In the South, Hyder had risen to eminence and by his activity shook the very foundations of the rising British power. For the Sikhs, the wanted man at last appeared in the person of Ranjit Singh.

Born in the year 1780, Ranjit was the heir to the Sukerchakia *Misl*. His grandfather Charat Singh was the grandson of Banda Singh who adopted the religion of Nanak in 1692 and won reputation as a daring free-booter. His son was Nadh Singh and Nadh's son was Charat Singh who rose to be a *sirdar* of a confederacy and left *zamindery* lands yielding three lacs a year. His son Maha Singh married a daughter of a prince of Jindh. An offspring of this union was Ranjit Singh, who at an early age suffered from an attack of small-pox which resulted in the loss of an eye. At the age of six Ranjit was married to Mahtub Kaur, the daughter of Gurubuksh Singh and grand-daughter of Jay Singh. This marriage took place at the instance of Sada Kaur, the daughter-in-law of Jay Singh Kanhia, who was a woman of great ability and foresight. Sada Kaur the mother-in-law played a great part during the early years of Ranjit, who became the chief of the Sukarchakia *Misl* at the age of 12. For five years Ranjit remained under the guidance of his mother, mother-in-law, and of Lakhpat Rai the *dewan*.

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The Punjab about this time was divided into innumerable principalities which owed nominal allegiance to the rising power. Shah Zaman, the grandson of Ahmad Shah Abdali, was forming schemes for the consolidation of his authority in the Punjab and came to invade the province in 1797. But Shah Zaman's expedition did not prove a success; on the contrary, Ranjit ingratiated himself with the Afghan ruler by sending back to him some of his guns and obtained recognition as a rising prince among the Sikhs. Fortune now favoured him in all possible ways. Sada Kaur, his mother-in-law, controlled the Kanhia *Misl*. The Ramgharias had been defeated while making encroachments upon the Kanhias. Of the other possible rival *Misl* leaders, Golab Singh Bhangi was incapaciated while after the defeats at the hands of Tymer Shah the Bhangi's power was at its lowest ebb. There were intrigues and dissensions among many of the Sikh *Misls*. The city of Lahore was under the joint rule of Chet Singh and Mohor Singh. Ranjit by a bold stroke of opportunism seized the city (1799) where he had been invited by a local party opposed to Badduruddin. This was his first great success. It was followed by the conquest of the possessions of the Bhangis on the death of Golab Singh. But on the invasion of Zaman Shah for the fourth time, in 1798, Ranjit Singh quitting temporarily the city of Lahore renewed fighting the general left by Shah Zaman. While thus engaged, he obtained the favour of that prince by sending his guns sunk in the bed of the Jhelum, who conferred on him the title of Maharaja. In the same year (1801), he formally occupied Lahore and formally declared his independence and coined money in which he extolled the power and victory of the Sikh faith. Shah Zaman's object was to maintain his hold on the Punjab through Ranjit who he thought would prove his docile vassal and in this respect he was following the precedent left by the Abdali

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who had conferred the title and grants on Ala Singh of Patiala.

This was the beginning of a career of conquest which lasted till the close of Ranjit's reign and death in 1839.

Ranjit was no mere opportunist but had a clear conception of the task before him. His chief objective was to conquer the small states into which the Punjab had been divided and weld them up into a strong monarchy. These included :—

(*a*) The Sikh *Misls*—including those which lay on the other side of the Sutlej.

(*b*) The other petty states in the Punjab held by Muslim and Hindu families.

(*c*) The petty states in the hill region to the North including Jammu.

(*d*) The province of Kashmir.

(*e*) The petty states of the Western Frontier which had fallen to various Muslim families, including the city of Peshawar.

(*f*) If possible, Sind.

In all this undertaking, Ranjit had to face at first opposition from various quarters. Many of the *Misl* leaders became his enemy. But Ranjit won over some of the leaders and had the help and guidance of Sada Kaur, his mother-in-law. Partly through conciliation and partly through dissimulation, he weakened his adversaries. Success came to him and the situation was favourable. He assailed his enemies one by one. Dal Singh of Akalgarh was conquered and Akalgarh fell into his hands. He won over Fateh Singh Alluwalah and kept this friendship for a long period. His attention then fell on the Bhangis. They were then very weak and offered but a feeble resistance. Amritsar fell into his hands. Some time afterwards, Sahib Singh Bhangi was conquered. In 1806 the territories, of the Nisarwalah of Zira were reduced. Next in 1807, on

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the death of Tara Singh Dullewalah, his possessions were seized from his widow, though this Tara Singh was a friend of Ranjit. Three years afterwards, in 1810, Bhup Singh Fyzulapuria was captured by a stratagem and his possessions including Jullundar, Phillour and other places were annexed. The next year, the possessions of Nakkais were conquered (1811). For the annexation of the territories of the Ramgharia *Misl*, yielding five lacs, he had to wait for five more years till the death of Jodh Singh which took place in 1816. In 1812 the estates of Jaymal Singh Kanhia were annexed. Last came the turn of his mother-in-law Sada Kaur, that ambitious and able woman who did so much for her son-in-law. In 1820-21 all her possessions belonging to the old Kanhia *Misl* were seized and she was kept in close confinement. This was an act of ingratitude no doubt, but Ranjit's higher ambitions as well as considerations of statecraft made him disown all obligations to her. Of the trans-Sutlej *Misls*, the Alluwalahs under Fateh Singh alone existed.

While he was thus bringing almost all the Sikh *Misls* under his control, Ranjit thought of annexing the cis-Sutlej states, claiming himself to be the suzerain lord of the Punjab and the head of the Sikh princes. His power was increasing. He interfered in the affairs of Patiala in 1807, taking advantage of a family quarrel which had broken out between Sahib Singh and Rani Ans Kaur. For a time it seemed that his ambition in that direction was going to be fulfilled and he received *Nuzzaranas* from the Raja of Patiala and Nabha and some other chieftains of the locality. But this attitude caused consternation in the minds of these rulers. These states appealed to the British for help in 1808, but though this was checked, soon favoured by circumstances the British Government took up their cause. They called upon Ranjit to desist from advancing beyond the Sutlej. This call was supported by a threat of military action. Ranjit

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knew his limitations and averse to wage a quarrel with a strong military power which had brought the whole of Hindusthan under it, entered into a treaty of peace and amity with the British Government, by which Ranjit was to give up all ideas of pushing his conquests beyond the Sutlej, though he retained the possessions he already had. It was a source of mortification to him. He could not make himself the head of all the Sikh princes and states. But he read the situation with open eyes and accepted what was inevitable (September, 1809) by the Treaty of Amritsar.

While he was baffled in his ambitions beyond the Sutlej, Ranjit was fast adding to his enlarging dominions. He captured Narpur (1801), Chimot (1802), Kasur (after five invasions in 1807,—the Pathans of Kasur had some times entered in Sikh politics), Sheikhpur (1808), Sialkot (1808) and various other places. The conquest of Multan attracted his attention for a long time. Khusenb and Saliwal were reduced in 1810. Multan was reduced in 1810 but as the citadel held out Ranjit agreed for the time being to the acceptance of a heavy tribute. In 1816 the outworks of the citadel were stormed. The citadel and city were finally captured and annexed in 1820.

He also devoted his attention to the hill states and conquered them one by one. The states about Kangra were made tributary and Bhawani Das conquered Jammu (1809), Bhunbar and Jong (in 1810), and Kotla (1811).

He also directed his attention to Kashmir wishing to reduce it with the help of Kabul forces. But as the Afghan *Wazir* held out for Shah Muhammad he had to wait for a long time and Kashmir was not conquered till 1819. For the conquest of Kashmir several disastrous campaigns had to be undertaken. Ultimately, it fell into the hands of the Sikhs in 1819 after the defeat of the Afghans at the battle of Suboin.

With the true foresight of a statesman Ranjit saw the importance of conquering the territories on the western

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frontier both to the east of the Indus and those beyond. The city of Peshawar, which was the gate of India, remained his objective from very early times and Ranjit waited for a suitable opportunity to gain his ends.

This brought him into clash, in the first stage with the Muslim Nawabs and chieftains who had taken advantage of the weakness of the Kabul state and had practically become independent. He attacked and sacked Jhang as early as 1803, forced the Sial to pay tribute which was doubled in 1805. In 1816 Jhang was annexed. Many small districts between the Ravi and the Chenub and the Chenub and the Jhelum were made tributary. The work was steadily continued and in 1815-16, a large part of the territories of Bahawalpore were ravaged. He advanced to wage campaigns on the right bank of the Indus. Attock was obtained from Jahandar Khan and Khairabad came into his hands. He cast his eyes on Peshawar as early as 1818, but was foiled in 1816. Uch on the Chenub was captured from the Sayyads. The Nawab of Mankera was made tributary and at about 1819 Dera Gazi Khan was captured and farmed out to the Nawab of Bahawalpore. Against the Hazaras he had to wage a series of costly campaigns. The campaign of 1817 was successful but in 1820 there was a revolt and many important chiefs including Ram Diyal had lost their lives. Towards the close of Ranjit's reign, Dera Gazi Khan, Dera Ismail Khan, Tank Bannu were all annexed and placed directly under the rule of the Lahore officials. In 1831 the territories on the west bank of the Sutlej and the Indus which had been farmed out to Bahawalpore were annexed and placed under direct control.

Peshawar had been one of his objectives and the Maharaja had succeeded in seizing it as early as 1818, and had made it over to Jahadad Khan, but it fell into the hands of Dost Mohammad Khan and had to be recovered afterwards. Rawalpindi was captured in 1820, Kistawar and Mankot

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were also seized (1820). Mankera, Bhakkar and Dera Ismail Khan were annexed. After the battle of Namseru (1823), his ascendancy over Peshawar was acknowledged, but it was finally occupied in 1834. In 1837, Jamrud was occupied by Hari Singh, who however lost his life in a battle near that place with the Afghans.

Regarding Sind, Ranjit entertained the ambition of making the Balooch *Amirs* of that kingdom tributary to him. Ever since his first Multan campaign he entertained these designs and had more than once demanded tribute from the Sind *Amirs*. He also wished to conquer Shikarpore and with a view to realise his ambition resumed his possessions on the right bank of the Indus, from the Bahawalpore State. But fearing that this would rouse the hostility of the British Government he often hesitated. In 1835 he even made arrangements for advancing upon Shikarpore. But the new situation created by the British on the eve of the expedition to Kabul made him desist.

Thus in course of a life-time Ranjit had, with the exception of the Sikh states under British protection, succeeded in building up a strong state. His kingdom included, almost the whole of the Punjab, Kashmir, Jammu, a large tract on the right side of the Indus including Mithankot, the Dera country, Bannu, Tank and the frontier districts including the city of Peshawar. He also claimed suzerainty over Ladok.

With a view to achieve his ends, Ranjit constantly added to his military strength. But he depended not on war alone. He used the art of conciliation and creating dissensions among his enemies and was a crafty politician. War was a last resort with him; and he never thought of waging war until he was sure of his success or that the cost of the expedition will be defrayed by the fruits of the campaign.

When victorious he seldom proved a ruthless conqueror and was averse to the shedding of blood or exterminating

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the conquered families. Like Akbar he tried to conciliate the defeated and dispossessed chiefs. Most of the heirs of the defeated *Misls* were given grants of land. This was made to the heirs of the Bhangis and Shahib Singh got a *jaigir* of a lac of rupees. Similar grants were made to the chiefs of the Ramgharia, Nakai, Daliwala *Misls*. To placate the Bhangis, Ranjit married the two widows of Shahib Sing, namely, Dya Kaur and Rattan Kaur who became the mothers of his two sons, Pesora Singh and Multana Singh. Similar grants were made to non-Sikhs whose territories he had conquered. Thus when Uch was conquered from the local Sayyads he granted them a *jaigir* (1·408) for maintanence. He was, moreover, averse to bloodshed and we have very few instances of his rivals being put to death.

Apart from his successful diplomacy and the help of his powerful army, Ranjit relied on various other things. Absolutely unlettered and born and bred in an atmosphere of war and violence as he was, he possessed many eminent qualities of head and heart which enabled him to maintain his hold in newly conquered provinces and to win over the loyalty and goodwill of his people. The leading traits of his character which helped him most were the following :—

(*a*) Absence of narrow-mindedness in religion.
(*b*) Desire to reward merit.
(*c*) Devotion to the well-being of his state and his subjects.

His catholic view of religion and an absence of bigotry was a prominent trait in his character. In those days the bitterest feelings of hostility existed between the Sikhs and the Mussalmans. The Sikhs had suffered at the hands of the Afghans and they too had retaliated heartily whenever they found opportunities. But when Ranjit acquired

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authority and power, first at Lahore and later on over the whole of the Punjab, he granted the greatest possible concessions to the Mussalmans. In the city of Lahore, the hereditary *Kazi* Nizamuddin was permitted to carry on his old duties regarding marriage and divorce among Muslims and the *Muftis* Muhammad Shahpur and Sadulla Cherti were permitted to draw deeds and titles regarding property. The office of *Kotwal* of Lahore was conferred upon Iman Bux. Many of his trusted advisers were Muslims and among his army chiefs many were Mussalmans.

Next came the Hindus. Naturally they were not opposed to Sikhism and in those days there was very little of divergence in the ideals, customs and belief between the Sikhs and the Hindus. Ranjit himself was a staunch believer in the religion of his ancestors, but in him many of the beliefs and practices of Hinduism survived. As we know from his biographers, he used to make pilgrimages to Hardwar and to the temple of the goddess at Jwalamukhi, whom the Maharaja held in special reverence. In his childhood when he suffered from small-pox prayers were offered to the goddess and it was believed that his life was saved through her intervention and benediction. He distributed money both among Brahmins as well as among Muslim pious men, either on occasions of importance or to ward off evils if predicted by Brahmins and astrologers. The recent publication by the Punjab Government, "Events At the Court of Ranjit Singh" (1810-17), throws a flood of light upon the everyday details of Ranjit's government and is thus of great interest to those wishing to make a study of Ranjit—the man and the ruler. On the *Samkrant* day of Phagan, Ranjit made a pilgrimage to Hardwar Shahib and after taking a bath at the sacred tank offered Rs. 500 to its Bungas. Thus on the occasion of Kharag Singh's marriage, large sums were distributed along with quantities of sweetmeats. We have innumerable

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references in this book to Ranjit's visits to Jwalamukhi (p. 105). Again on p. 172 we find the Maharaja asking Raja Ram Pandit to perform '*Homa*' in honour of the Devi. We have many other such details narrated in the book, no use multiplying such examples.

In the midst of his conquests, Ranjit was faced with the problem of governing and keeping under control his newly conquered territories and to devise an administrative system. That was a great problem before him, and in solving it he showed his remarkable foresight and ability as a statesman. The circumstances and the tradition, in the midst of which he had been born and brought up, hardly helped him. The Sikhs of his time were fond of predatory warfare and the *Misl* leaders had very little ideas about regular government. The Marathas nearly followed the same system but these things did not appeal to the Maharaja. He was bent upon consolidating his gains and to weld all his acquisitions into a state. He had to solve another important problem, namely to disassociate himself and his state machinery from the influence of the theocratic idea of the *Khalsa* and to build the state upon the political allegiance of his subjects of all communities. This problem required a careful handling since as a Sikh he could not alienate himself from the sympathies of his kinsmen and co-religionists. In solving this problem he showed his great statesmanship, for the state which he built up was not a part and parcel of the *Khalsa*, nor was it a Hindu state, but a state based on the political loyalty of its subjects the foundations of which were laid on the political loyalty, the good-will and the co-operation of all classes of his subjects including the Muslims who had a generation before his birth committed the most horrible barbarities upon the Sikh population and had repeatedly desecrated the holy shrines of the Sikhs. Ranjit was thus far in advance of his age.

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In organising his civil administration, Ranjit made a judicious selection of his officials from all communities and almost all of these proved their loyalty to the Maharaja as well as to the state. They were recruited from members of the principal communities of the Punjab, namely, Sikhs, Mussalmans and Hindus. Of his principal officers and advisers the names of the following are worthy of note:—Dewan Bhawani Das, Pandit Ganga Ram, Khussal Singh—in-charge of the *Deori*, Dhian Singh—the Vizir, etc. Among those who were very often called to the *Darbar* the names of the following are worth mentioning, namely, Dewan Mukhum Chand, Harbajh Rai-the *Mufti*, Mathra Das, Hakim Azizuddin and several other *Sardars* and Sikh notables like Bhai Gurmukh Singh. Of these we give a short note on each:—

Dewan Bhawani Das Peswaria was a man of experience who had served under Shah Suja of Kabul and his father Thakur Das was a privy-councillor under Ahmad Shah Abdali and his son Shah Jahan. He was endowed with considerable military skill and conquered Jammu and captured Haripur for the Maharaja. He was once charged with embezzlement by Misser Beli Ram—the Treasurer, and thereupon the Maharaja not only struck him in the open *Darbar* and imposed a fine of a lac of rupees but also banished him to a hill. But he was soon restored to favour and served the Maharaja till his death in 1834. Bhawani Das was, according to the Diary above mentioned, a man of short stature. His brother Munsi Devi Das also served the Maharaja.

Pandit Ganga Ram was a man of experience, who had served under the Maharaja of Gwalior. He was a man of ability, and was placed at the head of the military office where he served till his death. On that occasion his nephew Dina Nath obtained charge of the finance office.

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Khussal Singh, by birth a Brahmin, started life on Rs. 5 but became a favourite with the Maharaja who had him converted into Sikhism and made him officer-in-charge of the *deori* or the gate.

Dhian Singh had along with his brother Golab Singh entered the service of the Maharaja and rose from very humble circumstances to the highest position in the state. They were Dogra Rajputs. The Maharaja had a high notion of Dhian's abilities and made him *Vizir* and conferred upon him the title of '*Raja-i-Rajan.*' At the time of his death he indicated to his heir, relatives and courtiers that Dhian Singh was to be the Prime Minister of the state. But his son Kharag Singh, instigated by other elements in the state, rather put him in a position of disgrace. Ultimately Dhian Singh was assassinated by the conspirators who put an end to the lives of Maharaja Sher Singh and his son.

Hakim Azizuddin with his brothers Nuruddin and Imamuddin were able councillors in whom the Maharaja put his implicit trust. Azizuddin began as a physician to the Sikh ruler and though he ultimately proved to be Ranjit's adviser on foreign affairs he did excellent medical service to the Maharaja. His brothers, Nuruddin and Imamuddin, were also trusted officers of the Maharaja. Nuruddin was employed in the matter of public works and commissariat while Imamuddin was in charge of the fortress of Govindgarh. From the above account it will be clear that Ranjit selected his advisers from men of different communities and creeds and his choice was very good.

From the diary of events already referred to, Ranjit seems to have been a hard-worked monarch. For though he had able lieutenants he never refused to shoulder the burdens of royalty and we find him spending the whole day from the early morning to the end of the first quarter of the night engaged in consultations with ministers, in receiving *Nazarana*, in passing orders, in checking accounts

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and in making enquiries about the army and holding reviews of his troops. He often accompanied his generals and soldiers to distant expeditions.

Ranjit's was merely one life's work and had many defects. First of all, he had neither been able, nor thought it necessary, to destroy the last vestiges of feudalism. While he had destroyed the power of the *Misl* leaders, he had created feudatories and farmers-general from amongst his trusted officials. Many of his officials enjoyed the revenues of vast tracts and Saamat Ali in his "*Sikhs and Afghans*" had given us a list of such feudatories and of the big revenue-farmers like Golab Singh and Sawan Mull of Multan. These people, raised very high, wished to rise higher yet and thus jeopardised the fortunes of the state and ultimately the different factions working within the state contributed to its weakening and ultimate downfall within a decade of the Maharaja's death. But the short existence of his state does not take away the credit of building up a big monarchy from him. Ranjit had to work with very imperfect material and he himself had a clear notion of the weakness of his system. Perhaps he had foreseen the quarrels which broke out within the state, the demoralisation of his army and successful encroachment of the British power. These things were fated to take place and his best advice at the time of his death given to his son was ignored. Several factions arose namely, the faction of the Sindhinwallas who became the champions of the ultra-Sikh ascendancy to the exclusion of his Dogra brothers. The outburst of Sikh fanaticism led to the destruction of the discipline in the army and some of Ranjit's successors not only proved inefficient but incapable of understanding and handling the situation. To these causes must be attributed the downfall of the Sikh state at Lahore, and not to the defects of Ranjit's system directly. He was great as the builder of a state and the creator of an administrative system and a fine army. He deserves praise

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for all this and a historian who passes adverse judgment on him for the non-endurance of his system proves only his short-sightedness. It is no use denouncing the maker of a fortune if his prodigal sons squander it away within a short period. A state created in the midst of constant wars and turmoils could only survive if the policy of its maker was followed by a series of able successors. But there was a fatalism which put an end to the life of his grandson, Naunehal, a prince of great promise whose life was cut short by an accident and with his death the future of Sikh monarchy was sealed. Ranjit's fear that "*Sab lal ho jaiga*" (everything on the map of India will be coloured red) proved to be too true.

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6

THE KASHMIR REBELLION AND THE TRIAL OF RAJA LAL SINGH

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By Article 4 of the Treaty of Lahore, concluded on the 9th of March, 1846, Maharaja Dalip Singh "ceded to the Honorable Company, in perpetual sovereignty, as equivalent of one crore of rupees, all his forts, territories, rights, and interests, in the hill countries which are situate between the rivers Beas and Indus, including the provinces of Kashmir and Hazara." And by a separate treaty with Maharaja Gulab Singh, the East India Company, in return for seventy-five lacs of rupees, "transferred and made over, for ever, in independent possession, to the said Maharaja Gulab Singh, and the heirs male of his body, all the hilly or mountainous country, with its dependencies, situated to the eastward of the river Indus, and westward of the river Ravi, including Chamba and excluding Lahul, being part of the territory ceded to the British Government by the Lahore State, according to the provisions of Article 4 of the treaty of Lahore, dated 9th March, 1846."

In the matter of the actual transfer of the territories to Gulab Singh no difficulty seems to have been anticipated. Gulab Singh might have been a bit anxious about the provinces other than Kashmir, for immediately after the completion of the treaty he urged upon the *Darbar* to put him in possession of them; but so far as Kashmir was concerned Gulab Singh was confident that his occupation of the

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province would be accomplished without any difficulty. He declared that there was a perfect understanding between him and Sheik Mohiuddin, the Sikh Governor of Kashmir, and even when the latter died early in April and was succeeded by his son Sheik Imamuddin, Gulab Singh assured the British officers that there would be no difficulty because the son, like the father, would equally act in his interest. Accordingly, Maharaja Gulab Singh confidently sent Dewan Lakhpat Rai with a few regiments to take possession of the Province. [1]

But Gulab Singh's anticipations were destined to receive a rude shock. At first all went well and Lakhpat Rai with his regiments was put in possession of Hari Parbat, the principal fort in the capital. But soon it seems there appeared a hitch, and Gulab Singh's negotiations with Imamuddin proving fruitless, he sent reinforcements under his *Vizier* Rutnoo to the support of Lakhpat Rai. "At the same time Maharaja Gulab Singh seems to have made some demands upon Sheik Imamuddin, which the latter resisted; and the Sheik, under pretext of collecting balances of revenue, and requiring a receipt and acquittance from Lakhpat Rai, delayed from week to week his departure from Kashmir." In the meantime the Lahore *Darbar*, being continually pressed to make over the transferred territories and to cause the removal of Sheik Imamuddin, "sent a special and pressing order by the hands of Dewan Hakim Rai and Vakeel Sohan Lal, peremptorily directing him to make over the district to the Maharaja, and to repair to Lahore, where his account would be adjusted." But these messengers came by an unnecessarily circuitous way and when they at last reached Rajourie the collision had already occurred. Lakhpat Rai had been slain and Gulab Singh's forces had been dispersed. Sheik Imamuddin was thus in open rebel-

[1] Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs* (Garrett's Edition), Appendix 34 and 36.

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lion and he is said to have issued a proclamation to the effect that Maharaja Dalip Singh was the Sovereign of Kashmir and that he himself was the Maharaja's *Subahdar*.[2]

It seems that the rebellion soon spread among the Muhammadan Hill Rajas in the neighbourhood of Kashmir. From a letter written by the son of the Raja of Rajourie to his father, it appears that all the Mussalman tribes of the hills rose in favour of the Sheik, who also took steps to induce the Khyberees and the Eusoof-Zyes to move on the right bank of the Indus; while on the side of Ladak as well, he employed emissaries to induce the population to rise against Gulab Singh. Indeed, the Governor-General apprehended that "the Sheik will very naturally take every means to support himself, by an appeal to Mussalman hopes, and religious fanaticism."[3]

But the Sheik's enemies were not idle. The Lahore *Darbar* had already sent Sardar Uttar Singh Man, with other officers, to bring the Sheik away and soon afterwards, under insistent pressure from the Governor-General, it sent a body of troops under Sardar Tej Singh and another under Chutter Singh and Sher Singh to the assistance of the Maharaja. The Governor-General had also ordered six regiments of Native Infantry, two regiments of irregular Cavalry and twelve field guns under Brigadier Wheeler, to be held in readiness to march from Jullundhar to Jummo, for the purpose of protecting the Maharaja's rear.[4]

Such was the state of affairs near about the middle of September, 1846, when suddenly a new complexion was given to the whole affair by what transpired in an interview between Lieutenant Edwardes, the Assistant Political Agent and Puran Chand, the *vakil* of Sheik Imamuddin. Lieutenant Edwardes wrote to say that "the Sheik's Vakeel,

2 Cunningham, *op. cit.*

3 The Governor-General to the Secret Committee, Punjab Papers, 1847, No. 4.

4 *Ibid.*

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Puran Chand, repeatedly asserted that his master, the Sheik, had been secretly instigated in his resistance to the Maharaja Gulab Singh in Kashmir by communications sent to him by the Vizier Lal Singh, and that the Sheik possessed letters to this effect, written by the Vakeel, and signed by Raja Lal Singh at Lahore." It is said that by the same post from Lahore information was received by the Governor-General to the effect "that the Maharani had held a confidential conversation with Bhai Ram Singh, explaining to him her position and that of the Vizier, and attaching the greatest importance to the recovery of letters addressed to the Sheik by the Vizier, on the subject of Kashmir." We are not sure as to what value to attach to this last piece of information, particularly as we are told nothing regarding its source but the communication of Lieutenant Edwardes was by itself sufficiently serious. The Governor-General observes: "These reports, received from different quarters, combined with the delays and evasions of the Vizier during the preceding five months; his failure to depute the persons to Kashmir, pointed out by the Political Agent as the most proper to be sent to the Sheik; and the slow progress towards Kashmir made by the two Sikh emissaries, Dewan Hakim Rai and Vakeel Sohan Lal, sent, at last, by the Darbar, after the reiterated representations of the Agent, were circumstances calculated to excite a just suspicion that the Vizier Lal Singh was implicated in the Sheik's misconduct, secretly encouraging the Lahore Governor of Kashmir to resist the orders publicly sent to him by his Government, to withdraw from the province, delivering up the country to the Maharaja, in pursuance of the Treaty."[5]

In the opinion of the Governor-General, the question thus was no longer merely that of a recalcitrant Provincial

[5] Punjab Papers, 1847, No. 4.

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Governor putting obstacles to the transfer of Kashmir to Maharaja Gulab Singh, but that of the Sikh *Darbar* or at least its *Vizier*, trying clandestinely to prevent the fulfilment of one of the most important provisions of the late Treaty. Instructions were consequently sent to Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence " to spare no efforts to ascertain the truth of the declarations made by the Sheik's Vakeel to Lieutenant Edwardes," and at the same time extra military precautions were undertaken. Forces were kept ready at Lahore and Ferozepore to move, if necessary, at the shortest notice.

Meanwhile, the operations against Imamuddin were being pushed on with vigour and on the 19th of October the Raja of Rajourie in person submitted himself to the British authorities and to Maharaja Gulab Singh. The Governor-General was gratified and wrote : " This chief is not only at the head of one of the most powerful Mussalman tribes in the hills on the Punjab side of the Pir Pinjal Pass into Kashmir, but has the reputation of being a leader of well-established energy and decision of character. His secession from Sheik Imamuddin could not fail to have a strong influence in inducing the other Muhammadan Chiefs to forsake the Sheik's cause, and I have every reason to believe that the greater portion of these petty chiefs have already withdrawn their forces and retired to their homes."[6] The Sheik must have all along realised the hopelessness of his position, the more so now, when his adherents were deserting him and his enemies were converging upon him. From a letter of Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence, dated the 24th October, it appears that " in addition to the force under Sardar Tej Singh, a body of Sikh troops under Sardar Chutter Singh and Sher Singh, from Rawalpindi had passed Punch, and were marching towards Sardar Tej Singh, for the purpose of

6 The Governor-General to the Secret Committee, Punjab Papers, 1847, No. 6.

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[redacted]ng Kashmir, as near as it may be practicable to the [redacted] under the latter, instead of advancing into Kashmir by [redacted]he Baramula Pass, thereby effecting a concentration of the Sikh forces. A portion of the force under Maharaja Gulab Singh had united with the Sikh force under Tej Singh at Thanah. The British force, which marched from the Jalandhar under Brigadier Wheeler, had crossed to the right bank of the Chenab River, and that which had marched from Lahore, under Major-General Sir J. Littler, remained on the left bank of the Chenab, ready in twenty-four hours to form a junction with Brigadier Wheeler, and advance on Bhimbar or Nowshera, whenever required to do so." According to Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence these combined forces amounted to about 30,000 men and were undoubtedly more than a match for Sheik Imamuddin.[7]

Indeed, it seems that the Sheik was giving up the fight. He had already stopped all hostile operations against the fort of Hari Parbat, occupied by Gulab Singh's troops and had formally declared his submission to the Lahore Government and his intention of surrendering himself to Lieutenant Edwardes, who was accompanying the troops of the Maharaja. Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence wrote on the 25th of October to the effect that the Sheik had delivered up the fort of Sher Ghurree and the town of Kashmir to Vizier Rutnoo, the officer of Maharaja Gulab Singh in charge of Hari Parbat and that he was already leaving Kashmir. Imamuddin surrendered himself to the Governor-General's Agent at Thanah on the 1st November and, on the 9th, Maharaja Gulab Singh entered the capital and formally occupied Kashmir. Thus ended the rebellion of Sheik Imamuddin.[8]

The Sheik, however, had surrendered on a promise that his conduct in opposing the fulfilment of the Treaty between

7 Punjab Papers, 1847, No. 6.

8 The Governor-General to the Secret Committee, Punjab Papers, 1847, No. 7.

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the Lahore and British Governments should be fully impartially enquired into and he had already placed in hands of Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence three original documents in support of his contention that he had all throughout been acting under orders from the Lahore Government of which he was a servant. The Governor-General lost no time in redeeming the promise and sent Frederick Currie, Secretary to the Government of India, to Lahore, on a special mission as his representative, to arrange primarily the promised enquiry. In his letter to the said Secretary, the Govenor-General fully explains the implications of the proposed enquiry and the seriousness of the issues involved. He writes : " The first question which will require your immediate attention, will be an investigation into the conduct of Sheik Imamuddin, in resisting, by force of arms, the execution of the Lahore Treaty, relating to the cession of the Province of Kashmir. The line of defence which he has adopted, by asserting that he has acted in obedience to the orders of the Lahore Government, of which he was the servant, will indirectly, but substantially, place the Vizier Raja Lal Singh on his trial.....The result, however, of the investigation, will probably produce important consequences as affecting the Government of which the Ranee is the head as Regent, and Raja Lal Singh the Vizier. If it be proved that the Vizier secretly encouraged the Sheik to violate the Treaty which the Lahore Darbar was bound faithfully to carry into effect, the immediate consequence of this betrayal of duty to the Maharaja Dalip Singh, and of good faith to the British Government, will be the deposition of the Vizier. If the authenticity of the documents produced by the Sheik, in palliation of his own criminal conduct, be disproved, that individual must take the consequences of his own misdeeds.... The conviction of the Lahore Government in being implicated in gross and violent infraction of the Lahore Treaty, might, if pushed to the extreme limit of our right,

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lead to very serious consequences; but it is not my intention to make the Lahore State responsible for the misconduct of one or more individuals, when there is every reason to believe that the misconduct is to be attributed to personal hatred of the Maharaja Gulab Singh, and not to any political combination to violate the Treaty with the British Government. The individuals, however, who may be implicated must be held responsible for their conduct in this transaction, whatever may have been the original object of the intrigue."[9] It will thus be seen that though the proposed investigation was ostensibly concerned with the misdeeds of Sheik Imamuddin, it was in reality to be a trial of Raja Lal Singh and the Darbar.

The Governor-General was anxious that the enquiry should be conducted in such a manner that there should be no ground for suspicion in any quarter as to the fairness of the proceeding, and he especially enjoined on the Secretary to devise, in consultation with Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence, a mode of trial which would be the least open to objection. On the 2nd of December, the Secretary wrote: "I have consulted with Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence, C.B., and with Mr. J. Lawrence, upon this subject, and we have determined that it is impossible to associate any of the members of the Darbar with us as judges of the conduct of Sheik Imamuddin. His plea and grounds of defence are known to all; and they directly implicate the Darbar; the matter at issue being, whether he was, or was not, acting in accordance to their instructions in forcibly opposing the occupation of Kashmir by Maharaja Gulab Singh, and in raising the rebellion in that province. Neither could we associate with us other chiefs not members of the Darbar. In the first place, this would be calling on the subjects of the Lahore State to

[9] The Governor-General to Frederick Currie, Secretary to the Government of India, Punjab Papers, 1847, No. 8.

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sit in judgement on the acts of their Government, and in the next, it would be impossible to find any Chief who is not a friend or enemy of the Vizier, and interested either in his conviction or acquittal. The only mode of fairly redeeming the promise under which Sheik Imamuddin surrendered, and of doing impartial justice to all, appears to us to be, that the Sheik's conduct and defence should be investigated by a tribunal of British Officers, in the presence of the parties interested in the result of the trial."[10] Accordingly, an all-British tribunal was constituted with Frederick Currie, the Secretary, as President, and Major-General Littler, Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence, Mr. John Lawrence, and Lieutenant-Colonel Goldie as members. The enquiry opened on the 3rd of December, 1846.

The Court assembled in Mr. Currie's darbar-tent before sixty-five principal Sikh Chiefs, exclusive of followers and *vakils*. Mr. Currie opened the proceedings and then asked Sheik Imamuddin to state his case. The Sheik said:

"Puran Chand, my Vakeel, wrote twice to me from Lahore, to say that if through my means Kashmir should still remain with the Lahore Darbar, and did not pass into possession of Maharaja Gulab Singh, it would be well for me. I said, that unless I received a written document to this effect, I could take no steps in the matter; it was not sufficient for Puran Chand to write; Raja Lal Singh or the Darbar must write. Accordingly, I did receive written orders, through Puran Chand, and I have since given in the originals to Colonel Lawrence, Agent to the Governor-General. Upon the arrival of the parwana from the Darbar of Lahore I showed it to my officers, and by their advice fired a salute in honour of it."

[10] The Secretary to the Government of India, on a special mission to Lahore, to the Governor-General,—Punjab Papers, 1847, No. 8 (Enclosure 3).

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The documents were then produced and they were identified by Sheik Imamuddin. The first purported to be a *parwana* from the Lahore *Darbar*, bearing the Seal of Maharaja Dalip Singh and the sign manual of Raja Lal Singh, to officers and soldiers under the command of Sheik Imamuddin. It said: "This order is now sent to you, and after receiving it, you will remain with the Governor Sheik Imamuddin Khan Bahadur, doing the work of the State; and whenever he returns to the presence, you shall be kept on in service as before. Have no fear, therefore, but remain with the person in question. This is an imperative order. Consider your welfare as my care." (Dated 15th of Sawan, 1903, which is equivalent to 28th of July, 1846). The letter was in the handwriting of Ratan Chand, the *Munshi* of the *Darbar*, but the last sentence was in a different hand. Together with this *parwana* was sent an *ekrarnama* or deed of promise, signed by Raja Lal Singh, in which the *Vizier* promised to protect the Sheik against the British Government and he was given a further guarantee that "whatever allowance either he, or his jagheerdaree horsemen or the Sheik, his late father, received from the Lahore Government, the same jugheers, and somethings added to them, as a reward for service, shall be assigned him in the Lahore territory." This *ekrarnama* was in the handwriting of Puran Chand. The third document, also in the handwriting of Puran Chand, purported to be a letter written by the Vizier Lal Singh to Sheik Imamuddin. The *Vizier* refers to the ingratitude and want of faith exhibited by Gulab Singh towards the Lahore *Sarkar* and exhorts the Sheik to inflict upon him a due chastisement. He further assures the Sheik that he need have no misgivings as to the consequences and informs him that for the Sheik's security and confidence, a separate written guarantee has already been sent.[11] These three docu-

[11] Minutes of the Court of Enquiry, Punjab Papers, 1847, p. 29.

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ments, together with the evidence of Ratan Chand, Puran Chand and Dewan Hakim Rai, constituted practically the whole of the case against Raja Lal Singh. Ratan Chand, the *munshi*, deposed that document No. I, *viz*: the *tasilinama* to the troops, was written by him at Raja Lal Singh's order, that the Raja signed it in his presence and that the Maharaja's seal was affixed by Bakshi Mohar Singh. He also explained how the handwriting other than his own crept into the document [12] but as this *tasilinama* was admitted by Raja Lal Singh, Ratan Chand's evidence, after all, was not of much importance.

Next comes the deposition of Puran Chand. He was the *motmid* or the confidential agent of Sheik Imamuddin at the Court of Lahore and corroborated his master's statements in almost every detail. He said that by Raja Lal Singh's order he had sent some letters to the Sheik intimating to him the Raja's desire that he should oppose Raja Gulab Singh's occupation of Kashmir and on the Sheik's demanding a written order, wrote at the Raja's dictation the documents Nos. 2 and 3, and sent them to the Sheik at Kashmir. He said emphatically that the signatures in those documents were the Raja's and that these had been put in his presence. He was then asked to explain the discrepancies in the dates of the three documents. (The *tasilinama* or the *parwana* to the troops was dated the 15th Sawan, 1903; the *ekrarnama* or the deed of promise, the 12th Sawan; and the personal letter, the 13th Sawan). Puran Chand said: "the ekrarnama was written by the Raja's order one day, and it was intended that another should be written to go along with it. But some other important business called the Raja, which prevented him. Next day, by the Raja's instructions, the letter was written and signed . . . . . After the letter was written, and before it was despatched, I received the parwana from

[12] Minutes of the Court of Enquiry, Punjab Papers, 1847, p. 32.

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the Sheik, saying it would be necessary to have a tasilinama for the troops. I represented this to the Raja, when he ordered Ratan Chand to write one before me, and then the three papers were sent off together." Puran Chand was also asked as to what, in his opinion, was the object of the Raja and he said that he believed that the reason for the Raja's conduct might have been "the enmity which has so long existed between the Raja and Gulab Singh. He wished to create disturbances that might prevent Gulab Singh from getting possession of the province." [13]

Lastly, we have to consider the evidence of Dewan Hakim Rai. It has already been seen that, owing to the insistent demands of the British political officers, Hakim Rai was sent by the *Darbar* to Kashmir, as a special emissary to bring the Sheik away. He was accompanied by a *vakil* from the Agency who was to take him by the nearest route through Jammu. Hakim Rai stated that he had two different instructions, one open and written, and the other, verbal and secret. He was charged with delivery to Sheik Imamuddin of a *parwana* from the *Darbar*, written by Dewan Dina Nath, asking the Sheik peremptorily to cease all operations and come away from Kashmir; whereas he had secret instructions from Raja Lal Singh that he was to delay on the way as long as possible and to aid and assist the Sheik in his opposition to the occupation of Kashmir by Maharaja Gulab Singh. Consequently, when the Agency *vakil*, Sohan Lal urged him to take the shortest route *via* Jummo, he waited for the Raja's instructions and when these arrived he took the circuitous route through Bhimber, Nowshera, and Rajourie. Two of these letters written by the Raja were produced by the witness. The result was that Hakim Rai "took twenty days in reaching Rajourie, which he could easily have done in seven, and did not reach that place untill the rebellion had broken out." [14]

[13] Minutes of the Court of Enquiry, Punjab Papers, 1847, p. 33.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

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This was practically the whole of the evidence on which the case against the Raja rested. The defence case was put before the Court by Dewan Dina Nath, the main points of which are summarised in the Minutes as follows :—

1st. That forgeries are very common, and have caused great trouble in the Punjab; therefore it is not unlikely that the documents now produced are false.

2ndly. That it is incredible that the Raja, after signing and agreeing to the Treaty between the two Governments made at Lahore last year, should do anything in contravention of its terms.

3rdly. That it is not at all likely the Raja would employ Puran Chand to write secret letters of such importance to the Sheik.

4thly. That Sheik was at one time ready to come away, in obedience to the Darbar's orders, and wrote to say so; if after that he rebelled, he did so on his own account.[15]

It was further submitted that "from the date of concluding the Treaty, the Darbar had at once set themselves to work to carry into effect its provisions, and that in no instance had anything been done in opposition thereto; that in regard to Kashmir, measures had been taken to put the officers of the Maharaja Gulab Singh in possession of the province." And with regard to the evidence of Hakim Rai, the defence proceeded to state that "several parwanas had been sent to that officer from the Darbar to hasten on his way, and perform the service on which he had been sent to bring the Sheik away." Some of these were produced and Hakim Rai admitted their authenticity. The defence thereupon urged that "Hakim Rai having, contrary to the orders of the Darbar, made culpable delay in proceeding to Kashmir, had concocted the story of secret instructions to exculpate himself."[16] The defence concluded with the suggestion that the

[15] Minutes of the Court of Enquiry, Punjab Papers, 1847, p. 33.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

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whole thing was "one of the machinations of Maharaja Gulab Singh, whose creature the Sheik was, and had always been, and that this infamous plot was contrived by the Maharaja for the destruction of the Darbar." [17]

The defence had very strongly urged that "it was never the custom of the Darbar, or Vizier, to send an order or important communication to a principal in the handwriting of his confidential agent; but usually the Darbar Munshis only wrote these orders or communications, but that sometimes other parties, but never, the agents of the parties addressed." This was an exceedingly important point, because if what the defence stated was true, it would have thrown a good deal of doubt as regards the authenticity of documents Nos. 2 and 3, which were in the handwriting of Puran Chand and who, as we know, was the confidential agent of the Sheik. Consequently, Puran Chand and Sheik Imamuddin were re-examined and the point enquired into in some detail. Questioned on this matter, Ratan Chand, the *Darbar Munshi*, had stated that it was, no doubt, more usual for all orders and communications between the Raja and the Chiefs to be written by the official secretaries but this was not invariably so. It was not unusual for a *motmid* to write a letter addressed to his Chief where the parties had confidence in each other and he added that it was well-known to everybody that Puran Chand was in the habit of doing so. He was constantly present with the Raja and was a man trusted by the latter.[18] Puran Chand himself had also stated that though a few communications might have been written by other *munshis*, in general all such from the Raja to the Sheik were written by him. To meet the point raised by Dewan Dina Nath more effectively, the Sheik placed before the Court a letter, addressed to him a long while ago by the Raja, which was also in the handwriting of Puran Chand. On being

17 Minutes of the Court Enquiry, Punjab Papers, 1847, pp. 36-37.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 32.

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shown the paper, Raja Lal Singh recognised it as authentic. The Sheik further said that he had placed two others with Colonel Lawrence at Thanah and that there must be many others among his papers.[19] He then suggested that Puran Chand might be re-examined as to the important matters in which letters had been written by him in the name of the Raja, and as to the extent to which the Raja trusted him. Puran Chand was thereupon recalled and in reply to the Court's query stated that, if the Court so desired, he could easily prove that he had been employed by the Raja, before this, in other affairs much more important and secret even than the Kashmir rebellion—*e.g.*, in the negotiations between Raja Lal Singh and Maharaja Gulab Singh, to murder the Vizier Hira Singh and Pandit Jalla—and that the letters from the Raja in this connection as well were written by him.[20] The Court held that the contention of the defence had signally failed.

It appears that the judgment of the Court was, to a very great extent, determined by what they thought of the *parwana* to the troops and its implications. It has already been seen that the Raja acknowledged this document as genuine. On being asked as to why he sent it, the Raja replied that "Puran Chand informed him that the troops were out of heart; and though the Sheik was willing to come away, yet he could not come by himself, and the troops would not come away with him, unless they were assured of their pay by the Lahore Darbar." The Raja was further asked, whether, when he found that this *parwana* had been misunderstood by the soldiers, he sent another explaining to them that the meaning of the former one was not that they should oppose Gulab Singh but that they should come away with the Sheik, the Raja replied that he did not.[21] The Court observes,

19 Minutes of the Court of Enquiry, Punjab Papers, 1847, p. 36.

20 *Ibid.*

21 *Ibid.*, p. 35.

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"The perwana is in the handwriting of Ratan Chand, the Darbar Munshi. Its authenticity is proved by the writer, admitted by the Raja. It is a remarkable document...This was stated by the Raja, on its being produced, to be the only document addressed by him to the troops in Kashmir, either before or after the rebellion.....The Raja states that it was written at the request of Puran Chand, who told him that the Sheik asked for a document to assure the troops..... but the purport of the perwana is quite different, it does not direct the troops to leave Kashmir, and accompany the Sheik to Lahore. It directs them to remain with the Sheik in the performance of service at his bidding and to have no apprehension. What assurance and encouragement could the troops require to come to Lahore for their pay?

But if such was the purport and intent of the perwana why was its existence studiously kept secret from the political officers at Lahore, who were in daily communication with the Raja about the evacuation of Kashmir, when every minute circumstance in connection with the affairs of Kashmir, was constantly discussed? On the arrival of this perwana a salute was fired by the troops. Shortly afterwards the rebellion broke out, and these troops did perform service with the Sheik at his bidding, by attacking the troops of Maharaja Gulab Singh, killing the Vizier Lakhpat Rai, and putting themselves in open rebellion in the province.

If the Raja did not intend this to be the result of his perwana, he would assuredly have sent another, explaining what he did mean, and ordering the troops to come away, in direct terms; but he admits that he sent the troops no other communication. If he did not mean the rebellion to be the result of his order, he is still responsible for such result when he took no means to counteract it. It is altogether impossible, however, to believe, that a document so worded, independently of other circumstances, was

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intended to be understood by the troops that they were merely to return to Lahore. If it were an obscurely worded document, which it is not, its meaning must be judged by the result it produced.

The Raja states that his perwana to the troops was sent to Sheik Imamuddin, at his request. It could not possibly have gone alone. It must have been accompanied by some perwana or letter to the Sheik, apprizing him of its having been sent, and of its purport. The Sheik produces the letter, which he says accompanied it, and which, if true, explains distinctly the meaning of the *perwana* and the transaction. The Raja denies the authenticity of this letter, but does not produce or refer to any other; and as some letter must exist, and the Raja has no other to adduce, it is but fair to the Sheik, and in accordance with reason, to suppose that the one produced by the Sheik is the true one.

The letter and ekrarnama, moreover, have all the appearance of authenticity, and their seals of being genuine; *prima facie*, there is nothing but the improbability of the transaction, to throw doubt upon them—the fact of the transaction is established independently of them by the perwana. All circumstances favour the belief of their authenticity, and the only attempt made by the Darbar to establish their invalidity has signally failed. Supposing the letter and ekrarnama to be true, the perwana to the troops is quite intelligible, and all is in keeping. Assuming them false, and the Raja's story true, the perwana, and the reasons for writing it, are altogether inexplicable." [22]

It will thus be seen that the *parwana* to the troops formed the decisive factor in determining the Court's judgment. They, no doubt, also laid stress on the fact that the evidence of Puran Chand and the Sheik, as might be expected, tallied in every particular and that the former gave his evidence with all the appearance of its being true. And as regards

[22] Minutes of the Court of Enquiry, Punjab Paper, 1847, pp. 39-40.

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the evidence of Hakim Rai, they observe: "The written orders to go by Bhimber and Rajourie, and not as the political Agent directed, by Jummo, and the unaccountable delay in reaching Rajourie and Kashmir, tend to confirm the statement which he makes, that he received secret orders from the Raja, contrary to those which were given openly by the Darbar." The Court conclude: "Upon full deliberation and consideration of the evidence and statements referred to above, we are unanimously of opinion that it is established and proved, that the Vizier, Raja Lal Singh, did encourage Sheik Imamuddin to excite disturbance in Kashmir, and to oppose the occupation of the province by Maharaj Gulab Singh: and that he did encourage the troops in the province to aid Sheik Imamuddin in the late rebellion. We do not find it proved that the other members of the Darbar were participators with the Raja Lal Singh in the above proceeding, or cognizant thereof." [28]

On an impartial consideration of the facts of the case, it cannot be said that the judgment was undeserved. The only point in the Raja's favour was, as the Court pointed out, the improbability of the transaction. It was almost insane to expect that such a scheme could have any chance against the united opposition of Gulab Singh, the British Government and the Darbar. It thus appears that the *Vizier's* hatred of Gulab Singh had practically blinded him and he perhaps hoped against hope, as he wrote in his letter to Sheik Imamuddin, that "if Gulab Singh made but one false step, he would not be able to re-establish himself again."

The sequel of the matter is well-known. On being informed of the decision of the Court of Enquiry, the Governor-General demanded the immediate deposition of the *Vizier*. He was further to be placed in the custody of

[28] Minutes of the Court of Enquiry, Punjab Papers, 1847, pp. 40-41.

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the British officer in charge at Ferozpore, whence the Raja was to be conveyed to such a place of residence in the interior of Hindusthan as the Governor-General might decide. The Lahore Government promptly complied and then negotiations were started to settle the future relations of the two Governments. As a result, the Treaty of Lahore was modified by the Agreement concluded at Bhyrowal on the 16th December, 1846, and the British Government virtually assumed the protectorate of the Punjab.

But this review of the affair cannot be closed without a few observations on the part played by Sheik Imamuddin. Was his conduct as straightforward as he professed ? Was he really the devoted state official, determined to carry out, at all costs, the orders of his superiors ? On this aspect of the matter the Court made no observations and we may therefore take it that they accepted without reserve the Sheik's professions regarding the position that he took up. But several considerations lead us to think that the matter might not have been so simple as that.

In course of the defence put forward on behalf of the Darbar, Dewan Dina Nath stated that from the very date of the conclusion of the Treaty the *Darbar* had at once set themselves to the task of carrying its provisions into effect. Several *parwanas* had been sent to the Sheik, as early as April and May, directing him to make over the province and the forts. These the Sheik admitted and he also acknowledged the authenticity of an *arzi* which he himself sent to the *Darbar* on the 1st of Baisakh, stating his readiness to obey but "urging the difficulties of settling his accounts with the Maharaja, and making the neccessary arrangements in accordance with the Treaty, and requesting a few months' delay."[24] Thus it will be seen that the Sheik had been trying to prolong his stay in Kashmir for a few months yet, whatever might be the reason that he advanced in its favour.

[24] Minutes of the Court of Enquiry, Punjab Bapers, 1847, p. 38.

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Secondly, it should be noted that Puran Chand must have informed the Sheik that in suggesting opposition to Gulab Singh, Raja Lal Singh was acting alone and that the *Darbar*, as a whole, had no inkling of the affair. He must have realised that the course he was pursuing was a desperate one. It must have been plain to him that continued resistance for any length of time, against the combined forces of the British, Gulab Singh and the *Darbar*, was out of the question, particularly after the so recent debacles of Firozshahar and Sobraon, and he must also have been aware that in case of failure, which was more or less inevitable, it was extremely doubtful whether Raja Lal Singh alone would be able to save him from the consequences of his acts. Still he followed the line of action suggested by the *Vizier* and the reason he gives is that as a subordinate officer he was bound to follow the orders of his superior.

It therefore becomes necessary to enquire into his antecedents and see what type of an officer he was. "Mohiuddin, his father, began life as a shoemaker; he was a man of no family, character, or influence; but, being possessed of those talents for intrigue and self-aggrandisement, which was more likely to stand him in stead, in such a Government and society as that of the Sikhs in the Punjab, he contrived, with the assistance of the Dogras and more particularly of Gulab Singh, to raise himself from poverty and obscurity to a state of some eminence and of vast wealth. About 1839, under the auspices, and by the instrumentality, of the Maharaja, Sheik Mohiuddin was appointed to the Government of the Kashmir district, and his son, Imamuddin, to that of the Jalandhar Doab. Sheik Mohiuddin was to have accounted to the Durbar for twenty lacs of Kashmir rupees per annum, of which six lacs were to be allowed him for the maintenance of troops, and the balance, fourteen lacs was to be paid into the Lahore treasury. The Sheik's payments at Lahore are stated not to have exceeded six lacs per annum since

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he assumed the government, and part of which he had remitted in shawl goods. No accounts have been rendered during the whole seven years. The same statement of short payments, and failure to render any account for seven years' collections is equally applicable to Sheik Imamuddin, in respect of the Jalandhar Doab."[25] Further, it is said that the Sheiks are known to have sent across the Sutlej upwards of a crore of rupees, in specie, shortly before the outbreak of the first Anglo-Sikh war. Such an officer was Imamuddin, who, like his father, had made it his main business, during the last seven years, to enrich himself at the expense of the Government he served. But he now suddenly develops an almost meticulous zeal in obeying the orders of his superiors. It is difficult to believe that he followed the line of action suggested by the *Vizier* unless it suited his own interests.

The Sheik was deeply in arrears to the Lahore Government both in respect of Kashmir and Jalandhar and the Sikh Government was speaking of an adjustment of accounts. "The Sheik was doubtless placed in a position of much difficulty in regard to securing the whole of his ill-gotten wealth. He is believed still to have much in Kashmir; the locality of which, and all the circumstances under which it was obtained, are doubtless well known to the Maharaja Gulab Singh, who was bent on appropriating it if possible."[26] When the Sheik was in this very uncomfortable predicament the secret suggestions of the *Vizier* arrived. The Sheik asked for written orders and fell in with the line of action proposed by the *Vizier*. He perhaps hoped that under the cover of the rebellion he would somehow remove his treasures away from Kashmir and would further demand a relaxation from the Lahore *Darbar* in the matter of arrears

[25] The Governor-General to the Secret Committee, Punjab, Papers, 1847, No. 3.
[26] *Ibid.*

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on the plea of loss and suffering. Further, from a question put by the Court of Enquiry to Puran Chand, it appears that Sheik Imamuddin had also sent an emissary to Simla and it seems that he was playing a double game. On the other hand, we are told that "the political connection between Maharaja Gulab Singh and the Sheik Mohiuddin and Imamuddin, is of old standing and has been long notorious as of the closest description," and we know that just before the actual outbreak of the rebellion Sheik Imamuddin had some secret negotiations with Gulab Singh. What the Sheik's actual game was it is difficult to say but it is only on some such supposition, that in adopting the line of action recommended by the *Vizier* the Sheik was pursuing a deeper policy of his own, is his conduct really understandable.

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7

THE CULTURAL INDIAN EMPIRE OF THE SAINTLY QUEEN AHILYABAI HOLKAR

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Indore

The Maratha Empire, like the British Empire, was never a mere political entity. It was reared on the foundation of non-violent cultural basis laid down by Shivaji the Great. He was not only the defender of the Brahmans and laws but he never molested the followers of other religions. He extended his political protection tolerantly to all his subjects irrespective of their faiths. The Musalman Empire was spread by means of the sword. Therefore although it had its sway at one time from Spain to China, in Europe and Asia, and in Africa, yet here it could not, as in other places, destroy the national cultures. The Marathas alone not only checked its progress in India but made it innocuous under the later Mughuls. It was after that that the Sikhs arose and rent the Mughul supremacy from top to bottom. But Sikhism being a militant faith, it was subdued by the British by their superior military equipment. But the Marathas, even when they weilded the Empire, were always mindful of the Hindu culture, so much so that their acts of violence were really non-violent. Their government never oppressed its subjects and certainly did nothing to interfere with their religious beliefs or culture.

Even when the sun of the Maratha Empire had turned towards the west, though at the same time it was brightly shining, the ideology of the Maratha culture was never lost

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sight of. True, some of the rulers or leaders had become intoxicated with power and were rolling in luxury and indulging in vices ; yet the foundation of the Empire continued to be the preservation and spread of the Maratha culture, which in fact was nothing else than the Hindu civilisation. Ramshastri Prabhune, the Chief Justice of the Peshwas at the time of the assassination of Peshwa Narayanrao, which was believed to have been done at the connivance, if not the instigation, of Raghunath Rao, did not hesitate to pronounce death sentence on Raghunath for his complicity. In matters of judicial decision, the Maratha rulers never interfered. It has to be admitted that after the employment of the mercenary troops by Sadashivrao Bhau violence found its place in the Maratha Empire, yet it is due to its inherent quality of non-violence that, unlike in other countries or states, the Ministers were not killed, after the assassination of Peshwa Narayanrao. Although, as already stated, the then Chief Justice pronounced the sentence of death on no less a person than the *de facto* ruler of the state, no one thought of harming the former. Even in the distant provinces of the Maratha Empire ruled by the Governors, who were practically independent, the decision of cases was in the hands of judges, who were guided in their judgment by the opinions of those learned in ancient law-books—a system which the British Government continued for some time when it stepped into the shoes of the Indian rulers. As the British King is still the Defender of the Faith, so the Hindu rulers had as their motto the title of the defender of the cows and Brahmans which epitomised the Hindu culture.

This characteristic of the Hindu culture mollified the violent spirit of the Musalmans. Even to the devotedly religious and learned Brahmans of the city of Kashi or Benares, their rule became tolerable. It is on record that they unanimously prayed to the Peshwa Nanasaheb not to oust the latter, for fear that the tolerance which they were enjoying will be interfered

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with during the transition period, thus causing them much annoyance, loss and interruption in their devotional practices. But the dominance of the Hindu culture, which was revised and maintained throughout India, has continued even after the passing away of the Maratha Empire.

The place of Devi Shri Ahilyabai in this respect is unique. She was the embodiment of non-violence and renunciation. Indeed it is these qualities of hers, which raised her, by unanimous consent of the followers of Hindu, Muhammadan and Christian religions, to the rank of a deity, an honour not shown to any other ruler in India. Whether as is alleged by some story-writers that the usurper Peshwa Raghunath Rao intended to lead his troops against her government, it is illustrative of the feelings of the people towards her that in order to meet the army of Raghunath Rao, she raised an army of women headed by herself and sent him a spirited reply. This is a tribute to her adherence to truth and non-violence. It is due to these principles to which she absolutely stuck throughout her life that she could bear with equanimity the grave domestic calamities, *viz.*, the death of her husband, her son and her distinguished father-in-law, Subhedar Malhar Rao. Disgusted by the vicious vagaries of her son, she moved her residence from Indore, which is located on one of the most beautiful junctions of rivers, is noted for its salubrious climate all the year round and which was for the sporting facilities on water which it afforded liked by her son, to Maheshwar on the banks of the holy river Narmada. From the window of the Palace which she built herself on its banks, she calmly contemplated the magnificent view of the Narmada. She perhaps left these windows only when she sat in the hall of audience close by to discharge the duties of the state. Her subjects were not only contented but were well-protected. Foreign writers have borne their testimony and have sung her praises for her just and tolerant government. By way of contrast is Manucci's

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statement that once on a march the Mughul Army massacred the inhabitants of a village simply to revive its drooping spirit. The Maratha rulers never tolerated such brutalities.

But the Saintly Queen did not rest content with looking after the welfare of the people under her charge, as a part of the Maratha Empire. As soon as she assumed the government of her state and came into possession of the wealth accumulated by the previous ruler, none else than Subhedar Malhar Rao Holkar, she spread the Hindu culture throughout the length and breadth of India. She constructed the Grand Trunk Road between Calcutta and Gaya to facilitate pilgrimage to that holy place, which is resorted to in larger numbers by Bengalees than by others, although a pilgrimage to Gaya is enjoined on all Hindus. In every place—even the most remote in the Maratha Empire—she established charitable institutions. Not only this, but in places under the rule of Musalmans, whether those headed by the Mughuls in Northern India or the Nizam in the South, she re-constructed temples destroyed by the Musalman conquerors. She re-constructed the temple of Somnath in Kathiawad, destroyed by Mahmud Gazanavi. She also rebuilt the temples at Ayodhya, Mathura, Kashi (Benares), Allahabad, Gaya and other places. She spotted out the ancient Naimisharanya, in the present Hardoi District of Oudh, then in the Kingdom of the Nawab Vazirs and started charities there. She constructed the road with bridges to Badrinath in the Himalayas to facilitate pilgrimage to that place so difficult to reach, and established food-giving institutions. In a word she re-established the Hindu culture in the whole of India, irrespective of the political governments of the places. What Shivaji the Great had done as a token, Devi Shri Ahilyabai spread all over the country. Such was the catholicity of her piety, that her efforts were actively supported by rulers following other religions. It is impossible to over-estimate her contribution to Hindu culture.

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8

PESHWA MADHAVA RAO I AND THE FIRST ANGLO-MYSORE WAR

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War began between the British and the Hyder-Nizam coalition on the 25th August, 1767. The contestants did not know the attitude of the Peshwa Madhava Rao I. He was courted by the Nizam and Hyder Ali as also by Muhammad Ali and the British Mostyn came from Bombay, Nagoji Rao came from Madras, Sur Jang came as the *vakil* of Nizam Ali and Chanda Saheb's son as the agent of Hyder Ali.

In the instructions of the President and Council to Mostyn we find a record of the motives of the British. But Mostyn did not think it prudent to place all his cards on the table. The British at Bombay expected Madhava Rao to take part against Hyder especially if they invaded Hyder's possessions on the western coast. They wanted to hold before the Peshwa the bait of Bidnur and Sunda, expecting in return Salsette, Bassein and the Maratha share of revenues of Surat. If the Peshwa declined to make this exchange, the British would try to put someone else in possession of Bidnur and Sunda, guaranteeing the annual *chauth* to the Marathas. The British envoy was also asked to ascertain if he found the Peshwa willing to conclude an alliance against Hyder, whether some Maratha cavalry could be had to make up for the deficiency of cavalry on the eastern front. [1] Charles

[1] Forrest—Selections from the State Papers preserved in the Bombay Secretariat—English Embassy to the Marathas in 1767.

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Broome accompanied Mostyn as his assistant to attend to any representation Raghoba might make, in other words to foment domestic dissensions.[2] The memorandum for Nagoji contained terms almost identical and also included the following instruction—"In case Madhava Rao makes difficulties and listens to the proposals of Hyder Ali Khan and the Nizam, he may be given to understand that the Raja of Berar has been soliciting the friendship of the English at Bengal and of this Court and that they will doubtless give him their friendship if Madhava Rao does not engage it."[3]

A few days after the arrival of Mostyn, Madhava Rao sent Gopal Rao, Anand Rao Raste, Bapuji Naik, Visaji Pant Binni and Naru Rao Ghorpade to Miraj to collect an army of 24,000 horse and then go to Sera and Mudgery and there await instructions. Apparently the Maratha *Durbar* was for watching events before coming to any resolution. When Mostyn made an enquiry why so large a force was sent under Gopal Rao to the Carnatic he was told that it was sent only to collect the revenues which could not be done without a force. The British ambassador was, however, clearly told that the Maratha *Durbar* could not say what part they should act until they had heard what the different agents had to say.

It is interesting to note that there were rumours even in Northern India that Madhava Rao was sending an army of 20,000 horse to the assistance of the confederacy with Gopal Rao as the commandant. Richard Smith, stationed at Allahabad even proposed to seize those Maratha

[2] Raghoba told Broome that he had applied to the President "that a gentleman might be sent to him, with whom he would concert measures for revenging his cause, hoping for assistance from the English, but as he had waited in expectation without receiving any favourable answer he was obliged to accommodate matters in the best manner he could – he hoped to engage the English on his side and receive help from them when he might take up arms, which after the rains he was fully resolved on."

[3] Forrest's Selections—Maratha Series.

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chiefs who had come to bathe at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna to keep them as hostages until they could see the truth about Gopal Rao's destination.[4]

But Hyder Ali was the professed enemy of the Marathas and would whenever free from difficulties give them trouble. Therefore unless he would 'make it very materially their interest to support him,' it was not likely that they would. Moreover Hyder's affairs were in a bad way. He was himself defeated at Changama and Trinomalee. The Nizam, always a lukewarm ally, separated from him. The Peshwa had his own domestic difficulties. Mostyn perceived this. He wrote, "I am well assured that it is not in Madhava Rao's power to take the field this year, first on account of his apprehensions and engagements to Raghoba and the low state of his finances to recruit."[5] With the Nizam eliminated from the hostile coalition,[6] and the Peshwa preoccupied with the opposition of his uncle, the Bombay Government felt themselves in a position to send an expedition for the reduction of the possessions of Hyder on the Malabar coast, even without referring the matter to the Peshwa *Durbar*. Madhava Rao's differences with his uncle became more and more acute culminating in an open fight in June, 1768, in which Raghunath Rao was taken prisoner. The Peshwa was now free from his domestic preoccupation to take advantage of the international situation. But the Bombay Government's attempt to conquer Hyder's possessions on the Malabar coast had also failed, Hyder and Tipu succeeding in driving the British to the sea.

With the Maratha attitude still uncertain the campaigning season opened again in September, 1768. This time Charles Broome was sent from Bombay to reside at Poona to procure

[4] Select Committee Proceedings—10th February.

[5] Forrest—Selections—Maratha Series.

[6] A treaty was concluded between the Madras Government and the Nizam on the 2nd March, 1768.

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intelligence and report any occurrence worthy of notice. Madhava Rao must be given his due share of credit for hoodwinking the British for a very considerable time as to his real intentions. From Madras it was proposed that Madhava Rao should be offered assistance in reducing Bidnur "if no other means can prevent him assisting Hyder, for however averse we may be to add to the power of the Marattoes, which is already too great, yet we would not hesitate when the two evils threaten, the one present, the other distant, which to prefer."

Broome reported that Hyder offered to Madhava Rao on his consenting to assist him the tribute due for the last two years, *i.e.*, 30 lakhs, 17 to be paid to the army on their journey and 13 on their joining Hyder. His *vakil* also proposed that for the maintenance of the army for each day half a rupee per horse would be paid. Madhava Rao did not give his final reply and said that he would await the arrival of the English envoy. But he took the field about a *kos* distant from Poona. The ambassador reported—"I think the Durbar are on the very brink of breaking with us."[7]

The Company's general letter to Fort St. George[8] recommended an immediate conclusion of a treaty offensive and defensive with Janojee on his ceding the province of Orissa to the East India Company, as the most effectual support that could be given to the Madras people. The Governor and the Select Committee of the Presidency of Fort William wrote, "Our principal object of bringing about a treaty with Janojee was to divert Madhava Rao from entering the Carnatic to the assistance of Hyder Ali."[9] But British negotiation with Janoji failed. Madhava Rao had to some extent misled the

[7] Select Committee Proceedings—13th Dec. Copy of a letter from Mr. Broome to Messrs Smith, Call and Mackay.

[8] *Ibid.*—dated 13th May, 1768, p. 681.

[9] *Ibid.*—Dec. 13, 1768.

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British as to the aim of his preparations and had even sent his fleet to cruise off the Bombay harbour, though he was really concerting with the Nizam a plan for marching against Janojee. By that time Hyder had brought his war to a close.

We must not think that British diplomacy twice succeeded in bringing about a diversion of the Maratha power. We would not be certainly justified in accepting the proposition that Madhava Rao really intended to help Hyder against the British. From Hyder's side no such offer was made that might induce Madhava Rao to join hands with him especially after the defection of the Nizam. Madhava Rao certainly wanted to strengthen his home front before he would think of embarking on such ambitious schemes of foreign conquests. Raghunath Rao and Janojee were two domestic enemies whom he must first dispose of. Madhava Rao must not be taken to be a man of confused thinking to whom first things did not come first. It is significant that only after Janojee had been effectively checked did Maratha policy adopt a more decisive and vigorous tone both in the north and in the south. Hyder had encroached on the Maratha sphere of influence and hoped in future to encroach more and more. There was a much greater clash of interests with the Marathas than with the British though Hyder was actually at war with the latter. The fact, that the ministerialist party at Poona later enlisted his support against the British during the first Anglo-Maratha war, must not make us think in the same strain about the years 1767-'69. By 1779, Hyder's greed for territory at the expense of the Marathas had been satisfied partly by his own conquests and partly by the readiness of the Poona *Durbar* to meet his wishes. With Bidnur and Sunda in his own possession, Hyder could not expect an alliance with the Marathas in 1767-'69.

Neither of the contestants expected Madhava Rao to be an ally. But both were apprehensive that he might throw

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his weight on the other side. His neutrality was what each really could hope for at the utmost and that policy was forced on Madhava Rao by Raghunath Rao and Janojee. Otherwise, it was not unlikely that Madhava Rao would have taken advantage of this war to attempt to crush Hyder completely, a policy which he tried to pursue in his third expedition undertaken towards the close of 1769.

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9

THE BATTLE OF KHARDA AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

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Khare, the author of *Aitihasik Lek Sangrah*, writes, " When the Emperor conferred the title of Vakil Mutaliq upon the Peshwa, the Nizam (Mir Nizam Ali Khan) became jealous of him and disliked him so much that he declared war."[1] Savarkar also alludes to this incident as a cause of the Nizam's hatred.[2]

We do not believe that such a thing could ever have happened. No doubt it might have excited the Nizam, but that cannot certainly be taken as one of the historical causes of the declaration of war.

In another place Khare says that Mushir-ul-mulk was the person who tried to pacify the Marathas who became angry owing to the Nizam's refusal to see Nana, and this was the cause of the great battle of Kharda.[3] We cannot but overlook such trifling remarks. With due respect to Khare, we very much regret to note that he has given undue importance to such trivial matters.

There was only one incident that led to the immediate declaration of war, and that was the result of personal hatred between Azeem-ul-omrah and Nana Furnavese. This incident occurred just before the departure of Mir Alum,

1 Khare, *Aitihasik Lek Sangrah*, IX, p. 4586.
2 Savarkar, *Hindu Padashai*, p. 208.
3 Khare, *op. cit.*, VIII, pp. 4000, 4001.

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and it happened solely at the connivance of Azeem-ul-ōmrah. It greatly served to add much fuel to the rising fire. Although at the outset it may look like a fable of the Arabian Nights, it is all the same true when stripped of all exaggeration. This incident occurred at the court of the Nizam, and it is briefly narrated below.[4]

When Govind Kishen renewed his master's demand, he had produced a detailed account showing a balance of two crores and sixty lakhs to his credit. The bellicose attitude of Azeem-ul-omrah grew so daring at this that he demanded the presence of Nana at Hyderabad to explain the accounts himself. Govind Kishen said that Nana was too busy to come. Thereupon Azeem-ul-omrah said, "If Nana will not come I will soon bring him here." And he brought out the effigies of Nana and the Peshwa to the great merriment of all the courtiers, *mutasuddies* and others. Thereupon, Govind Rao Pingle and Kale, the two Maratha envoys got up and entered a strong protest against this insolence. Azeem-ul-omrah inquired why they were leaving the court so abruptly. The *vakils* replied that it was very insulting to them to witness with their own eyes the effigies of their masters. The Nizam said that they should not take any serious notice of trivial things, since they were not meant to be an insult to the Peshwa or Nana. "Listen," said Govind Rao addressing Azeem-ul-omrah, "Thou hast more than once assured thyself of thy power to compel Nana, the minister of the Peshwa, to attend to thy court. Here I throw a counter challenge for the declaration of war," and so saying he left the court.

Fraser referring to the above incident observes, "Alternatively, the versatile minister allowed himself to be influenced by a kind of Dutch Courage to provoke the Marathas to trial of strength in the field and then again when a crisis threat-

[4] *Khare, op. cit.*, IX, p. 4702, and Sane, *Chronicle of the Peshwas*

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ened him showed a feeble desire for accommodation."[5] It was evident that no reliance could be placed on a man whose character was marked by such levity and inconsistency. Another historian attributes these qualities of Azeem-ul-omrah to his opium-eating.[6]

Azeem-ul-omrah was till now culpably negligent in his duty of concentrating troops at Bidar. He now called upon several *Jagirdars* to join the Nizam's banner with their respective quotas.

He also foolishly requested the Nawab of Kurnool to send his army, much to the annoyance of Tippu. It was about the middle of November when some troops of the Maratha army moved towards Bidar. Taking this movement to be prelude to the outbreak of hostilities, the Nizam began to think of sending forward a division of his own army. He even asked the Resident, Captain Kirkpatrick, to give his opinion in this matter. He however refused to say anything except that the ministers were in a better position to decide. The advance army was to consist of Assud Ally Khan's *Risala* amounting to 5000 horse, and a part of Raymond's troops. Azeem-ul-omrah even wanted to have the Company's detachment ordered to Bidar for remaining with the Nizam. This application of Azeem-ul-omrah was resisted by the Resident who said that the detachment was to be posted near Hyderabad to check any rebellion that might arise within the territory. The minister even requested Captain Kirkpatrick to apply to the Company for the loan of French prisoners taken at Pondicherry.[7]

Let us now turn our attention to Poona, the Peshwa's capital, and see what preparations were going on there. The first thing that the Peshwa did was to send letters to different *sirdars* and to order Doulet Rao Sindhia, who was

5. Fraser, *Our Faithful Ally the Nizam*, p. 83.
6. Qadir Khan, *Gulgusta Deccan*, p. 357.
7. Fraser, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

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at Poona, to get his army from Northern India. The Peshwa engaged De Boigne to train his army as best as he could in a very short period as Sindhia's army had been already well-trained by him. A sham fight was staged and the Peshwa (Mahdev Rao II) and Nana were highly pleased and well impressed.[8] The next thing that the Peshwa did was to arrest those instigators, who were trying to bribe the leaders.

There were upwards of one hundred and thirty thousand horse and foot, in the Maratha camp, exclusive of 10,000 Pindaris.[9] Of this one half were either paid from the Peshwa's treasury, or were troops of *Jagirdars* under his direct control. Doulet Rao Sindhia's forces were not only more numerous, but also more efficient than those of any other chieftain. Jebra Bakshi who was in immediate command under Doulet Rao Sindhia had joined him with a reinforcement, consisting of 25,000 of whom 10,000 were regular infantry under De Boigne with Mons. Perron as second in command. Ragoji Bhonsle mustered 15,000 horse and foot. Tukoji Holkar had 10,000, but of these 2,000 only were regular and under Dudrence under whom Major Boyd had two battalions while the majority were Pindaris, the followers of Holkar. Perseram Bhou had 7000 men.[10] Fathe Sing Gaikwar and others had 40,000 soldiers.[11] But the main strength of the Peshwa's army consisted in the brigades commanded by the French sailor De Boigne. Perron had 10,000 of De Boigne's trained battalions of cavalry and artillery. There were six battalions of cavalry commanded by Filose amounting to 5,000 men with guns and four by Hessing amounting to 3,000.[12]

8 Khare, *op. cit.*, IX, p. 4703.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 4652.

10 Malleson, *Foreign Adventurers in India*, p. 297. Fraser, *op. cit.*, p. 425.

11 Sane, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-150.

12 Malleson, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

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Besides these, there were *sirdars* in charge of munition for about 200 cannons.[13] There were *Kamties*, *Baildars*, *Golla-andaj*, *Khelasies*, etc. Many *Risaldars* under Shah Mir Khan and Musa Mubarak and others joined the Peshwa. The Maratha force in all consisted of 84,000 cavalry, 38,000 infantry, and 192 guns when assembled at Kharda.[14]

The Peshwa left Mahdev Rao Kanady in charge of Poona with 7 to 8 thousand horsemen, and 5 to 7 thousand soldiers.[15] The Peshwa offered gifts to the goddess, reviewed his troops, and began his march. The *Peshwa's Chronicles* give us a detailed account of his march. From its description we cannot but call it a gorgeous and grand march. His elephant was decorated with gold and silver trappings and the *howda* was well-covered with a rich canopy.[16] It must however be remembered that he had already transferred his treasury to the fort of Purrender and confiscated the *sanads* of the province of Khandesh, Barglana, Gungaon, and other places belonging to the Nizam.[17]

Let us now turn to the scene of the Nizam's activities. The detachment under Assud Ally Khan was composed of the flower of this army. The cavalry was only second in efficiency to the command of Shamsh-ul-omrah, which consisted of the Nizam's bodyguard, while the infantry numbering 23 battalions of Raymond's corps were supported by a body of respectable artillery. The Nizam's first thought was to place Secunder Jah at the head of this detachment but he gave it up since his movements had to be determined by those of the Peshwa.[19] He even expressed his wish to recall Mir Alum. He wanted to proceed on his march on

13 Sane, *op. cit.*, p. 146-150.
14 Fraser, *op. cit.*, p. 425.
15 Sane, *op. cit.*, p. 146.
16 *Ibid.*, p. 146.
17 Khare, *op. cit.*, IX, p. 4704.
18 Sane, *op. cit.*, p. 149; Khare, *op. cit.*, IX, p. 4704.
19 Fraser, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

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the 11th of Jamadi-ul-Akhir and he sent his *Karkhanas* to Golconda.[20]

It was at this time that Baji Rao and Appaji, officers of the Peshwa, marched to Anundrali wherefrom they wanted to proceed to Shinver, when the Nizam left Bidar. The Peshwa camped at Kirkee.[21] He again set out and camped at first at Charipur Theur, on the banks of Mulla Motha river; and then at Nanded and Narkham on the banks of the same river. Then he proceeded to Pargaon and Valki and camped at Godnadi, a village between Kastiti and Tundalwadi. The distance between the camps of the Sindhia, the Holkar, and the Peshwa was about 8 *cos*. The Peshwa proceeded thence to Adagaon, away about 7 *cos*, crossed the ghat of Bhosegaon, and encamped on the river Sena on the eastern side of Mirajgaon. Doulet Rao Sindhia then proceeded to Khandwa Kombli. Between these camps, about 4 *cos* from each, were Appa Sahib and Bhau Sahib with their army at a distance of about 9 *cos*. Then the Maratha army proceeded and camped near Fakrabad, while the Peshwa himself remained at Ratanpur. The Bhonsle met them at Khadgaon, on his way to Fakrabad. All the Maratha *sirdars* gathered about 5 *cos* ahead and behind of Fakrabad. There they organised their armies under the commands of Bhau Sahib, Jerba Dada, Holkar and the Bhonsle, and marched from Bawi to Gondgaon to face the Nizam.[22]

The Nizam's army, advancing under the command of Raja Pertabvent, had already been ordered to pass Dharoor under the impression that some attack was intended by the Marathas on Douletabad This movement was however subsequently countermanded, the Nizam being averse to the division of his forces, and having little confidence in the chieftains stationed with the advance army.[23] The following

20 Khare, *op. cit.*, IX, p. 4720.
21 *Ibid.*, p 4721.
22 Sane, *op. cit.* p. 150
23 Fraser, *op. cit*, p. 131.

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were some of the *sirdars* of his army who accompanied him—Rao Rambha Nimbalkar, Mani, Jaber Jung, Subhan Khan, Behramal, etc.[24]

The most efficient portion of the Nizam's troops was under the command of Raymond. The Nizam marched as far as the river Manjira, while Assud Ally whose detachment reached Kalyan was ordered to go and take his stand near the Bhonsle's army. Assud Ally sent a division of his army to Parinda and Naldrug.[25] At this stage the Nizam made several attempts to elicit from Capt. Kirkpatrik his opinion on the disposition he had made of his forces. The Resident replied that his inexperience in military tactics totally disqualified him in giving judgment on such matters. Fraser gives illustrations of how these questions were put, and the manner in which Capt. Kirkpatrick replied. "Captain Kirkpatrick was one day invited by His Highness to one of his tents on the pretence of viewing the river Manjira from a remarkably favourable point. Here he found the minister Azeem-ul-omrah, who led on the discourse until in most natural manner, he commenced describing the several passes by which the army might descend from the Balaghat. So talking, by and by he asked the opinion of Captain Kirkpatrick as to which of these routes he thought the most eligible. Instead of directly replying to the minister, the Resident addressing the Nizam appealed to him not to elicit his opinion which was against all sense of propriety."[26]

Some of the troops of the Nizam advanced in the direction of the Maratha army. So the armies of the Sindhia and the Bhonsle advanced to meet them. There was a distance of 30 *cos* between them. The Nizam was at Dharoor, while some of his troops were at Bhir. Some of the troops of the Nizam's army looted the towns of Jogi Ambhi and committed

24 Sane, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

25 Khare, *op. cit.*, IX, pp. 4717, 4722.

26 Fraser, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

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base atrocities. They then proceeded to Barsi, Viraj, and Pangaon, which also they looted.[27] The Pindaris in the Maratha camp also looted the Mughul camp in their turn. So the result was that a great confusion prevailed in those parts, for there were 800 Pindaris looting Gungaon and Mungaon.[28] The Marathas having ascertained the direction of the Nizam's army marched towards the river Sena. Sindhia's army came to Kadat. It was in the charge of Jerba Dada and Perron, while the cavalry was in the charge of Diwaji Gowly. When Ragoji Bhonsle joined the Marathas the army amounted to 30,000 besides the 10,000 Pindaris belonging to the Holkar.[29] This advance army remained five or six miles ahead of the Peshwa's army.

Perseram Bhau and Baba Phadkay were made the leaders of the Peshwa's force and the armies of both the Peshwa and the Nizam proceeded towards Parinda. On the 14th of February, 1795, the Nizam arrived at Paijori and on the 16th, he reviewed the advance army. Raymond's corps which consisted of 28 battalions was then encamped within 2 *cos* of the rear of Moorighat. It thus constituted the advance wing of the Nizam's forces. Govind Kishen, the Maratha *vakil* who was at the Nizam's court, was also present at the review and was highly pleased at the display of the forces. It is also said that this display caused a great anxiety to Govind Kishen. Fraser says, "However this may have been, the *vakil* was so desirous of preventing the Nizam from descending the Moorighat as he contemplated, in other words, from taking the Parinda routes that he made one of the most singular proposals ever heard of, with a view to the resumption of negotiation." [30]

27 Khare, *op. cit.*, IX, p. 4723.
28 *Ibid.*, p. 4724.
29 *Ibid.*, p. 4725.
30 Fraser, *op. cit.* p. 133.

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Govind Kishen asserted that immediate hostilities were inevitable if the Nizam should persist in descending the Moorighat and yet he acknowledged that the Nizam could not remain where he was, owing to the scarcity of forage. In order to keep the field without inconvenience and at the same time not to take the risk of immediate hostilities, he suggested that both the armies might be moved from the position they occupied to the bank of the Godavari. [31]

By the 25th of February the whole of the Maratha force was assembled under the command of Peshwa, with advance corps from the camps of the chieftains, forming a light army of observation towards the Nizam's camp about 17 cos from the river Sena, north-east of Poona, about 85 miles in an eastern direction. There was a *ghat* in front of them which was in their possession and the question of nearness of the two armies was under the Peshwa's consideration.[32] The Peshwa arrived on this ground having been preceded, as we have said, by Doulet Rao Sindhia and others. The Nizam was encamped at Moorighat. As these two armies were in this position, Govind Kishen actually suggested certain other stations which he thought would suit both the Peshwa and the Nizam, the former 15 *cos* and the latter 20 *cos* from Aurangabad. The distance between each other would then be 15 *cos*. Strangely enough this proposal was accepted by the Nizam at the instance of his minister, and Govind Kishen was then engaged to obtain the assent of the Peshwa within five days.[33] Fraser finds it hard to conceive on what consideration the Nizam was induced to accept such a suicidal proposal so fraught with mischief to his own affairs. The Nizam surmised with good reason that the original intention of the Peshwa was to advance from Aurangabad. Hence the advance of the Nizam in the direction of Parinda

31 Fraser, *op. cit.*, p. 134

32 Khare *op. cit.*, IX, p. 4725.

33 Fraser, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

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had been calculated to act as a check on the Marathas by threatening the safety of Poona and exposing the Maratha force to attack. The proposed operations of the war seemed to give every advantage to the Marathas. Yet the latter decided not to move their forces, but await the proposed negotiations. In such singular circumstances Amjad-ul-mulk, one of the ministers of the Nizam, received a letter to the effect that the Peshwa did not like bloodshed. He was ready to accommodate matters for which it was necessary that some other than Azeem-ul-omrah should be employed.[34] Thus there was still a chance of an amicable settlement provided the right man carried on the negotiations, a man like Govind Kishen, for example, high in the confidence of both the courts. Consequently, he was sent by the Nizam to the Peshwa's camp on the 9th of March.[35]

Thus we find the hopes of accommodation alternately raised and depressed, on the suggestion of pacific proposal of the Poona court as noted above, and on the sudden check to the proposals by the Nizam's descent from the *ghat* that was between the two armies. This abnormal proximity led to immediate hostilities. Govind Pingle came to a clash with the Maratha force and returned on the 12th March. We shall refer to this later.[36] Again it was the personal hatred of Azeem-ul-omrah that blocked the chances of peace. It was his opinion that the battle should be fought but the Nizam hesitated, though eventually he yielded to him. The Peshwa says in his letter to the Chattrapati of Satara, "Even then we urged the Nawab to amend matters, with which injunction his good self was not pleased to comply."[37]

34 Fraser, *op. cit.*

35 Secret & Political Diaries, 45, p. 90.

36 *Ibid.*, 43, p. 83.

37 Khare, *op. cit.*, IX, p. 4717. Kincaid and Parsnis, *A History of the Maratha People*, III, p. 181.

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On the 4th of March the Nizam left Wakogaon, and marched toward Parinda on the banks of a stream called the Khyree. He had with him an army of 45,000 cavalry, 44,000 infantry and 108 guns.[38] The armies of Perseram Bhau were waiting there for the arrival of Sindhia and Bhonsle at a distance of three miles from the Khyree. The Marathas were thinking of firing cannon, when the Mughuls chased them under Babu Rao Phadkay, with the result that 10 to 12 men fell dead, and about 20 horses were killed. The Mughuls chased this corps as far as Gurgaon.[39]

But in the meantime the troops of Sindhia arrived, fired cannon and forced the Mughuls to retire. The same evening the Nizam held a *durbar* and on the ensuing morning the Nizam made a progress of two miles. Perseram Bhau began cannonading the Nizam's army, which stopped for a while and then crossed the *ghats*. Sekaram Punt Punchay was then sent in advance with 2,000 soldiers and artillery, Doulet Rao Sindhia and Bhonsle were also there to follow the Nizam, keeping between them a distance of four miles. The Nizam wanted to take shelter at Parinda, but the Marathas did not like that he should proceed there. The army under Raymond also joined the Nizam's forces by this time.[40] It was at this juncture that Perseram Bhau moved towards the Nizam's camp at a distance of two miles, followed by all the rest of the Maratha forces.[41]

On the 19th of Saban, Wednesday, the 11th of March, 1795, the Nizam halted with his army, sent his baggage, and directed Assud Ally with the cavalry supported by 17,000 regular infantry under Raymond, to attack the Marathas who advanced at 2 P.M. He himself remained in the centre.

38 Fraser, *op. cit.*, p. 425. The Peshwa had an army of 83,000 cavalry, 38,000 infantry, and 192 guns.

39 Khare, *op. cit.*, IX, p. 4725.

40 *Ibid.*, pp. 4731, 4732, 4709. Secret & Political Diaries, 49, pp. 89, 90.

41 *Ibid.*

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Assud Ally divided his army into two parts and himself led the left while Behramah and others were on the right side of the Nizam. Perseram Bhau who came to receive the Mughul attack with the armies of Baba Phadkay and Holkar, stationed himself in the centre with the Peshwa's army. Ragoji Bhonsle commanded the right wing, and Doulet Rao Sindhia formed the left wing with Holkar. Perseram Bhau rode forward to reconnoitre supported by Baba Phadkay and Krishnaji Rao, the son of Tucoji Holkar. He had advanced a little when he was suddenly charged by a body of Pathans under Lal Khan, a native of Baluchistan, who displayed great personal valour and was successful in cutting down the Marathas, wounding Perseram Bhau on the right temple and shoulder, and Jerba Dada and Baba Phadkay on the left shoulder. But Hurry Punt Phadkay, the eldest son of Perseram Bhau, seeing his father fall, instantly attacked Lal Khan and killed him on the spot.[42]

The Pathans did not lose heart. They still had leaders such as the Nawab of Karnool, Nawab of Ellichpoor, and many others. They persisted till the advance party of the Marathas gave away. Vithal Rao Dhando fell shot dead. Appa and Chiranjive Sekarem were also killed. The result was that the Marathas were panic-stricken and thousands of them fled precipitately carrying Dudrence and Boyd's men. Baba Phadkay tried to race away but pulled himself together after the reproaches of the brave Jerba Bukshi. Thus the successful attack on the right wing of the Marathas drove it into the centre, while the centre was completely broken by the steady advance of Raymond's troops. The Nizam successfully took the possession of the hillock.[43]

By this time the regular battalions on both the sides had approached within a musket shot of each other. The

[42] Khare, *op. cit.*, IX, p. 4710. Qadir Khan, *op. cit.*, pp. 360, 367.

[43] Forrest, Selections from the State Papers (Maratha Series), I, p. 538.

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Mughul cavalry under Raymond was advancing to the support of their infantry under Assud Ally, when Ragoji Bhonsle assailed them with arrows, and Sindhia's 35 cannons under Perron boomed destruction. The Nizam's army was exposed to danger, on the one side by the showers of arrows and on the other by a group of cannon efficiently manned by the French. The whole of the Nizam's cavalry was routed, and 40,000 swords of the Marathas flashed. But Raymond's infantry stood its ground firmly and was firing on the flank of Sindhia. It was successful in driving Perron's infantry, when all of a sudden, peremptory orders were given for retreat which compelled him to follow the Nizam, in his retreat into the fort of Kharda. The detached portions of the Nizam's army also saw their leader's intention and joined the retreat. The sun had set and darkness brought more confusion. Sindhia's cannons were booming late into the night till 4. A. M. [44] Firing continued in different directions even at that late hour, and few men except those belonging to Raymond's battalions could find their way to their respective detachments. Slowly the roar of the guns and the noise of the multitude subsided, when all of a sudden a batch of Marathas in search of water came incidentally upon a rivulet, where a party of the Mughuls was stopping. The Mughuls saw the Marathas and fired at once. Raymond's sentries heard this and gave the alarm with the consequence that irregular firing occured far into the darkness without much distinction of friend and foe. It created confusion. The Marathas brandished their swords and the Nizam had to seek refuge in the small fort of Kharda surrounded by hills. Most of his troops fled leaving the baggage and hotly pursued by the Marathas. Many of the soldiers were killed and about 200 horses lay dead. The Pindaris surrounded the Mughuls' camp and looted their

44. Khare, *op. cit.*, IX, pp. 4732, 4729, 4710.

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markets throughout the night. They brought about 200 camels and innumerable bullocks.[45]

The next morning, the advancing Marathas found to their delight guns, stores, ammunition, baggage strewn about here and there. The body of Lal Khan was brought by Ragoba Dada on a cannon and was sent to the Nizam on an elephant. The man who accompanied the dead body was well rewarded by the Nizam. The Marathas captured 400 cartloads of ammunition, with 2000 camels, 700 horses, and 15 guns. Tents, cannon-balls, granary, and various other things were captured by the Marathas. No people could be more vigilant and active than the Marathas who came swarming to plunder the Mughuls. Their exertions were amply rewarded.

Now we proceed to the unfortunate lot of persons on both the sides who fell wounded or dead on the battle-field. We need not go into the details but we may note the names of the wounded or the dead in the Maratha army,—Vithal Rao Dhondo, Chintamani Bhut, Chiranji, and Sakar Rajana Appa Sahib were killed; while Vissaji Punt Vadakar, Perseram Bhau, Sadaseo Manaulvadkar, and others were wounded. On the side of the Nizam, Behramal, Lal Khan, Wazir Khan and five other leaders were killed.[46]

The Nizam was pinned in the fort of Kharda with a small force inside, while the major part of his army remained outside. The fort was closely blockaded by the advance troops of the Peshwa under Sindhia.[47]

The loss of men and animals on both the sides is given by J. Uhthoff, the Assitant Resident with the Peshwa, who says, "On the 17th instant, I proceeded to view the scene of action of the 11th, the survey of which, by convincing one of the extreme insignificance of his Highness's loss on

45 Khare, *op. cit.*, IX, p, 4710; Political & Secret Diaries, 49, p. 160.

46 Khare, *op. cit.*, p. 4731, 4732; Note a number of letters describing the wounded or the dead, *e.g.*, Letters 3613, 3164, 3615 & Qadir Khan, *op. cit.*, pp. 360, 367.

47 Political & Secret Diaries, 49, p. 128.

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that day, has increased my astonishment and concern at the subsequent destructive and unaccountable measures. The slain horse on the field did not exceed sixty, and these must be composed of both sides, and most ample allowance that I can make for His Highness's loss of them from the number of slain that I saw, does not exceed 100.[48] But the subsequent incident increased the loss of men to many letters, to 1000 or more, that was the information given by Perseram Bhau in his letter to Balla Sahib. Another letter says that many persons were killed who could not be counted but gives the number of horses slain as 200." [49]

According to the Chitnis Bhakhars, the seige of Kharda lasted for 17 days.[50] But according to other sources it lasted for 22 days.[51] Sindhia decided to bombard the fort and ordered 60 cannons to fire. This forced the Nizam to send a word that he was ready to conclude peace to their dictation.[52] The Nizam's army was suffering from want of water for he was cut off from the rest of the world. A cupful of water was sold for a rupee while wheat was a rupee for quarter seer. The Nizam's men and animals were dying of hunger and thirst. Elephants and horses were pining for food. People in despair cut the tamarind trees and ate their leaves and fruits, so that they were exhausted. It seemed to the Mughuls that the day of judgment had dawned upon them. Azeem-ul-omrah witnessed the miseries of his armies and loot of his camps by the Maratha force. The poor Mughuls, who ate the tamarind fruits with herbs and roots, fell sick and many died of fever, dysentery and other diseases. It was a terrible time for these unfortunate people who cried for mercy.

48 Political & Secret Diaries, 49.
49 Khare, *op. cit.*, IX, p. 4732.
50 Kincaid, *op. cit.*, III, p. 173.
51 Qadir Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 367.
52 Khare, *op. cit.*, IX, p. 4729.

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To add to this misery and sufferings, there was the blazing sun of March baking them. In this terrible ordeal the Mughuls passed twenty-two days.[53] The Nizam then sued for peace. Nana insisted on the dismissal of Azeem-ul-omrah as a preliminiary, for the insult hurled at the Peshwa. At first the Nizam consented to dismiss Azeem-ul-omrah at the end of two months. But Govind Kishen Rao was not satisfied, and said that he would place the matter before the Peshwa. The Nizam wanted to get six months time for the dismissal of Azeem-ul-omrah. Upon this Govind Rao got disgusted and was about to quit the Nizam's camp. After a good deal of argument however, he allowed two months time for the Nizam to dismiss his minister. The Nizam wanted to delay this matter so as to have a personal meeting with the Peshwa. He first threatened that he would rather abdicate than hand over Azeem-ul-omrah to the Peshwa. He even called Shams-ul-omrah, who was the friend of the Peshwa, to try his influence for the relaxation of the terms. Shams-ul-omrah wrote a letter to Perseram Bhau, Baba Phadkay, Tucoji Holkar and Doulet Rao Sindhia, but in vain. No sooner was the minister handed over to the Marathas than the water supply, food and forage, were opened to the Nizam's camp by the Marathas. Azeem-ul-omrah was delivered in Neo Pant's charge who escorted the minister with 200 soldiers. The Peshwa met him at the outskirts of the camp and received him with honour.[54] The Nizam gave Azeem-ul-omrah clothes of honour, horses, and two elephants at the time of his departure to the Peshwa's camp.

One would like to know why the Peshwa was so insistent that the Nizam should hand over Azeem-ul-omrah. First, the insult that Azeem-ul-omrah had hurled on the Peshwa was now going to be retrieved. Secondly, the party of Shams-ul-omrah which hated Azeem-ul-omrah and was in

53 *Fraser, op. cit., p. 450.*

54 *Sane, op. cit., p. 165.*

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close conspiracy with Govind Kishen, the *vakil* of the Marathas, instigated the Peshwa to insist on the surrender of the minister's person. Again, considerations of personal hatred, this time between Shams-ul-omrah and Azeem-ul-omrah, brought the latter down on his knees.[55]

On the first of April, the terms of the treaty were definitely settled. It was based on the treaty of Udgir. The Nizam agreed to relinquish territories yielding an annual revenue of thirty-four and half lakhs as follows :—

	Rs.	As.	P.
(1) The *Suba* of Aurangabad, *Sircar* Douletabad ...	27,104	3	0
(2) ,, ,, Parinda...	350,644	5	0
(3) The *Sircar* of Janapur ...	182,206	6	0
(4) ,, ,, Dharwar ...	305,735	9	0
(5) ,, ,, Paithan ...	261,856	6	9
(6) The *Suba* of Bidar and Nanded ...	5,05,778	5	3
(7) ,, Bijapur & Naldurug.	5,624	4	0
(8) ,, Balaghat & Bassein.	33,224	14	3
(9) Chamdesi & Asiral. ...	1,25,464	3	6
(10) The *Sircar* of Patheri ...	3,48,064	11	3
(11) ,, ,, Maokhar ...	47,993	14	6

Mahals ceded to Balaji Jenardhan Furnavis and others, *mutsadies* and the Brahman servants of Rao Pundit, etc., are as follows :—

	Rs.	AS.	P.
From the *Sircar* of Dharwar ...	66,078	11	6
,, ,, ,, Parida ...	23,301	11	7
,, ,, ,, Bihar ...	1,000	0	0
,, the *Suba* of Bidar and Nanded ...	13,605	7	9
,, *Sircar* of Bijapur and Naldurug ...	17,367	9	0

[55] Wellesley, Despatches, I, p. 65.

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The Nizam also agreed to pay 3 crores and 10 lakhs of rupees as follows :—

	Crore	Lakhs
On account of the arrears of *chouth*...	1	0
,, ,, ,, indemnification ...	1	0
To Doulet Rao Sindhia ...		50
To *Durbar* charges ...		10
On grass and grain to Ragoji Bohnsle		25
On Balaji Pundit's *Durbar* charges...		25
	3	10

This sum was to be paid in three years by instalments. Everything concerning Tippu was to be regulated agreeably, according to the treaties of Poona, Paungal, and Seringapatam.[56] There was still a difficulty, since the whole of the above mentioned districts ceded to the Marathas was not given to them. Some tracts of the country, that fell into their hands during this war, had to revert to the Nizam and this was the cause of the delay.[57]

It was even thought that the Nizam extricated himself from his distress by promising whatever the Peshwa demanded. So the Peshwa despatched large bodies of troops to enforce compliance with the treaty but was soon satisfied about the sincerity of the Nizam and recalled them.[58]

Both the princes now left for their capitals. The Marathas decided to enter the city only on the auspicious day of the 5th Vishak at 12 o'clock at night. Azeem-ul-omrah was brought in, the last of all. The Peshwa entered by the Dehi gate, while Azeem-ul-omrah was brought by the Ganesh gate. The Marathas sang ballads of victory as they entered the city.

We have now come to the close of the article. Now we propose to discuss the causes of the Nizam's sudden retreat

[56] Secret and Political Diaries, 49, pp. 170-173.

[57] Secret and Political Diaries, 49, pp. 90, 92, 93. [58] *Ibid.*

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to the fort of Kharda, the failure of the English to help the Nizam and the respective strength of the Nizam and the Marathas.

Let us discuss first the question as to why the Nizam beat a hasty retreat. It is a well known fact, that wherever the Mughuls went, they were accompanied by their harem. So it was in the case of the Nizam. He had already employed a guard of lady-soldiers called *Zafar paltan* for the protection of his harem. His favourite, Bakhshi Begum, could not stand the booming of the cannon and the sight of persons falling dead. She called her lord and requested him to make a hasty retreat to the fort of Kharda. The Nizam hesitated to comply with her request. On this Bakhshi threatened him that she would expose herself or unveil herself before the public. Beveridge writes, "The favourite of the day took fright and threatened disgrace by opening herself to public view, if he did not instantly retire to the small fort of Kharda."[59]

It was his desire not to let her break her *purda*, if we may use such expression, that made the Nizam order a hasty retreat. It is absurd to ascribe this retreat to the Nizam getting scared or to his old age. It was not a question of valour but of honour; and to guard his consort, the Nizam committed one of the greatest blunders. Gribble referring to his defeat at Kharda writes, "He was besides anxious for the safety of his ladies, and those were the reasons which led to his flight, for, in earlier days, the Nizam, like all the rest of his ancestors, had been conspicuous for his courage."[60]

Let us discuss the second question as to why the English failed to help the Nizam. We need not consider the pros and cons of the treaties of the English with the Nizam. Suffice it to say, that their refusal gave an impetus to the Marathas. Beveridge has discussed this point thoroughly.

[59] Beveridge, *History of India*, II, p. 668. [60] Gribble, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

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He criticises the policy of Sir John Shore and observes, "Peace at any price was his characteristic feature and it was to be procured simply by practising with ignoble ease and clinging to the strongest side merely if it was the strongest."[61] Dr. V. A. Smith describes Sir John's policy with regard to the Nizam as "paralysed by a slavish obedience to the words of the Act of Parliament of 1784, and by unworthy fear of the Marathas."[62] Sir John Shore's evasion of intervention ended in the defeat of the Nizam who was in Shore's belief a less valuable ally than his conquerors, the Marathas. His biographer says that he anticipated no danger from the union of the Marathas and Tippu against the Nizam, and contemplated without apprehension the total collapse of the latter. It is sufficient comment on Sir John Shore's political wisdom that the Nizam alone of all the three survives to-day.

As regards the strength of the respective parties, it is to be noted that the Marathas thought fit to employ against the Nizam no less than the united strength of the entire Maratha Confederacy which consisted of 83,000 cavalry, 38,000 infantry, and 192 guns. This shows that the Nizam's power had increased so high as to require the combined efforts of the Marathas to check it.

We know how proud were the Marathas when they sang the song of their victory at Kharda. The young Peshwa who noticed the joy exhibited by his soldiers, looked sad, and when questioned by Nana, replied, "I grieve to observe such degeneracy as there must be on both the sides, when such a disgraceful submission has been made by the Mughuls and our soldiers celebrate a victory obtained without effort." "But to this day," says Grant Duff, "it is one of the great boasts of the old *resaladars* that they were present in the glorious field of Kharda."

[61] Beveridge, *op. cit.*

[62] Smith, *History of India*, p. 574.

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10

LORD ELLENBOROUGH AND LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK

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Ever since the publication of Lord Ellenborough's political diary from 1828-30, his dislike and distrust of Lord William Bentinck has been well-known. But in the absence of any authoritative life of Ellenborough or Bentinck the exact state of their relations has never been cleared up. The Ellenborough Papers, which are now deposited in the Public Record Office, are voluminous for the years of his Indian Governor-Generalship. But for the years of his Presidency of the India Board, there are only two boxes of unarranged and unimportant papers. Lord Ellenborough staked his reputation upon his period of Indian rule, but he apparently did not think enough of his first two years at the India Board to preserve his papers carefully. Lord William Bentinck's papers are in private hands, but recent access[1] to them has enabled a new light to be thrown both upon the relations of these two men and on the personality of Lord Ellenborough himself.

Amongst the Bentinck Papers are firstly, a number of letters of Bentinck himself to his brother, the Duke of Portland, and to other correspondents which refer to his relations with Ellenborough. Secondly, there is a complete set of Ellenborough's letters to Bentinck during his Presidency of the Board of Control. Thirdly, there are numerous

[1] By kind permission of the Duke of Portland through Mr. Philip Morell.

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letters from Peter Auber, the Secretary at India House, and from various Directors who were in correspondence with Bentinck. These coupled with Ellenborough's published Political Diary enable us to piece together a very fair picture of Ellenborough's ideas and conduct, of his relations with his colleagues, and of his colleagues' reactions to him.

The first and perhaps the most startling result of reading these papers is an impression of Lord Ellenborough's duplicity in dealing with Bentinck. This was one of the charges levelled against him by smarting civilians during his Indian Governor-Generalship[2] and none has been more hotly resented by his supporters.[3] But in these papers it stands undeniably revealed. His Diary shows his rooted distrust of Bentinck; in June, 1829, he showed a proposed letter to the Duke of Wellington recalling him, and again at the end of the year he talked in the same strain. He quotes with evident approval the Duke of Wellington's strictures on Bentinck. In June, 1829, the Duke said he "always expected some wild measures from Lord William." A little later the Duke "seems to have suspected from the first that Lord William would do some monstrous thing." Bentinck, said the Duke, "did everything with best intentions, but he was a wrong-headed man, and if he went wrong he would continue wrong." Bentinck "was not to be trusted and we shall be obliged to recall him."[4]

In March, 1830, the Duke said they must look out for a new Governor-General, whereupon the ready Ellenborough suggested his brother-in-law Hardinge, who actually succeeded Ellenborough himself in 1844. In September, 1830, Malcolm's method of abolishing *Suttee* indirectly was appro-

[2] *E.g.*, Sir W. W. Hunter in his *Life of Brian Hodgson.*

[3] See Sir A. Law's *India under Ellenborough.*

[4] *Ibid.*, June 17, 19, 23, 27, 1829.

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ved by Ellenborough as "thus not putting it vainly forward as Lord William did in a pompous document."

Ellenborough's hostility to Bentinck was not confined to private letters. It appeared in his public despatches which on at least two occasions assumed so presumptous a tone that the Directors wrote privately to explain that they had only signed "ministerially" under legal duress and entirely disapproved of them.

The Duke's distrust of Bentinck was of long standing, and had its origin in their personal friction in Spain in 1811. But Ellenborough's distrust was a spontaneous growth. He detected in Bentinck just those weaknesses which others later found in himself—hastiness, ill-considered judgment and pomposity.

This is Ellenborough's opinion of Bentinck. What effort at the same time was he making to work with his colleague, whom he knew to be faced with the odious and delicate task of retrenchment? Ellenborough became President of the Board of Control in September, 1828. It was usual then, as it still is, for the President and Governor-General to maintain a private correspondence in which ideas could be more freely exchanged than in the pompous circumlocation which composed the official despatches. One would have expected a correct if not a cordial tone. But there was, in fact, no tone at all. A great silence enveloped the India House. "For eight months since Lord Ellenborough's accession to office to the 19th May," wrote Bentinck[5] to his brother, "I did not receive a single line from him." Ellenborough's letter of May 19[6] was the famous one which announced that "we have a great moral duty to perform to the people of India." It enabled Metcalfe to write one of the most magnificently sombre of his Minutes, which explained that while we undoubtedly had this duty to perform,

5 Bentinck Papers: Bentinck to the Duke of Portland, Nov. 5, 1829.

6 *Ibid.*: Ellenborough to Bentinck, May 19, 1829.

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we could not possibly afford to perform it, and that our government might break down at any moment. It gave Bentinck a cue which he was already taking for himself in the matter of *Suttee*. It contained a characteristic touch in this question with regard to the capital—

"Shall Calcutta remain the seat of the Supreme Government or shall the Governor-General reside as Emperor at Agra ? Or shall he like the first Turkish Sovereigns, have no palace but his Camp, and date from his Imperial Stirrup ?"

The letter ends thus—

"I sincerely assure you that I do not know the man in whom I should place more confidence than I do in you, or whose government would, in my opinion, afford greater prospects of advantage to India and to England..... I entirely rely upon your zeal, your firmness and your discretion."

On June 15, he heard that Bentinck had suffered from sun-stroke and wrote to him "no greater misfortune could befall India than that of being even temporarily deprived of your services."[7]

Ellenborough's first letters would therefore seem to have made up in warmth what they lacked in promptitude. But they were written before he had received the proposals which he so much disapproved. We should therefore expect an abrupt change of tone. But this is not the case. Just after he had (on June 18) drafted his proposed letter recalling Bentinck, he wrote (on July 6) that he disapproved of his action "with extreme regret."[8] The tone of the letter is indeed cooler, but there is no hint of impending recall or even a serious breach. There followed four rather colourless letters on administrative topics. But in January, 1830,

[7] Bentinck Papers: Ellenborough to Bentinck, June 15, 1829.

[8] *Ibid.*: Ellenborough to Bentinck, July 6, 1829.

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Ellenborough had recovered the use of his pen. Just after he had recorded with approval that at Madras they did consider Bentinck an "honest man," he wrote (on Jan. 2) commiserating with him on his unpopularity. "It is very hard upon you to be made to suffer for the errors of your predecessors. It is not your obedience to positive orders but the disobedience of preceding Governments which have led to your undeserved unpopularity . . . . . Your Lordship may act fearlessly in the path of duty, for you may be assured that the King's present Government is not one which will ever desert a faithful public servant whose firm and conscientious discharge of his public duty may make him the object of attack."[9]

Within a few weeks Ellenborough was proposing his brother-in-law as Bentinck's successor.[10]

In August, 1830, when a despatch with regard to the Nagpur Treaty was on its way from whose violent language the Chairman wrote to Bentinck dissociating the Directors, Ellenborough wrote to Bentinck (Aug. 11) "here I must express my admiration of the zeal and assiduity and the excellent intention with which you devote yourself to the extensive and harassing duties of your great office. You may rest assured that I do you full justice."[11]

Finally, in his farewell letter (Nov. 26), Ellenborough wrote, "I cannnot terminate my correspondence with you as President of the India Board without expressing to you my sincere thanks for the candour with which you have at all times communicated your opinion to me, and my satisfaction at leaving the Government of India in your safe hands . . . . . ."

Bentinck, of course, had other sources of information than his correspondence with Ellenborough. He was quite

9 Bentinck Papers : Ellenborough to Bentinck, Jan. 2, 1830.

10 Colchester, *Ellenborough's Political Diary*, Mar. 8, 1830.

11 Bentinck Papers : Ellenborough to Bentinck, Aug. 11, 1830.

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aware of Ellenborough's influence over the Duke of Wellington who was said to allow him more latitude than any other member of his Cabinet; he was also well aware of the Duke's distrust of himself, which had its origin in the personal friction in Spain in 1811. He also knew of the Directors' intense dislike of their "prancing" West End chief. It is therefore hardly surprising that he should write to his brother in 1830 "I cannot think him (Ellenborough) friendly to me. I am sure he is not, though perhaps it would be difficult for me to find any positive proof of the fact." [12]

This episode leaves no doubt of the impression of duplicity created by Ellenborough, not only in his maturity as Governor-General, but in his first year of office as a young and rising politician. The method was ingrained in the man, and the resulting impressions were life-long. But to pronounce at once the Psalmist's verdict of a "double minded man, unstable in all his ways" would be to exaggerate unduly what was only one facet of a singularly complex personality. The appearance of deception was certainly there, but real duplicity requires an intention to deceive as well as the appearance. This is not borne out by the rest of the evidence, which suggests another explanation. Ellenborough's temperamental exuberance led him, all through his life, to extremes of action and reaction which made any sort of consistency impossible. The appearance of double-mindedness was produced by the fact of instability. His mutability of conduct was caused by his fixity of temperament. Ellenborough was, in fact, the prisoner and martyr of his temperament, a temperament which rendered him essentially unfit for public business. This is condemnation enough, and it is unnecessary to twist the dagger further in the wound by adding the charge of deliberate duplicity.

[12] Bentinck Papers : Bentinck to the Duke of Portland, Nov. 14, 1830.

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This leads to the second result of these papers. It is the revelation of the Ellenborough temperament, as volatile, as tempestuous, as pompous and as unpredictable as during his Governor-Generalship fifteen years later. There are the same flashes of insight also, all too soon obscured by the driving clouds of vanity and imperiousness. There is the same inability to work with any but subordinates, and the same false judgment of men. Ellenborough had Chatham's incorrigibility of temper and some of his imaginative genius, but none of his judgment of men and situations. He could only live by dictating, and when the opportunity came to him, he could not dictate aright. For lack of it, one of the most brilliant of 19th century politicians, and the most formidable orator of his day, was a sustained life-long failure.

The first thing which strikes the observer is his overbearing temper. It is this which is the real explanation of his apparent duplicity. When Bentinck proposed to move the capital up-country he was really incensed, not so much at the proposal itself, but at Bentinck's idea of carrying it out without first humbly submitting it to himself as the superior authority. He himself had only just suggested such a possibility (in his letter of May 19). He therefore vented his outraged sense of dignity by proposing Bentinck's recall, while all he could say to Bentinck was to express his "extreme regret" and the disapproval of the plan, and a year later, when Bentinck had followed this rebuff by a long Minute repeating his proposal, to talk vaguely of a "legal difficulty." What riled him about Bentinck was his independence of the seat of all wisdom and authority—himself. Bentinck's independence of the home authorities was but a shadow of Ellenborough's own fifteen years later, but this only illustrates his temperament the more clearly. When in London Ellenborough was sure that all Indian authorities were as clay in the hands of the Presidential potter; when in India he was equally sure that the man on the

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spot was the final arbiter of policy. It is a pity that this picture of political eccentricity was never completed by the spectacle of Ellenborough as Chairman of the Company.

In one thing Ellenborough concurred heartily with Bentinck—in the necessity of dealing strongly with insubordination in the services. On this subject his assurances of support were frequent and genuine.

"It is very hard upon you to be made to suffer for the errors of your predecessors. It is not your obedience to positive orders but the disobedience of preceding Governments which have led to your undeserved unpopularity.....Your Lordship may act fearlessly in the path of duty, for you may rest assured that the King's present Government is not one which will ever desert a faithful public servant whose firm and conscientious discharge of his public duty may make him the object of attack." [13]

In this matter Bentinck was of course carrying out the orders of the home authorities. Defiance of Bentinck meant to Ellenborough defiance of his own authority and his course was quite clear.

Ellenborough's attitude to the Court was of a piece with his attitude to the Governor-General. They were subordinates, intermediaries for the enforcement of his own will. When their own authority was challenged, they must be supported, as in the half *batta* controversy. When they ventured to disagree with the President they must be put down with a "strong hand." "The circumstance which surprises me most," [14] he wrote, "is the little attention which the local governments seem to have paid on too many occasions to the orders of the Court of Directors. They seem to forget that these orders are the *King's orders* transmitted through the channel of the court and of this Board." His attitude

13 Bentinck Papers : Ellenborough to Bentinck, Jan. 2, 1830.

14 *Ibid.*: Ellenborough to Bentinck, July 6, 1829.

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to the Court when it disagreed with him is shown sufficiently by the episode of the Nagpur Treaty. For final proof of this temper we may refer to Ellenborough's attitude to the Directors in 1842-44, when the tables are completely turned. No home authorities were ever addressed more disrespectfully than the Directors in Ellenborough's despatch of 1844.[15]

Ellenborough's distrust of Indian civilians was as marked and unambiguous in 1828-30 as in 1842-44, and his tenderness for the soldiers as apparent. Civilians were the dross of no account in the scale with the military gold. From Supreme Councillors who recorded Minutes in order to be seen of Directors at home, to Writers who wasted their substance in riotous living, his hand was heavy upon them. He charged them with jobbing, with inefficiency and with intrigue. But here again, the supreme sin, for which there was no repentance in Ellenborough's eyes, was independence. Independence of views was for him as much disloyalty and sedition as the plain indiscipline of subordinates who openly disregarded the orders of their superiors. Bentinck, on the other hand, distinguished rationally between the two. Indiscipline he severely repressed whenever he found it, whether among his officers sore at the loss of full *batta* or stiff-necked civilians like the egregious Mr. Ewer. But independence of view he welcomed from the Supreme Councillor to the District Officer. This was the basis of his respect for Metcalfe. He actually preferred to work with a Council than without one, an attitude which to Ellenborough seemed nothing but weakness. But let Ellenborough speak for himself.[16]

"I confess I am much more satisfied that you should be up the Country by yourself than with your colleagues of the Council, not only because they have quite enough to do at Calcutta but because I really prefer your sole judgment upon

15 Low, *Lord Ellenborough's Indian Government.*

16 Bentinck Papers : Ellenborough to Bentinck, Aug. 11, 1830.

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all the important matters which will come before you in the Upper Provinces. To state the truth what I have seen of members of Council has not given them a high place in my estimation. They are selected much more on account of their seniority than their fitness and seem to serve much more to embarrass the Government than to enlighten it.[17] Whenever unfortunately they have been placed in chief command bad government has been the consequence. In my opinion the Chiefs of all the Provinces should be sent from Home and carry out with them unbiased minds and unprejudiced and unjobbing dispositions. We have of late undoubtedly seen at Madras and at Bombay very great Men educated in India; but these have been rare and I regret to say the race of Great Men seems to be disappearing at least as fast in India as anywhere else. I have had doubts of the expediency of maintaining those members of Council. I am inclined to think Lieut.-Governor would answer a useful purpose. The Governor might obtain information and opinions whenever he pleased. It seems to me he should be what Heads of Boards in England are in practice."

A few weeks later he writes :—[18]

"But without being really responsible they (the Native officials) do practically a great deal now through the weak or corrupt or indolent Europeans they serve."

Examples of Ellenborough's hasty judgments are also easy to find. There was his famous indiscretion with regard to Sir Peter Grant, the Chief Justice of Bombay. There was his *volte face* on the subject of the capital. On 19th May, 1829, he himself suggested the possibility of moving it to Delhi or Agra. In June he was suggesting the recall of Bentinck because he had proposed a temporary removal to

17 Bentinck's Councillors at this time were Metcalfe and Blunt, the one the leading civilian of the day, the other specially chosen to serve with Bentinck.

18 Bentinck Papers: Ellenborough to Bentinck, Sept. 23, 1830.

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the Upper Provinces. And there was the question of the disbandment of six regiments, when Ellenborough reversed former orders and insisted that this was the necessary inference from those orders themselves. Bentinck wrote to Auber (Secretary to the Court) on this, "I think I can venture to affirm that it was equally remote from the imagination of the late President of the Board of Control and of every Director by whom the said despatch was signed."[19]

There is finally Ellenborough's inability to get on with any colleagues in any situation. He did not even enjoy the loyalty of his own parliamentary subordinate, Lord Ashley. He wrote to Bentinck that the Directors and himself were warmly behind him "in spite of the Bengalees and the India House."[20] The Directors could hardly find words to express their feelings, and their letters form a series of variations on the theme "How long, Oh Lord, how long?" One or two extracts must suffice. Peter Auber wrote in 1830 that "the Chairs do not agree in opinion or views with Lord Ellenborough and in truth I think nothing is wanting but a fair opportunity to get rid of him. His haste and indiscretion counterbalance all his talents which are considerable."[21] John Ravenshaw wrote early in the same year, "He is certainly the most harmful President we ever had. He is clever no doubt. I wish he had more common sense and better judgement."[22] Six months later, the Secret Committee recorded a minute on the despatch with regard to the Nagpur Treaty. "The Secret Committee think it due to themselves to record that in signing a Despatch to the Bengal Government, prepared in conformity with the Board's Draft dated the 29th ult., they have acted purely ministerially...."[23]

19 Bentinck Papers: Bentinck to P. Auber, Mar. 24, 1830.
20 *Ibid.*: Ashley to Bentinck, June 24, 1829.
21 *Ibid.*: P. Auber to Bentinck, June 29, 1830.
22 *Ibid.*: Ravenshaw to Bentinck, Feb. 1, 1830.
23 Minute of the Secret Committee, Oct. 1, 1830.

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A year later when Ellenborough had been succeeded by Charles Grant, Ravenshaw looked back on the past with a shudder.

"He (Grant) is a perfect gentleman however, and no Dictator, vain, conceited, which is a great improvement on what we have had. If things had remained as they were I doubt if I should have taken the Chair—for I do not think I could have worked with such a man as we had. The Duke I would have had perfect confidence in—but strange to say he allowed Lord Ellenborough to act according to his will more than any other member of the Cabinet, and his Grace would have been in many a scrape had matters gone on in the same way much longer. You have seen some samples of the prancing of the genius I allude to—and Metcalfe has given him more than one capital rebuke."[24]

But this picture would not be complete if mention were not made of the brighter side of Ellenborough's political character—his flashes of insight and imaginative genius. When the mood was on him he saw further and deeper than any other statesman of his time. Like Munro, Elphinstone and Macaulay, he realised that India must undergo a radical transformation under the impact of the West and believed that the British Government should guide it. He not only saw that in India "we have a great moral duty to perform," but he also realised that this involved education and the policy which is now-a-days known as Indianisation. The following letter might almost have been written by Morley, eighty years later :—

"I am sure you will do all you can to educate the Natives for office and to encourage them by the possession of it. Some little risk of their failure must be run at first....

[24] Bentinck Papers : Ravenshaw to Bentinck, Nov. 19, 1831.

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My wish is that they should act ostensibly with the honour, the responsibility and the emoluments of Office. We cannot govern India *financially* without this change of system. We cannot govern it well without it, and we do not deserve to be permitted to govern it at all without it."[25]

He was as conscious as Metcalfe of the frailty of the British dominion in India and prophetically aware of the necessity of fostering the devotion of the Indian as well as the European troops. "I wish you would devise," he wrote, "some mode of elevating the character of the soldiers by civil privilege and distinction. We must keep India by his devotion and I would make that my fixed object. India was won by soldiers and statesmen, and we must not allow lawyers to lose it."[26] One of the last of his Minutes before he left office contained elaborate suggestions in this direction.[27] The attraction of civil employment for officers was to be diminished by giving slower promotion to such men and deducing their army pay from their civilian salaries. They would thus not receive double pay, but only the benefit of the difference of the two scales. The sepoys were to have more frequent furlough, to be kept nearer their homes, and to have vocational schools to fit them for civil posts. They were to be encouraged by the appointment of extra native officers and the militarisation of the police, which would accelerate promotion.

Ellenborough realised that Calcutta was an unsuitable centre for an all-India empire. While he considered Meerut (Bentinck's proposed headquarters) bad—though he himself had suggested Agra—he considered Calcutta worse. He was in fact the first English statesman to think of India not merely as a number of administrative units, but as a single entity, with a political "personality" of its own. This

[25] Bentinck Papers: Ellenborough to Bentinck, Sept. 23, 1830.
[26] *Ibid.*
[27] Minute by Lord Ellenborough, Nov. 19, 1830.

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conception led him to desire the name of the King for that of the Company as the ruler of the country. It was a true instinct, as later history proved, but this was one of the few matters upon which he failed to influence the Duke of Wellington.[28] Above all, he realised that India must be governed by imagination and not merely by the civilian shibboleth of administrative convenience. It was not Ellenborough's imagination which was wrong even during his Governor-Generalship, but imagination run riot, imagination distorted from all semblance of reality by a vaulting vanity and egotism.

These papers make it clear that the Ellenborough of 1828 was essentially the same man as the Ellenborough of 1842. He was not merely a man who had developed rapidly, he was a man who never developed at all. His judgment was arrested and warped by his vanity while his mind and imagination soared to Olympian heights. In the earlier as in the later periods, we see the same brilliance, the same dictatorial temperament, the same lack of judgment of men and things. Ellenborough was, in fact, what he so much condemned Sir Peter Grant for being, a wild elephant. In 1828 he trumpeted in an office, and the tame elephants of Leadenhall Street had much ado to control him. In 1842 he trumpeted all over India and there was no one to control him. Those who have defended Ellenborough's Indian government have pointed to just those good qualities which were evident in his first Presidency of the Board—his imaginative insight and his occasionally sound proposals. But that cannot outweigh in the political scale the defects of his temperament. It was a temperament which would have caused him to fail anywhere in a position of sole reponsibility and the importance of these papers is that they prove his

[28] Colchester, *Lord Ellenborough's Political Diary*, June 10, 1829, I, 49.

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temperament not to have been the result of a gradual development but a permanent possession. Like the Caesar he would so much have liked to be, he was as true fixed as the Northern Star. His tragedy was that the fixation was not in judgment or will, but in vanity and love of power. When it is remembered that all this must have been well-known to his colleagues and contemporaries, his repeated selection for Indian office is not very creditable to English political judgment. But was India sacrificed so that the English cabinets could sleep o'nights? Even so, Peel and Derby had some bad dreams. The Indian elephant was patient and his back was broad, but it was not in the end broad enough for the first of the prancing proconsuls.

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11

THE BEGINNING OF AN ASIATIC POLICY

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The object of this paper is to describe the initial stages of the diplomatic intercourse into which the Anglo-Indian statesmen entered with some of the Asiatic States for the purpose of safeguarding their interests in India. It may be supposed for obvious reasons that the need of an external policy did not arise till the British acquired a predominant position in India. It may be so. But, in point of fact, the policy was initiated by the Marquis of Wellesley some time before the attainment of that status ; and the policy was forced upon him by certain circumstances which necessitated a widening of the diplomatic vision. It is perhaps arguable that a Governor-General, less broad and less assertive in his views than Wellesley, would not have gone so far to provide remedies for the prospective peril to British possessions in India. But the fact is there ; and the diplomatic history commences with his assumption of office in 1798.

From my point of view, the central fact of the situation during the last two years of the 18th century was the apprehended invasion of India by Zaman Shah of Afghanistan. The Durrani menace engaged Wellesley's attention almost from the time of his arrival in Bengal, and obsessed his mind and influenced his action for the following three years.

Zaman Shah wrote to the Earl of Mornington for co-operation against the Marathas in expelling them from Delhi and in restoring Shah Alam to his former position. This

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was refused; and the refusal was taken by the Afghan ruler in the light of an act of disobedience, even of enmity. From this time Zaman Shah's avowed object was not only to extricate the House of Timur from the Maratha control but also "to advance to Lucknow and then to the British provinces, if circumstances favoured his progress."[1]

To realise his ambition, he had undertaken three invasions during 1795-98, and twice pushed on to Lahore; but on each of those occasions he had to hurry back home to tackle dangers to his own kingdom. But he never abandoned his intentions on Hindustan which his grandfather had found so easy to overrun. Further he is understood to have been encouraged in his object by Ghulam Mohammad of Rohilkhand and Tippu Sultan of Mysore. There was an additional source of satisfaction to the invader in the aid offered by Vezier Ali, the deposed Nawab of Oudh. The latter promised to Zaman Shah 3 crores of rupees and an annual subsidy of 35 lakhs in case of his restoration. The rumoured reappearance of the Afghan invader in Hindustan and the possibility of a call-to-arms to some of the local rulers constituted a potential peril which it was the duty of Wellesley to avert. So he concerted plans. On the one hand, he discussed the formation of a defensive league with the Country Powers—the Marathas, the Rajputs and the Sikhs—which would fight against Zaman Shah's hordes at some distance from the British border ; and on the other hand, he sent agents to Persia to create troubles for the Afghan ruler in his home country. It is the latter device which demands our special attention.

There was another source of anxiety in the activities of the two European powers, France and Russia. The remoteness of this danger might at first sight make it of little

[1] Wellesley to Craig, Fort William, September 16, 1798, Parliamentary Papers, Vol. 15, 1806.

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account. But Wellesley, saturated as he was with anti-Gallicanism, believed in the reality of the danger from France. Indeed he had good reason to be cautious: for England was then at war with France and Napoleon was in Egypt endeavouring to create a base for further activities in the east. Against the French aggression also Wellesley planned, among other things, to erect a barrier in Persia which was to be bound by treaty to British interest.

The Russian menace, at that remote date, was more imaginary than real. But there was, however, some ground for fear. Catherine II had entertained hostile designs on India; and De St. Genie had submitted a plan to her in 1791. It led to nothing definite, and the subject was allowed to rest till 1800 when Paul proposed a joint invasion of India to Napoleon. The proposal was followed by action. The Ataman of the Don Cossacks was ordered to mobilise at Orenburg. A part of the army crossed the Volga and reached the plains of Orenburg whence, however, it was recalled on account of the assassination of the Tsar. Orenburg was a far cry from the bank of the Indus; and the physical difficulties of the way were stupendous and were perhaps unknown to Napoleon and Paul. However wild the scheme might appear, the fact was there that in 1800 the Tsar ordered an army to make preparations for a march on India.

Wellesley regarded the friendship of Persia as the best means of warding off the outside aggression threatened by Afghanistan, France and Russia. Hence to Persia his attention was mainly directed; its alliance was to be won and it was to be used as an instrument to keep Zaman Shah in check and to oppose the passage of a French or a Russian or a combined army through that country.

The Shah was to be sounded in the first instance; and the man employed for the purpose was Mehdi Ali Khan who was acting as the Company's Resident at Bushire. He

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seems to have been chosen, or his name suggested, by Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay. He was a Persian naturalised in India and was for some time in the service of the Nizam. Whatever his antecedents, he was an adroit diplomat well-fitted for the task entrusted to him. He was instructed "to take measures to induce the Court of Teheran to keep Zaman Shah in perpetual check without any decided act of hostility;" and for the purpose he was permitted to spend at his discretion two or three lakhs of rupees. At the same time the Governor-General pointed out that "the plan of subsidizing the whole army of Persia was more extensive and expensive than the circumstances seemed to require."

Early in 1798, Mehdi Ali Khan opened correspondence with the Court of Persia and it was followed by a visit to Teheran in the autumn of the next year. Alike in correspondence and in conversation, he tried to inflame the sectarian animosity of Fateh Ali Shah against the Afghan ruler. He represented Zaman Shah as having committed atrocities on the Shiahs of Lahore, thousands of whom had fled from the area and found a hospitable shelter in British territory. Hence to check Shah Zaman Shah would be a service to God and Man. As for the British, they were conscious of their strength and did not at all fear an Afghan invasion. As an instance of their strength he mentioned how 700 brave soldiers had routed 3,000 men of Siraj-ud-dowla on the field of Plassey. Two suggestions were made. One was that Mahmud and Firoz, Zaman Shah's fugitive brothers, were to be helped with an army to invade Afghanistan; and the other was that the Shah should take the field in person for conquering Khorasan, Kandahar and Herat, all of which were then included in the Afghan empire. Mahmud's expedition to Afghanistan had already been decided upon in 1798 before Mehdi Ali's suggestion was received; and his letter urging the Shah to the Khorasan enterprise reached

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Fateh Ali Shah when the Persian army was actually on the march to the objective. Thus these two expeditions of 1798 and 1799 were not due to the instigation of Mehdi Ali. Both of them were unsuccessful. But they awoke Zaman Shah to a sense of danger from the west; and they did, in point of fact, have the effect of withdrawing the Durrani invader from Lahore to Peshawar. The British proposal to foment discord in Afghanistan or to keep its ruler preoccupied met with a ready response from the Shah because it was a proposal that accorded very well with his personal ambition and also with the temper and policy of the Persian Court.

Mehdi Ali's instigations and the pecuniary assistance, actual and prospective, from the British, stimulated the Shah to fresh efforts. It was not till 1802 that Khorasan was annexed to Persia ; but in 1800 Prince Mahmud succeeded in defeating and blinding Zaman Shah. Thus the immediate object of British diplomacy was achieved. But it is difficult to decide how much of the success of Mahmud was due to the support of the Shah and how much to the assistance of the Barakzai brothers, particularly Fateh Khan, whom Zaman Shah had unwisely alienated. The Afghan menace was a passing phase. It flickered out and was extinguished chiefly by domestic broils. This, however, did not interrupt the course of diplomatic intercourse with Persia. When in Afghanistan the position of Zaman Shah was becoming more and more unstable, Capt. Malcolm was on his way to the Court of Teheran to conclude a formal treaty of friendship.

Medhi Ali Khan had prepared the ground for future work the credit for which belongs to him, though the task, as has been hinted above, was not so difficult. In more than one despatch Wellesley refers to him in terms of praise. The object he strove for was of a limited and temporary nature. His work was to be extended and completed by a

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British envoy: for, Wellesley stated,[2] the natives were not fit for higher diplomacy, nor did they possess sufficient knowledge of the political interest of the British. Hence Capt. Malcolm was sent out to take up the thread of the negotiations begun by Mehdi Ali and, by following it up, to conclude a comprehensive treaty of amity and defence with Persia. Medhi Ali had been deputed to stir up the Shah against the Afghan ruler. Malcolm's scheme included, in addition, the providing of remedies against the French danger. He stated that "to relieve India from the annual alarm of Zaman Shah's invasion, to counteract the possible attempts of the French and to restore trade to some parts of Persia were the leading objects of his journey."

The political treaty of January 28, 1801, contained two sets of provisions. One set concerned Afghanistan. In case the Afghan king invaded India, the Shah would lay waste and desolate the Afgan dominion. In case of war between Persia and Afghanistan, British help in the shape of "many cannons and warlike stores" was promised to the former; and when concluding peace with the Shah, the Afghan king should stipulate to abandon all designs on British possessions in India. These provisions against Afghanistan were of little practical utility: for, the frequent change of rulers and the consequent disorder made that country now too weak to be a source of danger.

The other provisions of the Anglo-Persian Treaty of 1801 were directed against the French. Should they commence war on Persia or attempt to settle with an army with a view to establishing themselves on any of the islands or shores of Persia, the contracting parties stipulated to act in co-operation for their expulsion and extirpation. The Shah also agreed not "to grant any place of residence to any of the great men

[2] To the Secret Committee, September 28, 1801.

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of the French nation on any of the islands or shores of Persia."

The Malcolm Treaty was only one in the series of steps, taken since 1798, to prevent French advance or to counteract French propaganda. An idea may be given of the activities of France and how the British statesmen countered them. Here it may be remarked that the activities of France had, in the eighteenth century, set the English Company on the path of empire-building in India ; and at the dawn of the nineteenth, they launched the said Company upon an Asiatic policy.

On the outbreak of Anglo-French war in 1793, France had sent agents to the Middle East, of whom Bruguiere and Olivier are worth mentioning. They travelled in the assumed character of botanists through Aleppo and Baghdad to Teheran ; and it was given out that M. Olivier was there on a commercial mission. The British Resident at Basra reported about him to the Government of Bombay; and the Residents at Basra and Bushire were instructed to arrest the French agents. Olivier safely got back to France in 1798. It may be that these agents recommended, as a means to an end, the French occupation of Egypt. Further, at Muscat there were Frenchmen who supplied Napoleon in Egypt with information on which he built his dream of an eastern empire. Nepoleon was in Egypt in 1798 and for over a year he carried on campaigns in that country and in Syria. He aimed a blow at Britain's eastern possessions which he intended to reach *via* the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf. It appears from a letter of Henry Dundas to the Earl of Grenville, dated 13th June, 1798, that Napoleon preferred the latter route : " he would march to Aleppo, cross the Euphrates and by following the Euphrates and the Tigris descend to the Persian Gulf and thence proceed along the coast to the Indies."

To counteract the machinations of the French, the British Residents at Bagdad, Basra and Bushire were asked

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to be watchful; and agreements were concluded with the Chief of Aden, the Imam of Senna and the Sultan of Muscat. Special attention was directed to Muscat because of its proximity to India and because of the above-noted facts. Mehdi Ali Khan concluded on Oct. 2, 1798, a *Qaulnamah* with Sultan bin Ahmad (known as the Sayyid Sultan) who promised to exclude the French and the Dutch from his dominion. This alliance was strengthened and a British agent was stationed there under the treaty of 1800 which Capt. Malcolm concluded while he was on his way to the Court of Persia. Sir John Bogle who went with Capt. Malcolm remained at Muscat for services to the Sultan and he, in course of time, became the first Political Agent there. Sir John Kaye has expressed the opinion that "Commerce and Medicine were the two side-gates to the great park of British diplomacy in the East." Dealings with Muscat furnish an illustration of the remark.

What has been said above does not exhaust all that was done to counteract the designs of the enemy. In the beginning of 1801, Wellesley took the offensive when he despatched a force under Major-General David Baird to help Abercromby in Egypt. But Napoleon had already left Egypt; and his successors, Kleber and Menou, found it difficult to secure a foothold there. Though Baird found little work for him, yet his arrival at Cairo with an army from India convinced Menou at Alexandria of the futility of further struggle in Egypt.

With Baird's expedition is associated a summons [3] which was sent to the Sheriff of Mecca, the Imam of Senna and the Sultan of Aden to join the British in expelling the French who had been desecrating Egypt and whose expulsion was necessary alike for the safety of Arabia and for the interest

[3] Fort William, March 19, 1801.

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of the Mahomedan religion. There does not appear to have been any response to this from the Chiefs of Arabia.

Wellesley was a practical politician ; and sometimes his schemes were grandiose in conception. In the foreign sphere he made an attempt to rouse the whole of Arabia and Persia against the external aggressors and make the rulers of those countries believe that their interest was identical with that of the British. The fruit of the diplomatic endeavour was however not put to test. For reasons not due to Wellesley the French evacuated Egypt. The menace subsided and the Governor-General turned to the practical work of a war against the Marathas. Then he left India ; and on his departure began a reaction against his policy. The Malcolm Treaty was almost forgotten ; and no notice was taken of it till the French menace again became grave in 1807. This only shows that Wellesley made a shrewder diagnosis of the situation. The efflux of time might again have made the Persian alliance useless to later statesmen. Nevertheless, it had been of great practical importance at a time when Afghanistan could not be reconciled to British interest and a French force under a military genius was in Egypt which is the halfway house to India. If the circumstances of the time be considered, the Anglo-Persian Treaty would appear as a brilliant device against both Afghanistan and France. But there are a few other things about the treaty and the diplomacy connected therewith.

The treaty of 1801 was inoperative, because it was technically invalid. Haji Khalil Khan, who was carrying it to Calcutta for exchange and ratification, was killed in an unfortunate *melee* in Bombay in 1802. Three years later, Aga Nabi Khan came to India but he found the Anglo-Indian Government lukewarm, even cold. On the other hand, some help against Russia was imperatively needed. Under the circumstances Fateh Ali Shah was forced to entertain the overtures of the French for alliance ; and ere long they

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obtained a footing at the Persian Court with an envoy for political intrigues and engineers and military officers for the army. Thus Wellesley's belief that " the firm alliance with Persia was not likely to be effaced by the intrigues of a rival power " was not fulfilled. Within six years from the date of its conclusion the very Power against which it was mainly directed established its influence at the Court of Teheran. Hence fresh effort had to be made to wipe off the French influence and to win back the straying friendship of the Shah. In consequence the Court at Teheran became for some time the battle-ground of European diplomats. This time the British object was achieved in 1809 by a royal envoy, Sir Harford Jones, whose work was hampered, though to a slight extent, by a counter-embassy from Calcutta. It would take us too far afield to note these embassies during 1808-10 of Sir Harford Jones and Brigadier-General Malcolm and the unseemly wrangling that ensued. But it may be noted that the verdict of history seems to go against the attitude and action taken by Lord Minto and Brigadier-General Malcolm.

Wellesley informed the Secret Committee of the Directors that Malcolm's mission (of 1800) was conducted in such a way as to give to the Shah an impression of the *power* and *liberality* of the Company's Government in India. The Shah's test of the British power was in the help rendered to him against Russia. Help in the sense in which he understood it was never given to him. But as to liberality of the Company's Government, he had no doubt. " With the golden key Malcolm opened the door of friendship " ; and it was his favourite method of diplomacy. In history, the missions to Persia are noted for the lavishness with which money was spent. The Shah was led to believe that he could always rely on the Company's Government for money. Once drugged with strong medicine, the system later on refused to respond to mild stimulants. But apart

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from its effect on the Shah, the home authorities in England did not approve of the method of Malcolm; and it was one of the reasons why he was regarded in 1807 as 'unsafe' for the second mission, even though his claim was strongly pressed by Lord Minto. The choice fell on Sir Harford Jones; and he was endowed with greater diplomatic tact.

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12

LORD AUCKLAND ON DELHI

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STATE PATRONAGE TO HINDU AND MUSLIM RELIGIONS UNDER THE RULE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

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This paper has been already printed in Bengal, Past and Present.

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MOHAN LAL'S OBSERVATIONS ON THE CAUSES OF THE INSURRECTION IN KABUL, 1841-42

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Introduction

Mohan Lal, traveller, author and diplomatist, was born at Delhi in 1812 in a family of noted Kashmiri Brahmins. His grand-father, Raja Mani Ram, was a courtier of the Delhi Emperor, and his father, Pandit Budh Singh, served as Persian Secretary to Mountstuart Elphinstone at the time of his Kabul Mission in 1808-09.

Mohan Lal learnt Persian at home, and acquired efficiency in speaking and in writing it to such a degree that even the learned people in this language, in those countries where it is spoken as the mother-tongue, marvelled at his ability. [1]

He studied English at the Persian College, Delhi, for about three years. He spoke "English with a good accent and much idiomatic propriety." [2] About his style of writing the Editor of the Calcutta *Englishman* remarks :—

"He expresses himself with perfect clearness and intelligibility in English, though not with very idiomatic correctness." [3]

[1] Dr. J. G. Gerard to the Government of India, dated Ludhiana, 20th March, 1834, Book 50, letter 36, M.S.

[2] Havelock's *Narrative of the War in Afghanistan*, ii, 149.

[3] Quoted in Vincent Eyre's Journal, Appendix E, p. 412.

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In December, 1831, Mohan Lal accompanied Captain Alexander Burnes, in the capacity of an interpreter, on a journey into Afghanistan, Turkistan, Khorasan and Iran. Through all these wanderings, he won the approbation of all his companions for " displaying everywhere a rare union of zeal, tact and fidelity." [4]

He was an author of no mean repute. On his return from travels in 1834, he " published a journal of his tour, which, considered as the work of an Asiatic in a foreign tongue, may be reckoned a most creditable production." [5] Twelve years later this work was again printed with an additional account of his journey across Sind and Afghanistan and visit to Europe. At the same time he published his life of Dost Mohammad Khan, the Amir of Kabul, in two volumes.

From 1834 to 1837 he served at Bahawalpur and Multan in connection with the navigation of the Indus. In 1838 he was attached to Alexander Burnes's " Commercial Mission " to Kabul. The same year, after the declaration of the First Afghan War, he was appointed assistant to Sir Alexander Burnes who was Assistant to the British Envoy and Minister at Kabul.

During the earlier parts of the campaign, the British Government found the situation favourable, and everywhere success attended its arms. Till October, 1841, the political atmosphere in Afghanistan was peaceful. Dost Mohammad Khan surrendered himself, and the British nominee, Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk, reigned in peace.

But there were certain unfavourable factors at work, coupled with the spirit of selfishness, disobedience, and indiscipline displayed by the high authorities. Above all, the pride of power and prosperity had blinded the British

4 Havelock, ii, 150.

5 *Ibid.*

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administrators and generals; and they committed terrible mistakes, even woeful blunders, so repeatedly that the whole country began to seethe with discontent and distrust. The sunshine of serenity gave place to the smoke of sorrow, and clouds of calamity arose everywhere, bursting ultimately with such fury and ferocity as to deluge all their power and prestige. The British officers and troopers were massacred, many men and women were taken prisoners; and then prevailed a period of ignominy, humiliation and suffering, lasting from the 2nd of November, 1841 to the middle of September, 1842.

Causes of Dost Mohammad Khan's Unpopularity

Dost Mohammad Khan, who had usurped the throne of Afghanistan, was a strong and sturdy ruler; but this very fact disturbed the minds of the Afghan Chiefs, whether Durranis, Persians or others, as they could no longer let loose their forces of disruption and distrust. So they were opposed to the Amir and were anxiously waiting for an opportunity to fish in troubled waters.

The Amir turned out all the old Durrani and other Governors and high officers from their posts, and appointed his own sons in their places. He also treated his own relations with scant attention in comparison with his sons. For instance, he deprived his uncle, Nawab Mohammad Zaman Khan, of the Jellalabad country, and placed it in the charge of his son, Mohammad Akbar Khan. Similarly, he seized the Ghilzai country from the control of Nawab Jabbar Khan, his elder brother by a step-mother. He behaved in the same manner with his nephew, Sardar Shams-ud-Din Khan, the Governor of Ghazni, and appointed his son, Haidar Khan, to that post.

He had killed and destroyed several chiefs of Kohistan on account of their rebellious conduct. Their relations were, as a matter of course, bent upon revenge.

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His army mainly consisted of cavalry, who were low paid, and forced to undertake long journeys. Consequently, there was great disaffection.

It had been the practice with previous rulers to pay fixed allowances to the *Mullas*, *Sayyids* and other priests, but Dost Mohammad decreased their allowances, and in many cases absolutely abolished them.

The labourers and artisans were employed by the Amir in forced labour mostly without or with little wages. The merchants were obliged to give forced loans which were never repaid. He imposed several additional unjust revenues on cultivators, while his servants and troops charged provisions and labour without payment.

Lastly, the Amir was trying to establish friendly relations with Mohammad Shah, King of Persia; and the people of Afghanistan who were Sunnis looked upon these negotiations with the Shias with misgivings.[6]

Reasons for the British Popularity

On the other hand, the British cause was popular in the country from the start. "The Afghans," says Mohan Lal, "are by nature the most avaricious set of mankind." The liberality and munificence of Mountstuart Elphinstone, while on a mission to Kabul in 1809, had excited their greed, and in supporting the British cause they found an excellent opportunity to enrich themselves.

The city of Kabul in particular, and the country in general, were divided into two hostile religious camps, the Sunnis and the Shias. The Sunnis formed the majority, and the Shias, mostly of foreign origin, distrusted the Government entirely consisting of the Sunnis. They favoured the British, expecting to receive justice from them.

6 Paper on the affairs of Afghanistan, dated 29th June, 1842, para 22, 41 C-161, M.S.

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It was a general belief with the chiefs that by assisting the British Government, not only they alone would derive benefit, but also their descendants from generation to generation. The cultivators and merchants wished to see a foreign power planted in the country in order to escape extortion from the Amir. Some high dignitaries of the realm were jealous of the usurper's power. Mohan Lal says, "They caused disunion against the Barukzaee chiefs on our approach to Afghanistan." The people in general dreaded the British arms and were panic-striken on the approach of the British army.[7]

Wrong Policy of Shah Shujah-ul-Mulk

Such were the circumstances under which Shah Shujah-ul-Mulk was easily placed on the throne of Kabul in August, 1839. Everything was done in the name of the Shah, and under his signature, but as a matter of fact the real power lay in the hands of the British officers who used the King as their creature. Shah Shujah-ul-Mulk chafed under such a policy and wanted to make his power felt. He, therefore, dropped a hint to his Afghan supporters that he wished to rule without the assistance of the British arms.

The English officers carried on negotiations with the Afghan Chiefs directly, and settled terms, and even fought to coerce them. The Shah, finding that his authority was absolutely ignored, grew jealous ; and " by the secret messages and sometimes by personal speech advised the chiefs of the country to disturb the peace and oppose the British arms under the apparent pretence of rebelling against H. M." By adopting such a line of action, the Shah had two objects in view. In the first place he considered that by causing continuous tumults in the country, he would have the British entirely depend upon him; and in the

[7] Paper on the affairs of Afghanistan, dated 29th June, 1842, para 23, M.S.

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second place, he would be able to squeeze out large sums of money [8] from them.

The Shah aimed at having the Minister of his own choice, and in consequence conferred this post on Mulla Shikur, an old fellow who had been the King's companion in exile. He was unfit to perform the heavy duties of his charge. He opposed the British policy secretly, but had not courage to contradict it openly. He got into touch with Mir Ghulam Quadir, the Kohistanis and other ring-leaders opposed to the British Government. He employed Dya Ram and Sher Muhammad Khan to hoard up money by unlawful means. Daily complaints were made to the English officers against the high-handedness of these two agents. The Minister always promised to look into these grievances, but privately encouraged them to pursue their course.

Against the usual practice prevalent in Muslim countries, the King's name was omitted from the Friday prayers, probably with the connivance of Mulla Shikur and the Shah himself. Sir Alexander Burnes sent Mohan Lal to the priest to enquire why such insolence was offered to the King; and the answer was that the Shah was not the true King according to the Muslim law, as he was supported by the British arms. The Minister took no notice of it as he wished to excite the religious hatred of the people against them. The King also did not insist on its observance, clearly showing that though it was an insult to him, yet being faithful to his religion he would not urge the *Mulla* to do so. They also knew that the direct interference of the English in such matters would involve them in difficulties.

Besides, Mulla Shikur openly told the heads of the tribes that the King would throw off the yoke of the British as soon as he had his family back from Ludhiana. Further, he

[8] The Shah was so fond of money that he would rather allow a man to stab the back of his palm than open his hand to give it willingly. (Sir W. Macnaghten).

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sent a crier in Charekar in Kohistan that Ghulam Khan (a strong supporter of the English) was a disloyal subject and not a Muslim. Complaints were made to the King, but he took no action against his favourite Minister.

When Dost Muhammad Khan was defeated at Bamian, Mulla Shikur held secret conferences with the Kohistani chiefs and their powerful priest, Hafiz Ji. The Minister increased the pay of those who disliked the English and ill-treated those who favoured them. When Dost Muhammad descended in the Ghorbund valley, the Kohistani chiefs created disturbances. Prince Timur and Sir Alexander Burnes marched in that direction to punish the chiefs and prevent Dost Muhammad from getting into the Koh-i-Daman. The Shah despatched Mansoor Khan Chaoos Bashi to the Envoy to advance him money to bribe the Kohistanis, and under this pretence he wanted to enrich himself. The Chaoos Bashi secretly incited the people to stand against the British troops for a few days, and then quickly retire to Kabul to wait upon the Shah. Sir Alexander Burnes asked the Shah to prevent the Chaoos Bashi from negotiating with the people, and requested the Envoy not to pay him any money. The result of it was that British troops fought bravely, and Dost Muhammad Khan surrendered himself to the English.

The King then sent the Chaoos Bashi to Kandahar, and through him tried to induce Muhammad Taqi Khan, the Governor appointed by the English, to join the Durranis and rise in revolt. He informed Major Rankinson of the nature of the Shah's message. The English protested to the King, who blamed the Chaoos Bashi, and, in order to justify himself, condemned him to be paraded in the streets of the city with blackened face and mounted on an ass. The Chaos Bashi in this condition lifted up his head and loudly cried in the *bazaars* that that was the punishment for obeying and serving the King.[9]

[9] Paper on the affairs of Afghanistan, dated 29th June, 1842, paras 24-42, M.S.

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Mistakes in the British Administration

Whereas the situation was worsening on account of the Shah's policy, its process towards deterioration was quickening with headlong rapidity owing to the mistakes of British administration also. The Envoy forced the King to dismiss Mulla Shikur, and appointed Muhammad Usman Khan, an equally incapable man, in his stead. It greatly added to the jealousy of the King and enhanced the difficulties of the English on account of his unpopularity with the people.

The new Minister cared little for the Shah. The Minister seized the lands of the King's priest and in spite of the repeated entreaties of the King, the lands were never restored to the *Sayyid*. "Through our interference," says Mohan Lal, "but entirely against the wish of the Shah, he appointed his elder son the agent to the prince at Candhar and the younger son Governor of Jellalabad." He had animosity towards the Durranis and others on account of the murder of his father by them and in order to wreak vengeance upon them, he excited the suspicions and alarms of the British by fabricating stories against them. Consequently, he secured the approval of the Envoy to reduce the pay of the Durranis, Ghilzais, *mullas* and other chiefs. He persuaded the Envoy to dismiss Humzah Khan, the Governor of the Ghilzai country, and attached this territory to Jellalabad under his son.

Further, the King would not listen to any complaint of the people, saying that he was powerless before the Minister. Then they waited upon Sir Alexander Burnes, who, sent them on to the Envoy. The Envoy, under the influence of the Minister, "considered him the best statesman," and sent the people back to Usman Khan. "In short," says Mohan Lal, "we attended so much to the foolish advices of Mohamed Usman Khan that we did not only displease the king, disappoint our friends ; but made the Dooranees, Ghilzies,

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Kuzzilbashes, Caboolees, Kohistanees, our desperate enemies.'' [10]

The Shah suffered not only on account of the Minister, but he was interfered with unnecessarily at every step. He was not allowed to reward his friends and to punish his enemies. Mirza Haidar Ali, an exile with the King, and the medium of intercourse between the English and the Shah, was dismissed in the teeth of opposition from the King. The army was dissatisfied due to hasty reforms. The number of the servants of the chiefs and their pay were both reduced, while in settling internal disorders only the British troops were employed. It caused misgivings in the minds of the chiefs who believed that they would be dismissed from their posts by and by, as their services were not required.

The people were reduced to a state of starvation. Too high prices were paid by the commissariat officers for grain, grass, meat and vegetables, etc., and the poor persons could not afford to pay so much. It became a general saying in the country that '' the English enriched the grain and grass sellers, etc., while they reduced the chiefs to poverty, and killed the poor by starvation.''

The Indian troops and camp-followers abused the inhabitants by calling them '' *Numuk huram namurd* '' (disloyal and coward) ; while the British and Indian troops both drank wine in the public streets and committed violence on women. Even the British officers did not abstain from these evils. Many of them lived in the city and openly caused the elopement of women of high families, while women were conveyed on horseback to the cantonments in the night. Mohan Lal quotes a few instances; but purposely he does not give out the names of the officers concerned.

[10] Paper on the affairs of Afghanistan, dated 29th June, 1842, paras 43-50; Mohan Lal's Letter to J. R. Colvin, Private Secretary to the Governor-General, dated Kabul, 29th January, 1842, 41 C/62, M.S.

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A favourite concubine of Abdullah Khan Ackakzai came to the house of a "Sahab Log." He could not get her back by repeated applications to that officer and then lodged a complaint with Sir Alexander Burnes. Burnes did not like to write a letter on this subject, but sent one of his peons with the complainant, asking the English officer to restore the lady. She was concealed and the Ackakzai chief was accused of a false complaint, abused by Burnes and turned out disgracefully.

Another officer won the heart of the favourite lady of Nazir Ali Muhammad, and she, crossing the wall by the roof, came to him. Nazir complained to Burnes, but nothing was done. The lady was openly sheltered in that officer's house and was brought to India afterwards.

A rich merchant had recently married a woman of his heart "after great pains and exorbitant expense." A European subordinate to the staff officer contrived her escape to his residence in the cantonment. The merchant "complained to all the authorities, and offered a very large sum to the king to have his fair wife restored to him, but she was not given up. He at last sat at the door of Sir William Macnaghten, and declared that he had resolved to put an end to his own life by starvation." Sir William Macnaghten determined to restore the lady, but Sir Alexander Burnes intervened and threatened the poor man who fled to Turkistan.

Another officer enticed the favourite lady of Nawab Muhammad Zaman Khan, brother of ex-Amir Dost Muhammad Khan, and all his endeavours failed to get her back. When the officer's wife joined him, the Afghan lady was deserted and left in a destitute condition.

In another case, the wife of Qudas Khan was brought and kept. Similarly, the *fiancée* of Mir Ahmad Khan was never restored, and was left absolutely unprovided for at Ludhiana.[11]

[11] For these instances *cf.* Mohan Lal's *Life of Dost Muhammad Khan*, ii, 392-98.

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The English officers won several Afghan chiefs to their side by throwing temptations of money, lands and services. But when their object was achieved, their services were soon forgotten ; and on the contrary they were left at the mercy of their enemies. The pride of power had blinded the Britishers so much that even Sir Alexandar Burnes kept the highest grandees of the country " waiting for hours near the door-keeper," and then dismissed them " by saying that we have no time." [12]

Even bribing for spreading dissensions and causing assassinations was resorted to ; and then the promises were not strictly kept. On the 5th November, 1841, Mohan Lal received the following letter from Captain J. B. Conolly, the Envoy's cousin and Political Assistant, " Tell the Kuzzilbash Chiefs, Shereen Khan, Naib Sheriff, in fact all the chiefs of Sheeah persuasion, to join against the rebels. You can promise one lakh of rupees to Khan Shereen on the condition of his killing and seizing the rebels and arming all the Sheeahs and immediately attacking all rebels. This is the time for the Sheeahs to do good service. Explain to them that, if the Soonnees once get the upper hand in the town they will immediately attack and plunder their part of the town ; hold out promises of reward and money ; write to me very frequently. Tell the chiefs who are well disposed to send respectable agents to the Envoy. Try and spread *nifak* among the rebels. In everything that you do consult me, and write very often. Meer Hyder Purjabashi has been sent to Khan Shereen, and will see you. P.S.—I promise 10,000r upees for the head of each of the principal rebel chiefs." [13]

On the 11th November, he again wrote to Mohan Lal, " There is a man called Hadjee Ali, who might be

[12] 41 C/161, para 141, M.S.

[13] Quoted in Kaye's *History of the War in Afghanistan*, ii, 202; Durand's *First Afghan War and its Causes*, 364.

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induced by a bribe to try and bring in the heads of one or two of the *mufsids*. Endeavour to let him know that 10,000 will be given for each head, or even 15,000 rupees." [14]

Mohan Lal selected two principal chiefs, and engaged two assassins, who received Rs. 5,000 each in advance. Both the chiefs were soon numbered among the dead but the remaining blood-money was refused on the ground that contrary to the agreement the assassins had not brought in the heads.[15]

Weakness of British Statesmanship

A very serious mistake that Lord Auckland, the Governor-General of India, committed, was the appointment, in the same field of action, of two almost equally qualified and equally ambitious men, Sir William Macnaghten and Sir Alexander Burnes. Even at Roree when the Army of the Indus was on its way to Afghanistan, Alexander Burnes had refused to proceed further in subordination to Macnaghten.[16] While in Afghanistan, he seldom gave full co-operation to his superior. Mohan Lal in his characteristic way describes it thus, " The lamented Sir William Macnaghten and Sir Alexander Burnes were not so unanimous as the people of their character and ranks ought to be. The former attended too much to the advices of Mohamed Oosman Khan (Minister) against the wish of the latter, who then stood as stranger to see everything going wrong ; but such forbearance and silence in not rectifying the mistakes which threatened the British honour and fame were entirely inconsistent with the rules of service. The following are the quotations from his note book, the few leaves of which fell into my hands after his death. They confirm my opinion on this subject.—' Cabool, 8th September, 1841. My spirits

14 Kaye, ii, 218.

15 *Ibid.*, ii, 263; Durand, 366.

16 *Life of Dost Muhammad*, ii. 184.

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are up. Lord Auckland goes to England in January, and the Envoy, I hope, goes to Agra or Calcutta. I am hardly to be blamed for I have no responsibility, and why should I work ? Yet it is clear that if I had carried a hot correspondence with Lord Auckland as he wished, I must have injured Macnaghten. In after days I hope to be able to applaud my own discretion. I was great at the good Envoy's self-complacency. He hints, as Governor of Bombay he will be directed to control the politics of Afghanistan and he says that he may go through the Punjab to settle affairs there. Why from first to last he has mismanaged all affairs ? The Punjab Treaty is the (cause) of our present rebellion which was brought on by want of means and in consequence of cutting, yet Sir William is Governor of Bombay, the (cause) of all. So I must change my standard of greatness and consider myself living in total error as to all that is passed, time will show. Principles etc. as I have said before, are bewildered on what Sir William's claims to greatness are founded. Let Generals Fane, Cotton, Keane, and Elphinstone's private letters be consulted and they would tell a different tale." [17]

The mutual disgreement between the two highest dignitaries reacted greatly on the minds of the military officers. They seldom obeyed the wishes or even orders of their political heads. In the morning of 2nd November, 1841, Sir Alexander Burnes's house was besieged by only thirty persons who continued firing for about four hours, but in spite of his repeated requests not a single soldier was sent to his rescue, and as a result he along with Captain Broadfoot and his brother Charles Burnes was cut to pieces, and his house destroyed by fury and fire. The treasury was pillaged and the godowns burnt. Everywhere the Britishers were attacked and assassinated.[18]

[17] 41 C/161, para 141, M.S.

[18] *Ibid.*, paras 58, 59; 41 C/62, M.S.

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On the 23rd December, 1841, Sir William Macnaghten held an interview with Muhammad Akbar Khan out of the cantonments. By way of precaution, he had ordered to keep two regiments ready for his assistance.

Sir William came out, was caught and shot, his head cut off, and his body dragged; and all this took place at mid-day, within a musket shot from the cantonments, but not a single soldier stirred out to save him, and not a single shot was fired on the enemy.[19]

Two weeks later, they forced Major Pottinger, the Political Agent, to retire from Afghanistan, and consequently, thousands of them lost their lives under shots and snow; while the remaining English officers and ladies were taken prisoners.[20] "I can hardly express in writing," says Mohan Lal, "the horrid scene I have witnessed, and the most disgraceful treatment the British Officers, ladies, and servants have received in this country." Even in captivity some officers praised Muhammad Akbar Khan, and "flattered him most imprudently by giving him the view of all the parliamentary speeches, and by assuring him that the English will not keep possession of Afghanistan, but that it disapproved of the policy of the Indian Government, and has ordered the evacuation of that country."[21]

19 41C/161, paras 90, 91, 92; 42 C/62, M.S.
20 41C/161, paras 93-100; 41 C/62, M.S
21 *Life of Dost Muhammad*, ii, 425-26.

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15

THE ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY'S QUEST FOR SETTLEMENTS IN THE EAST INDIES IN THE MID-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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One of the many remarkable instances of the haphazard way in which the British Empire has been built up in the East is to be found in the development by stages of British political influence and power in the Malay Peninsula and the contiguous islands of the Asiatic Archipelago. The idea of a colony or an empire in the East Indies was far from the minds of the home authorities. Opinions as to the relative value of distant acquisitions were, for a long time, somewhat doubtful and vague. Even when the East India Company underwent a radical change of situation and acquired its political, military and territorial character, disposition at home was uniformly pacific and " authoritative reproof " was administered in cases of departures from the non-intervention policy to which Parliament gave a legal touch by the Act of 1784. Gradually, however, the narrow mercantilist conceptions of the 17th and 18th centuries, so essential for the preservation of commerce and providing a stimulus to the carrying trade of the country, fell into abeyance and the 19th-century ideals of national imperialism came to be associated closely with advantageous exploitation of unprogressive races.

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In reference to the Asiatic Archipelago, the attitude of unconcern is displayed in the constant expression of feelings of disgust and apprehension at the actions of the private traders and the subalterns of the Company in applying the commercial dividends of the most important branches of the domestic trade to their own advantage, and at the prospect of a mercantile company shouldering the functions of political administration, entering into compacts and treaties with native potentates that involved augmentation of territories, increased expenditure and responsibilities. With marked hesitancy the Government listened to the representations of Captain Francis Light to take advantage of the offer of Penang from the king of Quedah[1]; the instructions to Edward Moncton, in his mission to Quedah, implied specifically the acceptance of terms favourable to trade and commerce and to avoid being entangled in military complications or trade intrigues. Negotiations between Moncton and the king fell through mainly on political grounds when the Government refused to offer military aid to the king against his implacable enemy, the Salengorians.[2] In the same spirit, the retrocession of Java occurred in 1816 and that of Malacca in 1819; and in the preliminary discussions of the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824 Canning placed high the preservation of amicable relations with Holland even at the cost of the sacrifice of Singapore.[3] The Special Secret Committee, however, considered it more judicious to retain Singapore and relinquish "the factory of Fort Marlborough and all the English possessions on the island of Sumatra."[4] Thanks to the genius of Sir Stamford Raffles, Singapore has now become not only a great distributing commercial centre but a naval arsenal and the most important strategic outpost of the Empire in the East.

[1] Factory Records, Sumatra, 15.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Transcripts of Dutch Records at the India Office, Vol. XXX.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXI.

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A glance at the map will suffice to show the value of the control of the eastern seaboard of the Malay Peninsula to the Empire. A rich and increasing stream of British trade skirts it for over 350 miles. The Archipelago, thus offering primarily an opening to commercial enterprise, developed ultimately an intrinsic imperial interest.[5] The two early English settlements of Bencoolen and Penang looked towards the West ; Singapore controlling, as it does, the passage-way to the China Sea looks towards the East.

The circumstances that led to the establishment of the English East India Company are too well-known to be repeated here. It is not, therefore, the object of this paper to carry the reader *seriatim* through its early fortunes. The desire to find a market for woollens and the interest in the spice and pepper trade must be considered as constant factors which stimulated the early voyages towards China and the East. For over two decades since its inception, the efforts of the Company were thus centred not in the mainland of India but in securing trade privileges in the islands of the Archipelago. India was considered as inferior in commercial importance to these islands and her trade was looked upon as quite a subordinate branch of the general business. By the years 1612-13, the eastern commerce assumed a somewhat methodical shape and figures indicate the rapid growth of trade till 1620. Mun's report shows that during the first twenty years of its existence its exports, in silver bullion, had amounted to £540,090 and in merchandise to £292,286, thus making a total of £832,376.[6]

The early attempts of the Company exhibit a vigour and grit worthy of commendation. In the great chain of

[5] The imperial value of Singapore was first made evident during the war with the Chinese in 1841. It was at Singapore that the fleet and military expedition made their rendezvous and Singapore was the real base of operations throughout the three campaigns that followed.

[6] Grant, *History of the E. I. Coy.*, p. 20.

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islands stretching from the Malay Peninsula to New Guinea in the east and to China in the north, where there was the least likelihood of obtaining permission to leave factors, the Company had secured privileges of trade and seized the opportunity to establish factories. In Sumatra, it had trade with seven of the chief cities or ports "though all sorts of difficulties in keeping up trade with Acheen had to be surmounted." In Java, the Company had factories at Bantam, Gracia, Jacatra and Japara; the unhealthiness of Bantam was a frequent source of complaint. In Malacca, the Company do not seem to have settled any factories; in Patani the English were "honourably" received by the queen and country people "but with some disgust and distaste from the Dutch"; Patani, it was remarked, "was not worth the keeping" except for "sale of cloth." In Borneo, the English were carrying on trade "with more or less success" at Landak, Banjermassin, Sambas and Succadana, the best diamonds being procured from Succadana. In Macassar, in the Celebes, a factory had been settled. In Pegu, Siam, Camboja and Bankok the English were "well received."[7] With China the Company carried on "a promiscuous trade" by means of "junks plying between the English factories in Macassar, Siam and other places." Not till 1616 was any direct commercial intercourse between England and China established.[8] Commercial intercourse with Japan was opened mainly through the efforts of William Addammes and factories were "left" at Firando, Osaka and Nagasaki.[9] Thus the extent of the operations of the English was very sweeping indeed and a long range of factories and agencies

[7] Calendar of State Papers, East Indies (1513-1616), edited by Sainsbury, pp. lvi-lviii.

[8] There is evidence of a considerable sale, by the Company in October 1615, of China saucers, dishes, roots, rhubarb, silk, etc. *Vide* Court Minutes of the E. I. Coy., Book III, pp. 503-09.

[9] Calendar of State Papers, East Indies (1513-1616); Hakluyt Series, "Memorials of the Empire of Japan," pp. 40-45.

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were formed. Bantam was the principal seat of this eastern commerce and superintended all the factories comprised in what may be termed the "Insúlinde."[10] It is to be observed that a secure footing was never obtained in the Moluccas or the Spice Islands proper, mainly due to the "notorious injuries" sustained by the English at the hands of the Dutch. Be it remarked that it was during this period of prosperity and progress that the loss of the factories in the Archipelago commenced. The greatest period of discouragement the English Company ever witnessed was during the years 1635 to 1657. Evidences of retrogression are to be found not only in the Court Records but also in the decreasing value of the Company's stocks and trade.[11] The climax came with the exclusion of the English from their Bantamese factory in 1682. The whole system of settlements of which Bantam had formed the centre was for the time disorganized.

The first of the forces that brought about the decline of the English Company was the commercial jealousy and hostility of the Dutch India Company. It is beyond the scope of this paper to analyse the nature of the Anglo-Dutch conflict of the early 17th century or of the insular maritime empire of the Dutch based on monopoly and forced privileges from the princes of the eastern archipelago.[12] It was evident, however, that so long as England was distracted by the excitements of the constitutional struggle at home, so long as the Company lacked royal support, encountered popular opposition and trouble from the interlopers, little

[10] The word was first coined by Torchiana in his *Tropical Holland*, p. 15, to mean "Island India."

[11] Bruce's *Ann. Ind. Coy.*

[12] Factory Records, Java, I; Cummings' Report on Dutch Spice Trade in Dutch Records, Vol. XXVI; James Scott's Reflections on the mode and principles on which the Dutch effect monopoly of the produce of the Archipelago, Factory Records, Straits, Vol. II: Scott to the Supreme Council, October 25th 1785.

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success could be gained in the field of commerce. It took the English a long time " to disabuse their minds " of the menace of Dutch rivalry in trade and commerce. The English navy had no command of the sea strictly speaking, and to win mercantile pre-eminence on the seas England must meet and overthrow Holland's monopoly of the carrying trade. That was achieved by the several Navigation Acts and the three Dutch Wars. The treaty of Westminster (1674) appeared to appease for the time being the intensity of the Anglo-Dutch conflict and usher in an era of peace in the East. The union of England and Holland in 1689 served as a further cause of the decrease of rivalry. The humiliations the Dutch suffered at the hands of Cromwell, Charles II, and Louis XIV in Europe, did not to a very large extent affect or alter their position in the Insulinde. Pinpricks and repression continued. By the treaty with Cromwell, the Dutch had promised the restoration of Polaroon. After evasions when the stipulation was ultimately fulfilled in 1665, " the island, instead of being rendered back, as the terms of the treaty enjoined, in its former state and condition, was found a desert; the spice-trees, for which it was celebrated, having been utterly destroyed."[13] In the same year, 1665, the English were compelled to relinquish Damm, an island near Banda, " by an armed Dutch force."[14] And in 1682 the English had to abandon the factory at Bantam. A recital of all the injuries done would prove tedious and take volumes. For more than half a century longer the Dutch continued to be England's greatest rival in commerce. The mercantilist

13 Grant, *Hist. E. I. Coy.*, p. 73.

14 *Ibid.*

15 The commerce of the Dutch provinces had not been seriously injured by any of the Navigation Acts. In a *Treatise on the Trade of England*, of date about 1675, the estimate is given that the Dutch had 900,000 tons of shipping to England's 500,000 : *Vide* Andrews, *Colonial Period of American History*, p. 48; British Museum, Add. MSS., 22781.

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statesmen and writers of the day expressed "their fear of Dutch competition on into the 18th century." Indeed, the extent of the area and influence covered by the Dutch in the islands of the Archipelago in the middle-18th century can well be realised from a statement of Captain Francis Light to the Governor-General and Council in February, 1786, "The Dutch now possess from Point Romania to the River Krean Lat. 5N. on the Malay side . . . they have forts and factories and pretended claims from Bintang or Rhio to Diamond Point on the Sumatra side; there is no part left for you to chuse but the small kingdoms of Junk Salang, Acheen or Quedah."[16] Yet it has to be acknowledged that the last thirty years of the 17th and the first half of the 18th century witnessed a gradual decline of Dutch trade and power in general and a corresponding increase in the volume of English commerce and the advance of England's colonial interests in the East. It will be almost impossible to give a documentary history of the causes of the decline of the Dutch India Company even from the archives of the Company itself. Those causes are to be found in internal rather than external factors. The Company sank under age as every human institution must do at last, and above all in a strictly monopolising commercial association the germs of dissolution are sure to develop slowly and imperceptibly.[17] "Threatened by the English, insulted by the French and almost universally despised by the rest of Europe, the Dutch lost their leadership in the field of commerce and their place of prominence among the powers of Europe."[18] The last

[16] Light to the Governor-General and Council, Calcutta, Feb. 16 : Factory Records, Straits, Vol. II.

[17] Saalfeld, II, p. 138; Andrews, *Colonial Policy*, p. 49.

[18] Andrews, p. 49. After 1697 a gradually increasing deficit commenced which did not cease. The debt had increased, in 1792, to 107 millions of guilders from 12 millions in 1781. The expenditure was 30 millions more in 1792 than in the 12 preceding years. No less than 11 Governors were changed in 40 years (1700-41). *N.B.*—In the extracts now made public from the books of the

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attempt was made in 1759, when the Dutch "projected" the overthrow of the English establishments and influence in Bengal. An expedition, consisting of 7 ships with 700 Europeans, principally Germans, but commanded by Frenchmen and 800 Malayas, was fitted out from Batavia and in August, 1759, appeared in the Ganges "with the profession of proceeding to Chinsurah." Colonel Forde thoroughly "discomfited" the Dutch force. From this date the Dutch abandoned all open attempts "to rival the British in the wider field" of Eastern politics.

The English India Company, on the other hand, gradually emerged from the nightmare of adverse circumstances that had dogged its footsteps ever since its inception. Driven from the Spice Islands and from the other islands of the Archipelago, the Company entered on its activities in the mainland of India. The "political rapacity" of France and the ambitions of Indo-Gallic statesmen which sought the extirpation of the Anglo-Indian name from India forced on the English schemes of "defensive ambitions." The nucleus of the Indo-British Empire was thus founded on the tombstone of the frustrated schemes of France.

It is worthy of remark that the activities of the English Company had at no period been static in reference to the possibility of the plantation of establishments on the shores and islands of the Archipelago and of the seas of China and Japan. Experiments to this effect took place in Pegu, Siam, Sumatra, Cambodia, Tonquin, at Tywan (Formosa), Nagasaki, Macao and Borneo. The enterprises were, mostly, "peculiarly unfortunate." The English factors were compelled "with great loss of goods and stores" to quit Chusan, an island on the Chinese coast; the attempt to establish themselves at Pulo Condore, an island subject to Cochin China

Company for 1613-96, the receipts were 340m., a surplus of 40m. over the expenditure.

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culminated in the massacre of the British by the natives in 1705. Many attempts had been made by the Company to establish trading factories in Borneo and the failure of these factories had been due as much to the persistent opposition of the Dutch as to "the ferocity" of the inhabitants. In 1707 only a few of the English factors escaped with their lives at Banjarmassin from the ruthless attack of the natives.[19] In 1759 the Company lost the port of Negrais "by surprise and most of their people were cut off." This closed the attempt commenced six years earlier to open up commerce with the Burmans. All these efforts and failures may be placed in the earlier part of the 18th century. Two years after the evacuation of Bantam, a mission was despatched from Madras to Acheen under Messrs. Ord and Cawley "to obtain a grant of a site for a new settlement." The mission proved abortive. The Company failed to secure permission to erect any building, but a wooden factory, which was ineffective for any defensive purposes. The Directors then contemplated a settlement at Priamon in Sumatra. Ord failed to reach Priamon (whether intentionally or due to inclement weather conditions is not known) and settled on Bencoolen "a spot ideal neither for health nor trade." After angry remonstrances, the Directors "to minimise the consequences of the blunders perpetrated" resolved to retain Bencoolen.[20] Except for a temporary occupation by the French in 1760, Bencoolen "the sole station that preserved England's interests" in the Archipelago remained in the hands of the English till 1824. As a commercial establishment Bencoolen was never of much importance. Its only produce of any real value was pepper and that too in the near future became a losing concern (after 1792) when a profuse

[19] It was from Borneo that the most daring pirates of the China Sea set out to prey upon all commerce. *Vide* St. John, *Life of Brooke*.

[20] *Vide* Wright and Reid, *Malay Peninsula*,

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quantity of the article could be obtained at a cheaper rate from the ceded pepper-producing lands on the coast of Malabar. Bencoolen did not either "provide a harbour for the Company's fleet during the north-east monsoon which prevails along the Coromondel coast." From the standpoint of political utility its strategic value was neutralized by its close proximity to Batavia, exposed as it was to the frequent attacks from the Dutch in Batavia. The cost of the settlement, too, far exceeded the returns.[21]

The recovery of the English East India Company in the 18th century was in fact the outcome of the beginnings of British supremacy on the seas. This was laid by the several continental wars of the time. The navy of Britain enabled her during war not only to keep up a constant communication with her distant settlements but at the same time to prevent her enemies from doing the same, by which the trade of the latter was ruined. The East Indies had become the greatest and most magnificent theatre of Britain's colonial policy. Its history then is indeed almost exclusively the history of the British Empire. The treaties of the period are landmarks in the development, by stages, of Britain's superiority over other European states in colonial trade and colonial possessions. Towards the middle of the 18th century, the influence of sea power on the fate of India became paramount. The beginning of the end for the French in India is clearly traceable to the loss of control of the sea and the remoteness of their naval base. The vital importance of having a safe harbour and a fortified naval base near at hand also worried the minds of the Directors of the English Company and the home government. The trading vessels bound for China were exposed to the ravages of privateers on the high seas and naval operations were greatly handicapped by the absence of such

21 Second Report, Sel. Comm., App. No. 68, p. 340. In 1695-96 the Coy. computed their past expenses on the coast of Sumatra at a sum exceeding £200,000.

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outposts.[22] Madras was an almost "open roadstead," and Bombay lay too far off the actual base of operations, and its dockyard was still in its rudimentary stage of construction. The steady increase of the Company's trade to China in the 18th century and its profitable returns served as an added impetus to the desire to "have a port where ships of our nation may meet the eastern merchants, as well for the promotion of that valuable commerce as to afford a windward station of refreshment and repair to the king's, the Company's and the country's ships."[23] Thus commercial and military factors were inter-linked in the extensive search for settlements in the Asiatic Archipelago. In that effort the genesis of the British Empire in the Malay Indies may be discerned. The extent to which the Empire is indebted to the free-trading captains or "interlōpers" (mostly associated with the joint-stock trading establishments of Madras) can hardly be ignored. They carried on the brunt of the fight with the Dutch and made inroads on the monopoly of their trade in the Further East without protection of adequate forts or factories. They were a source of trouble to the Company no doubt, but it remained for them to explore the distant islands of the Archipelago, to report to the government their advantages or drawbacks, and to carry the English flag direct to China.[24] Their own selfish interests were involved in the expansion of the China trade and its being completely thrown open to them. The major part of the "country trade" carried on between India and China was in their hands; the money received for the opium and raw cotton imported by

[22] Refer to Rear-Admiral Pocock's operations off the Coromandel coast in 1758. After "roughly handling" the French in August of that year Pocock made for Bombay and by April, 1759, he was back off the south coast, and fought an indecisive engagement with D'Ache.

[23] Governor-General and Council to the Court of Directors, March 26, 1786, Parliamentary Branch, No. 55, Second Report Sel. Comm., App. p. 335ff.

[24] Dodwell, *The Nabobs of Madras*, pp. 125ff; Alexander Hamilton, *New Account of the East Indies*, published 1727.

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them being paid into the Company's treasury at Canton in return for bills on London.[25] They had learned of the possibilities of the China trade and were therefore one with the home and Indian governments in supporting any move to connect the Bengal and China trade free of restrictions. The Company also carried articles to and from China. The Indian government through its opium revenue and its tariff on raw cotton found in the China trade a source of revenue; the home government, too, was not willing to let the tea trade and its valuable revenue slip away.[26] The English public and politicians thus identified the interests of the British Empire with those of the Company. They sought to regulate its organization so that it might serve as "a good colonial machine" and at the same time furnish the government with considerable revenue. The government squeezed the Company unmercifully for revenue purposes. It had found, herein, an easy way of collecting £8 to 900,000 revenue annually.[27] Its best interests demanded the stabilization of the Asiatic trade so that the Indian and spice island factories might be used as bases for trade to China. Since factories had not been set up there and since the Chinese would allow no permanent fortified places on the shores of China, some outside base was essential.

It appears from a study of the despatches and correspondence that the Directors had in mind an idea to forestal Bencoolen by another more advantageous settlement.

25 The import of coin ceased between 1772 and 1785, its scarcity being due to the wars in Europe; in 1773 the Company made the sale of Bengal opium a governmental monopoly. All of the opium and most of the raw cotton was imported by the private Indian traders.

26 The annunl consumption of tea amounted at this time to about 20 million pounds, of which two-thirds were imported by smuggling. Apart from the vast gains resulting to the nation from its trade and to the government from duties, the great influence which this commodity have had on politics and on the reformation of social life is not easily calculated. The permanence of the tea trade had thus become a necessity.

27 Pritchard, *Anglo-Chinese Relations During the 17th & 18th Centuries.*

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Towards January, 1761, Alexander Dalrymple [28] visited Balambangan, situated on the Sulu Seas about 13 miles from "the most northerly part of Borneo." [29] In return for the release of the Sultan from his captivity in the Spanish Philippines, Dalrymple obtained concessions for the plantation of a colony and the erection of a factory by a treaty concluded on January 28, 1761. This treaty was ratified by the "Dato Bindaharo" (head of the nobility) and the "chief people" of Sulu in September, 1761, with promises of further grant of territories in future that may be desired by the Company.[30] In July, 1762, an expedition was fitted out from Madras against the Philippine Islands "as belonging to Spain who had then allied herself with France and was at war with Great Britain." The immediate interest of the Company in this enterprise was the security of their China trade. The sea and land forces employed in this expedition were placed under Rear-Admiral Cornish, Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Naval Forces in the East Indies and Brigadier-General Draper respectively. In October, 1762, Manilla was captured and "plundered with utmost rigour for more than forty hours."[31] It is rather interesting to note, by the way, the series of letters to the Directors and one to George III from the several Spanish officers in Manilla complaining of the ruthless action of the Rear-Admiral inspite of "the necessary and absolute condition that the city should be preserved from being plundered."[32]

On January 23, 1763, Dalrymple took possession of Balambangan in the name of the English Company and

[28] Dalrymple, an eminent Scottish hydrographer, entered the service of the Coy. in Madras, as writer, at the early age of 16. He became so interested in the Eastern trade that inspite of the remonstrances of Lord Pigot he left service in 1759 and undertook voyages to the East Indies.

[29] Crawfurd, *Dictionary of the Indian Islands*, p. 27.

[30] Factory Records, I, Borneo.

[31] Home Miscellaneous, No. 77.

[32] *Ibid.*, Letters dated February 24, 1763.

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hoisted the British flag there.[33] On the strength of the stipulations made in the treaty of 1761, concession of territories " in the northern part of the mainland of Borneo and the southern part of Palawan with the intervening islands under the sovereignty of the Sulu Sultan " was obtained in September, 1763. To this was added " by way of sale " on June 29, 1764, the Sulu district from Towsan Abai on the north to Keemannes on the north-west with " all the islands southward of Borneo."[34]

The Spanish Governor of Manilla claimed sovereignty over the territories of the Sulu Sultan by previons treaty rights and protested against such commercial treaties with territorial concessions not only as an encroachment on Spanish sphere of influence but as " infractions of the treaties subsisting between Great Britain and Spain." [35] The capital question of sovereignty thus stood open to be explained. Could Sulu be regarded as an independent state or reckoned as being within the limits of the Spanish Philippines? The treaties of Westphalia and Munster " confined " the Spaniards to their [36] " then possessions of navigation " and " precluded " them from further extension

[33] Factory Records, I, Borneo.

[34] *Ibid.*

[35] Governor of Manilla to the Governor and Council of Fort St. George, dated the 9th April, 1764 : Factory Records, I, Borneo :—

" This island (Balambangan) is included in the number of the Philippines, being situated within their limits; the king of it is an ally and a tributary to the king my master; he has entered into a treaty of alliance and friendship offensive and defensive with this Government—during the administration of my predecessor for which reason anything which he has agreed to contrary thereto must be null and void.....It is evident that the subjects of his Britannic Majesty cannot, without breaking through these sacred agreement establish either factory and commerce in the island of Xolo."

[36] The " *Recopilacion de las Leys* " does not rank " Mindanao " amongst the " Philipinas. " Only the islands northward of Mindanao are comprehended within the limits of the " Philipinas: " " to the district of the Philipinas and their confines those of Mindanao are adjacent ". Sulu is more remote from the Philipinas and under the jurisdiction of its own laws. *Vide* " *Ley Recopilada*," 12 Til., 2, lib. 6,

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in the East Indies. The Spaniards had withdrawn from Sulu two years before the conclusion of these treaties.[37] Unless therefore it could be made to appear that in January, 1648, Sulu was in possession of Spain, the latter could hardly legitimately uphold any pretensions to sovereignty over the kingdom and attempt to exclude the English from forming an establishment at Balambangan. The English therefore were "at liberty to cultivate an intercourse with Sulu without infringing the Spanish rights." Despatches from the Court of Directors, dated the 17th August, 1768, arrived at Madras with instructions " to send proper persons to take possession of Balambangan and to pursue all necessary measures for opening a trade in the Eastern Archipelago." Prior to that, on 3rd August, 1768, the Madras Council had met to confer with Mr. Alexander Dalrymple and Mr. Robert Gregory " on the measures for conducting the plan for opening a trade with the islands of the Eastern Archipelago and the coast of Cochin China by means of a settlement at Balambangan," and had proposed to appoint Dalrymple in command of "the ship to be entertained for this undertaking which should be manned and armed in a sufficient manner " supported by a military corps (a detachment of 80) furnished from Fort St. George. The expedition was to sail from Madras in October, 1768. With a view to increasing the advantages and interests of the Company and to prevent all abuses as far as possible, in the first instance for three years from the date of the foundation of the settlement, all trade was to be concentrated in its hands and to remove the temptations and "high prospects of lucrative advantages" to be derived

[37] The treaty of 14th April, 1764, between Spain and Sulu stipulates that the former shall withdraw from the island of Sulu. The annual tribute of 3 vessels of rice promised by Sulu to the Spaniards was paid " not in acknowledgement of a Spanish claim of dominion " but as " recompence " and " free gift in gratitude and sign of brotherhood. " The treaty thus clearly refutes " every pretence of superiority."

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therefrom, the servants of the Company were to be debarred from inland private trade and their appointments settled "in a satisfactory manner." The settlement was also to be free of all port duties. To establish a populous colony, the Chinese, Bugguese and natives of the neighbouring islands should be encouraged to come and form settlements there.

Balambangan had all the advantages of a convenient station and was expected to be of immense help to the navigation of the Company in the East Indies. In itself the island was sterile, uninhabited and situated in the most piratical and barbarous neighbourhood of the whole Archipelago but it had two excellent harbours protected and difficult of access; it was also central to the countries where gold, pearls, spices and other valuable articles of eastern commerce were produced and consumed; it lay in the only navigable channel between Borneo, Palawan and the Calmianes and goods might be transported down-stream by the numerous rivers which flow from the lake of Keeney Baloo to the remote parts of Borneo and the produce of the interior districts received in exchange delivered at the mouth of these rivers. The settlement would thus help to create a balance of trade in favour of Bengal by an investment of its goods there and save it from a constant drainage of its silver. This would also enable the Company to replenish the coffers of the home treasury with the immense wealth expected to be derived from the revenue of Bengal. The new establishment would take immense quantities of the rejected piece-goods that then fell into the hands of the Dutch who supplied to the amount of more than 20 *lacs* annually in those articles from Batavia to the Manilla and Bugguese traders "at a very high advance." These goods might be provided at a rate full 50% cheaper than the Dutch and would ultimately deprive them of a very profitable transaction. A very

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advantageous vend for Bengal opium could also be set on foot. It could be bartered for tin and spices brought by the Malays at 50% lower rate than the Dutch.- The settlement, moreover, would help to divert the China trade into a more profitable channel, and free that trade from the difficulties under which it then laboured. The Canton monopolists had very nearly ruined the English woollen manufactures and the baneful effects of raising the prices of the China commodities were so severely felt by the English Company that some remedy was considered to be of imminent necessity. These commodities could be brought to Balambangan and the exemption of duties there might contribute towards disposing of the goods more easily than at Canton. The Canton Company would thus be ultimately humbled.

The scheme for the settlement at Balambangan did not materialise till September, 1772. Dalrymple had been "guilty of a breach of confidence towards the Court of Directors and of ingratitude towards the Company" for "the publication of the Company's intentions to form a new establishment" and was dismissed from the Company's service on 21st March, 1771.[38] In June, 1771, the Company settled the plan for making the experiment and carried it into execution. Instructions for the establishment were transmitted in "a separate letter" from the Court of Directors to Bombay, dated 12th June, 1771, which was received at Bombay on 7th January, 1772, and was sent from thence to the Governor and Council of Fort St. George on 22nd April, 1772. The letter did not reach Madras till 26th May, 1772. John Herbert, belonging to the Company's settlement at Fort Marlbro, was appointed by the Directors to be chief at Balambangan. The *Britannia* was put under Herbert's orders on 15th August,

[38] Dalrymple was again restored to the Company's service on 21st March, 1775, under the conditions prescribed by the Act of Parliament of the 13th year of George III's reign.

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1772. She did not, however, sail from Fort St. George till 15th September, 1772, nor arrive at Balambangan till 12th December, 1773, the chief having stopped on his way, formed a temporary factory at Passir and sold the principal part of the *Britannia's* cargo to himself and his associates at Sulu before their departure from that place. The settlement was short-lived lasting only for a couple of years. Notwithstanding the fair prospects of success represented in all the letters written by the chief and council and the cordiality with which they said they were received,[39] the new settlement was taken on 26th February, 1775, by the "natives and people of Soolo with all the books of account, almost all the Company's goods, arms and other property and all our people were either killed in the attack or entirely routed out and drove away." Such of the servants of the Company "as could make their escape he took themselves to ships which lay in Balambangan road and after some time rendezvoused at Labaon, near the island of Borneo, from whence they wrote the Court of Directors the most correct account they are able of the Company's loss and of their debt and credit."[40]

The reasons for this untoward fate which met the settlement in its infancy are mainly to be found in the unreliable character and dilatory conduct of the chief and his council who placed above everything the motive for private gains to the detriment of the wider interests and the welfare of the Company and by an unauthorized exercise of power if not "a formal breach of positive orders" carried to an unlimited extent the practice of private trading. They also neglected in taking precautionary measures of fortifying the settlement against the possibilities of external attack. On 3rd January,

[39] In 1774 the Company had entered into a treaty with the Sultan of Brunei, by which, in return for a promise of protection against the pirates of Sulu and Mindano, they received the monopoly of the pepper trade in his dominions. The inefficacy of such a promise was demonstrated in the following year.

[40] Factory Records, I, Borneo; Case for the East India Company.

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1775, a month before the settlement fell into the hands of the Sulus, the Directors wrote to the chief and council disapproving of their conduct "in many particulars," censured them on "the unwarrantable profusion of expense at Balambangan," looked upon their several transactions as "presumptuous, indiscreet and unauthorized" and concluded with discharging them from that service and ordering Herbert to return home to answer the charges against him.[41] The only extenuating circumstance, for the actions of Herbert and his party, is to be found in the fact that the general morality of the servants of the Company of the day was not above reproach. It was not an uncommon trait to be found in other settlements, too, that the higher sense of duty was too often allowed to be obscured by selfish notions of private interests.

While Dalrymple was active in extracting opportune terms from the Sulu Sultan as a reward for releasing him from captivity, the Directors were corresponding with the Council of Bencoolen as to the feasibility of a settlement at Tappanooley or some part in Keyser's Bay. Engineer officers were sent out from England by the Directors to survey the several islands in the Strait of Malacca and the Indian Ocean (adjacent to Sumatra) and the plains contiguous to them, Robert Nairne, for example, after surveying Pulo Pisang (an island at the southern extremity of the Malay Peninsula), spoke highly of its strategic position; its situation is such that "it might be rendered at a small expense almost impregnable to any European power," the only objection to a settlement there was "its small extent." Nairne also supplied "strange details of the aspects of the Strait of Bali." The Bencoolen Council, in the meantime, had expressed its opinion that a settlement in Keyser's Bay would "answer every purpose"; it lay "extremely convenient for the succour

[41] Factory Records, I, Borneo.

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and support of your China ships." On the other hand, there were insuperable obstacles against Tappanooley. It had no doubt the one advantage of having " a fine and capacious harbour " but it was " far from the pepper settlements and less convenient for the resort of prows from the eastward than even Marlborough." [42] No definite steps were, however, taken for the plantation of settlements at any of these places referred to.

About the same time that the plans for making the Balambangan experiment were taking shape, the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors in a despatch dated 10th April, 1771, forwarded instructions to Madras for forming a settlement at Acheen.[43] Pursuant to these orders the Secretary to the Madras Council wrote on 7th February, 1772, to Messrs Jourdan and De Souza, agents to traders (of Madras) to Acheen and places to the eastward for " such lights and information as they could give with respect to the trade to and from Acheen, Quedah and places adjacent, as also with regard to the state of the country and the privileges they have obtained by means of their intercourse and traffic with those parts." [44] In consequence of this letter the agents communicated to the Madras Governor extracts of letters received from Captain Light relating to " the trade and particular circumstances " of the places and people of the Eastern Archipelago. Captain Francis Light, " a name which is unfamiliar to most English ears and wanting from most of

[42] Wright and Reid, *The Malay Peninsula*, pp. 50-52.

[43] Factory Records, Sumatra, 15, 1772-73, Diary and Proceedings of the Select Committee of Fort St. George.

[44] Sumatra (Factory Records), 15, 1772-73, Diary and Proceedings of the Select Committee of Fort St. George. Towards the mid-18th century, methods of conducting business came to be organised " on a definite and permanent basis." Firms took the place of loosely associated individuals. The joint-stock method of trade became more " permanent partnerships." Messrs. Jourdan, Sullivan and De Souza was one of these several joint-stock trading firms which aimed particularly at re-establishing the English trade at Acheen. Dodwell, *The Nabobs of Madras*, Ch. IX, pp. 125 ff.

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our biographical dictionaries,"[45] was in the opinion of Sir John Macpherson " a man of excellent character and good information."[46] Captain James Scott, who describes himself as " a potsman struggling to pay off some incumbrances... formerly a trading master and owner otherwise little known," speaks of Light in the following terms :

> "A Captain Francis Light who speaks Siamese and has been long a resident on the island of Salong, who is a personal friend of Pia Pimons (governor of Salong) and known and respected by the islanders....."[47]

In a subsequent letter he refers to Light as a man of " local knowledge " and " enlarged experience,"[48] The sources of his early history are extremely obscure. Having resigned the Royal Navy in 1765, he came out to India and was given command of a ship plying between India and the Malay ports. As one of the representatives " fixed at Acheen " by his firm, he " traded with Siam and Malay with great success and acquired full command of the Malay language, Oriental customs and the knowledge of ruling men." As early as 1769 we come across a letter of Light to his friend Andrew Ross representing the nature of the trade to Rhio and the chances of the establishment of a factory on Pulo Byang (Bintang).[49] The king of Rhio was an independent monarch " as yet unmolested by any European nation." The island of " Byang " was his usual residence. Of late years his port " became a place of considerable trade particularly frequented by the English, which occasions the Dutch to look on this port as their

[45] A. Francis Steuart, *A Short Sketch of the Lives of Francis and William Light*, p. 3; Davy MSS. British Museum.

[46] Macpherson to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, dated 26th January, 1786: Straits Settlements (Bengal Consultations, No. 717), I.

[47] James Scott to Macartney, dated 28th October, 1785: Straits Settlements, II.

[48] Same to Cornwallis, dated 4th September, 1786 : P. W., I, Straits, Vol. II.

[49] Light to Andrew Ross, Esq., dated Fort St. George, 1st Feb., 1769: Straits Settlements, Vol I. Rhio. Situated on the S. W. coast of Bintang, above 50 m. S. E. of Singapore; also a group of islands in the Eastern Archipelago to the south and east of Singapore, chief of which is Bintang.

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rival." The Dutch had already insulted several "proes" belonging to that port. This gave the king "a great deal of uneasiness," and apprehensive of further molestations "by that barbarous nation," as he calls the Dutch, also to prevent his port from falling into their hands he promptly agreed to Light's suggestions for allowing the latter to hoist the English colours upon Po. Byang and put him in possession of the fort upon it; the fort was in a dilapidated state "a little out of repair" but "mounts twelve eighteen pounders at present and may be repaired with a trifling expense." Light, of course, was willing to defend the king "from the insult of any other nation provided that he was under no contract nor agreement with any other nation but himself entirely independent;" yet conscious of his limitations as simply a representative of a mercantile firm he was not inclined to act on his own independent authority and transact a business "of such moment" without first representing it to "the gentlemen of Bombay or Bengal." Light in consequence pledged himself to return an answer to the king's offer "in eight months accidents excepted."[50] Rhio was a place of considerable commercial activity. It was so well situated and so convenient for trade that it was then looked upon "to be the key of the Straits of Malacca." It was the first port of call and frequented by "proes" from Borneo, Bally, Java and all the Eastern islands, likewise from Siam, Cambodia, Tissimpo, Quinum and Cochin China. The productions of the place were "tin plenty, bettle nut, wax, raw dammer, sago, poonspay of any size or length.....gold and dollars at times...plenty and spices....."[51] These goods might be taken in and opium, rice (Bintang did not produce any rice) and

[50] The relations of the English with Rhio will be dealt with in a subsequent paragraph.

[51] Light sold in one day ten thousand dollars worth of goods and received his money the next day. Light to Andrew Ross, Fort St. George, 1st Feb., 1769: Straits Settlements, Vol. I.

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other merchandise from Bengal, painted goods, etc., from the Coromandel coast, cotton, stick lack, etc., from Surat sold at Rhio "for a good price" (to an estimated amount of two *lacs*). The trading vessels could then go round to the west coast of Sumatra and purchase Benjamin there. The advantages of hoisting the English flag at Byang were therefore too apparent. It would soon become a place of very extensive trade and "might in a few years hurt Batavia; it would certainly bring the China trade to it."

Captain Light next shifted the scene of his activity to Quedah.[52] He went over to that place early in 1771 "with a view of remaining there if he should meet with encouragement which the Rajah had given him the amplest manner."

Quedah is at the entrance of the Straits of Malacca. It is a small country about 150 miles long and 30 or 35 broad. It contained about 100,000 inhabitants; produced "more grain than is necessary for the use of inhabitants, cattle, poultry and fish in general abundance.....fruits in great plenty.....its climate healthy."[53] The king of Quedah's dominions extended from Perak to very near Junk Ceylon and "produced rice, dammer, rattans, wax, bird's nests, beche de marre, a little gold and pearl, blackwood and a special kind of timber proper for housebuilding which the worms cannot touch."[54] Yet its commercial importance arose not so much from its own produce and consumption as from "its convenient situation for all prows to come to barter their goods with each other."[55] Indeed Quedah was "a mart for the streights," "a place for public exchange." Traversed by navigable

[52] Steuart is of opinion that the island of Salong appears to have been the headquarters of Captain Light. Steuart, *A Short Sketch of the Lives of Francis and William Light*, p. 6.

[53] Light to Macpherson, dated Calcutta, 15th Feb., 1786: Straits Settlements, II.

[54] Light to Hastings, dated Quedah, 17th Jan., 1772: Warren Hastings Papers, General Correspondence, Vol. II; Br. Mus. Add. MSS. 29, 133.

[55] Moncton to Dupre, dated Quedah Bahang, 22nd April, 1772: Proc. Select Committee of Fort St. George, 25th June, 1772.

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rivers the country was admirable for an inland trade.[56] Its ideal geographical position on a great ocean highway facilitated the transport of its riches to the sea and a considerable trade had for many years past been carried on with Bengal, Surat and the Coromandel coast—opium, silver, blue cloth, ordinary white cloth, *morees*, and *succatoons* being the chief commercial articles received in return for tin, wax, elephants, elephant's teeth and betel-nut.

The revenue of Quedah amounted to about Rs. 1,00,000 annually, derived mainly from the profits on "a restrictive commerce in general." The king "as usual in those petty kingdoms, was the chief merchant of his kingdom"; he "engrosses all the tin and opium himself, of everything else he buys as much as he thinks proper, after which they (the people) have leave to sell where they please without duties."[57] The king was "in strict alliance with the kings of Trangana, Johore and several other powerful monarchs" but in force or resources could hardly cope with either Ava or Siam, two of the most formidable powers of the day to the east of the Bay of Bengal. Quedah in fact was tributary to Siam in a very loose sense.

Early in 1771, the Salengorians having invaded Quedah, plundered and sacked its capital, the king of Quedah by

[56] At Quedah prows and vessels from all parts of India met to exchange their commodity. From Acheen the traders brought "betel nutt & pepper, & gold & carried back Chinacups, tobacco, silk, coast brown & blue cloth, cotton & silver; from Battaban & other ports on the east coast of Sumatra they brought gold, pepper & rattans which they exchanged for coast & Bengal goods; from the Molucca islands they brought gold, spices & tin which they exchanged for opium & piecegoods of every sort; from China arrived large junks in which they brought chinaware, gold thread, sugar, tobacco, silk unwrought, & wrought boxes, nankeen, coarse cloth & copper ware, they returned with silver, tin, pepper, bird's nests, beche de marre, shark fins, blue cloth & Bengall piecegoods; from Patani was brought elephants & wrought silk 'a cloth which is very much wore by the Malays in all parts'; the Patany silk cloths are sent to Junk Ceylon from thence transported to Siam..." Light to Warren Hastings, dated Quedah, 17th July 1772: Hastings Papers, Vol II.

[57] Light to Hastings, dated Quedah, 17th July, 1772: Hatings Papers, II, Br. Mus., Add. MSS. 29, 133.

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letter, dated 18th March, 1771, applied to the Governor of Madras for the support and assistance of the Company to reinstate him in the possession of his country and to enable him to drive out the invaders. To this letter and application the Governor replied under date the 11th July, 1771, "in general terms of friendship and goodwill not thinking the affairs of a country so distant and with which the Company had as yet no connection deserving the serious attention of this goverment." [58]

Negotiations were then set on foot between the king of Quedah and the joint agents at Acheen [59] on reciprocal basis of assistance and commercial privileges. The English agreed to despatch "two vessells with guns, powder, arms and 100 seapoys with Captain Light.....to keep out any enemy whatever," provided the king allowed the English "to keep a house in Quedah" and granted them a license "for the whole trade of the Europeans, bugguese prows..... with all vessells and for all merchandize which the king was used to trade in"; the trade was to be carried on in a "joint account"..... "the profits shall be divided into three parts, one part to be given to the king, one part to be sent to Madras and one part to Captain Light to pay the expence of the seapoys and other expences attending the factory." The king was "well pleased" with the proposals. Light communicated the terms of this agreement to his firm at Madras in a letter dated 18th August, 1771:

> ".....the king of Quedah has granted to you the Qualla or sea port of Quedah, with a fort lying near it to be kept by you, in consideration that you will promise to assist him against the people of Salengore. The force it will be necessary to maintain for this service and the expences of the factory, the king proposes should

[58] Josias Du Pre to Edward Moncton, Fort St. George, 23rd Feb., 1772: Diary and Proceedings of the Select Committee of Fort St. George: Sumatra, 15.

[59] Mr. Gowan Harrop and Captain Francis Light.

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be equally divided between you and him and that the trade be carried on in your joint account....." [60]

Apprehensive of Dutch intrigues in the court of Quedah, Light exhorts his firm to take advantage of the offer before it is too late,

"....if you do not take advantage of this offer it will be given to the Dutch, and I refer to your consideration whether the Dutch possessing this port may not exclude the English entirely from trading in the streights." [61]

In a subsequent series of letters Light refers to the further territorial concessions made by the king :[62]

"....he has granted not only the Qualla of Quedah but the whole coast from this place to Pelu Pinang",

and again cautions his firm of detrimental consequences to English trade "in case this place falls into the hands of any other."

Light's accounts of the geographical situation of some of the places in the archipelago, the political condition and attitude of the rulers together with the offers of the king of Quedah were forwarded by Madras to the Directors for information. But before the details reached home, the Directors had already communicated their sentiments regarding the iniquities of the private traders in Acheen and passed orders to take over immediately whatever factories might have been established by private joint-stock companies there with adequate compensations to them.[63] A series of communications followed between the government and the private

[60] Light to Messrs Jourdan, Sullivan and De Souza, Quedah, August 18, 1771: Sumatra, 15.

[61] *Ibid.*, November 25, 1771.

[62] *Ibid.*

[63] Refer to the "Incident of the Fortune": Directors to Fort St. George, dated May 8, 1771: Factory Records, Sumatra, 15.

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companies in Madras ultimately maturing in the decision of the Madras government to send two embassies to Quedah and Acheen under Edward Moncton and Charles Desvouex respectively.[64] Moncton sailed from Madras for Quedah on February 23-26, 1772, whereas Desvouex left Madras for Acheen on the 24th. Moncton arrived at Quedah on April 9, 1772, and had "a public audience" with the king on the morning of the 14th. The fate of the mission has already been related. Moncton found the Sultan a very difficult person to handle. The Sultan's main anxiety was to secure military assistance against the Salengorians and when he realised the disinclination of the English to offer "any offensive assistance" he "politely" informed Moncton of his inability to grant any territories to the Company for the erection of the forts. Moncton left Quedah on December 13, and after a journey through Rhio and Tringano reached Madras on January 12, 1773. Captain Light was present as auxiliary all through the negotiations and interviews between Moncton and the Sultan of Quedah. He left Quedah "in disgust" in May, 1772, and went to Junk Salang to "to settle as a private merchant and was well received by the governor and principal inhabitants of the island."[65] The Madras government, however, treated the failure of the mission as "proofs of little dependence to be placed on the representation of persons whose characters are not well-known and tried."[66]

In the meantime Desvouex had reached Acheen on March 26, 1772. His reception was marked by "the greatest courtesy," but "the distracted state of that govern-

64 Factory Records, Sumatra, 15.

65 Captain James Scott believed that the attempts to establish settlements or factories failed "from a radical fault in the modes in which they were attempted and an ignorance of customs and manners of the people in those trusted with their execution." Moncton in the opinion of the Sultan of Quedah was "a stuttering boy."

66 Sumatra, 15.

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ment, the weakness and insincerity of the Sultan, his poverty and the jealousy which his subjects entertained of the intentions of the Company were objections that operated too strongly to be removed and destroyed every hope of success." It was therefore resolved to withdraw the factory immediately and, after dilatory negotiations lasting for nearly ten months, Desvouex returned to Madras about the same time as Moncton.

Before the Moncton embassy had been despatched, Francis Light communicated to Warren Hastings particulars respecting Quedah and Penang recommending the latter as a convenient magazine for the eastern trade.[67] The need for a British settlement in the neighbourhood of the Malaya Peninsula had not escaped the "keen eye of" Warren Hastings. But the troubles with his council added to other political complications in India made it impossible for Hastings to take any active steps in that direction. Light came to Bengal in 1780, represented the circumstances to Hastings and proposed the alternative of a British settlement, "by private enterprise and subscription," on the island of Junk Salang on the ground that "it was a flourishing emporium with 50,000 inhabitants and much trade." A plan was accordingly formed and presented to the Hon. Board "who gave it their sanction in a Public Letter." The plan did not materialise due to the French wars. There is no doubt that the project "might have been carried through and Penang and Junk Salang formed into a joint settlement" as originally proposed by Light.[68]

[67] Warren Hastings Papers: General Correspondence; Add. MSS. 29, 133. British Museum.

[68] The negotiations for a joint settlement at Penang and Junk Salang was also supported by James Scott who spoke highly of the convenience of the later place. Macpherson negatived the proposal to colonise Salang on the ground that "a larger force would be required to keep it and Penang was the more favourable of the two." As late as 1787, Light furnished Cornwallis with a full account of the island Salang. Ref. to Factory Records, Straits, Vol. II.

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On the 8th of November, 1781, Hillsborough, who was then the President of the Board of Trade and Foreign Plantations, placed a series of questions before Laurence Sulivan, Chairman, and Sir William James, Deputy Chairman of the East India Company, relative to a proposed expedition to the Cape of Good Hope. The Directors of the Company took this opportunity to talk of the absolute necessity "from the length of the voyage between Europe and India, that there be some port or place to furnish refreshment and supplies, and that such a place be situated as nearly to midway as possible."[69] They also laid before Hillsborough the advantages of having settlements either at Acheen or the Nicobor and the Andaman islands.[70] In 1781, the Bengal Government was directed to attempt a settlement at Acheen. Such an attempt was made in 1782 and again in 1784 by Kinloch with no other success than the admission of a commercial residency which was withdrawn in 1785.[71]

The failure at Acheen was followed by an attempt at Rhio under Captain Thomas Forrest, who had accompanied Dalrymple to Balambangan. Captain Forest during the period in question was engaged in surveying the Mergui Archipelago and the adjacent coasts, on the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal. In the interval between his communications to Bengal regarding the possibilities of a settlement at Rhio,[72] and the Bengal Government's sanction of the idea[73] and their despatch to the Court informing them of the offer of the King

69 Home Misc., No. 155 (Oct-Dec. 1781), East Indies Series, No. 63.

70 *Ibid.*, Sulivan and James to Hillsborough, November 16, 1781.

71 In 1798, Colonel McDonald, then Supdt. of P. W. I. submitted to the Governor-General-in-Council proposals of a treaty with the king of Acheen. The proposals were declined. Ref. to Second Report, App. No. 68.

72 Dated April 15, 1784.

73 Dated May 31, 1784.

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of Rhio [74], the government of Batavia had "fitted out a large force of about 20 vessels and blocked the port of Rhio." [75]

Macpherson submitted Captain Francis Light's letters and other papers with the King of Quedah's grant to the consideration of Mr. Joseph Price, "a respectable merchant of Bengal and thoroughly conversant in the country trade." After investigations Price submitted his report to the Governor-General on February 23, 1786. On March 2, 1786, the Supreme Government recorded on their Consultations their resolution "to accept the King of Quedah's offer to the Company of the harbour and island of Penang." In their letter to the Court, of March 25, 1786, they declared that "the possession of the island cannot fail of being of the greatest utility to any maritime power in India." In consideration of the Board's "favourable opinion of Captain Light, his knowledge of the Malay language and the high esteem in which he stands with the King of Cudda and other Malay chiefs," it was resolved that "he be vested with the charge and Superintendence of the island of Penang on the part of the Company." [76] Light was to draw a salary of *Sicca* Rs. 500 per month. The amount set aside in favour of Captain Light for the management of the expedition and presents to the kings of Quedah and Rhio were *Sicca* Rs. 20,000 and *Sicca* Rs. 4,117. Light took possession of the island of Penang "in the name of His Brittanic Majesty and for the use of the Hon'ble East India Company" and hoisted the British flag on August 11, 1786. Thus was laid the foundation stone of the British Empire in the Malay Indies. Macpherson considered this acquisition as one of the chief glories of his brief administration.

[74] Dated August 23, 1784. Ref. to *The French in India* (Factory Records), Vol. 6, 1772-97.

[75] Light to Andrew Ross, April 14, 1784; Light to Macpherson, June 25, 1786; Factory Records, Straits, Vol. II.

[76] *A Memoir of Prince of Wales' Island* by Wissett: Factory Records, Straits, Vol. II.

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16

ENVIRONMENT OF INDIAN NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE MUTINY

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(Abstract)

This paper discusses the conditions immediately after the Mutiny marking an awakening of national consciousness.

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17

ANGLO-DUTCH DISPUTES DURING VERELST'S ADMINISTRATION IN BENGAL (1767-69)

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Clive's decisive triumph over the Dutch armament in 1759 had shattered the political ambitions of the Chinsura authorities, but though they afterwards gave no cause for a renewal of hostilities, they never ceased to envy the commercial ascendancy of their English rivals and resented the assumption of the *Diwani* by the latter. Powerless to harm the English either at arms, or at diplomacy, the Dutch authorities at Chinsura, however, always grumbled at the interruption and decline of their commerce and bitterly complained of the vexatious opposition and rapacity of the Nawab's officials as well as the English *gumashtahs*. Such complaints not infrequently occasioned acrimonious disputes which tended to accentuate the commercial jealousy subsisting between the Dutch and the English Companies in Bengal.

The English relations with the Chinsura authorities were particularly strained during Verelst's regime because of commercial reasons. The Dutch trade in Bengal was doubtless adversely affected by the steady enlargement [1] of the English Company's Investment, [2] whereas the inland

[1] Beng. Sel. Com., March 10, 1767.

[2] Notwithstanding the increase of the Company's Investment, the Directors suspected that the cargoes of the Dutch and the French ships were "more valuable than ours," and found fault with their servants for "providing cargoes for the French and Dutch ships." Letter from Court, November 20, 1767.

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trade of the Dutch merchants was totally prohibited.[3] As a result of all this there was naturally great resentment at Chinsura. It may be pointed out here, in fairness to the English Directors, that they not only did not desire to see the trade of the other European Companies unfairly handicapped, but expressly advised their servants in Bengal to prevent all possible encroachments on the commercial rights and privileges hitherto enjoyed by them.

"We may reasonably expect," the Directors wrote[4] in 1766, "the other European nations will be jealous of our growing powers in Bengal. It must therefore be a particular object of our attention to give them no just cause of complaint, but to let them possess the same privileges they are entitled to. Great care should be taken that our servants in the subordinates; and our Gomastahs at all Aurungs do not impede them in their investments. The Company's advantages in the revenue are now become blended with the general welfare of the country, so that it is our interest as well as our duty to promote as much as possible the bringing of money from all quarters into the country for which reason as well as to prevent disputes with their sovereigns in Europe, we recommend it to you in general to be very circumspect in your behaviour to them, and in no way to intrude upon their privileges." Again, in 1768, the Directors similarly cautioned the authorities at Calcutta: "The freedom of trade of other European traders should not upon any account be infringed, though, at the same

[3] Beng. Sel. Com., October 13, 1767.

(*Vide* the '*parvanah*' from Nawab Saifuddaulah, dated October 7, 1767, to the Dutch and other European merchants forbidding them to trade in articles like grain, salt, betelnut and tobacco.)

Beng. Sel. Com., November 29, 1767.

(*Vide* the trade regulations circulated by the Ministers to the *Zamindars* and officers of the Government prohibiting the inland trade of the Europeans.)

[4] Letter from Court, May 17, 1766.

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time, we expect it should be reciprocal as well in their lands as in ours.[5]

The earliest complaint that Verelst received from the Dutch was about the frequent detention[6] of their boats at the custom *chaukis*. Such detentions, however, were not always due to the rapacity of the *chaukidars*, as the Dutch represented,[7] but were generally caused by a number of other circumstances which the latter for obvious reasons never cared to admit. In the first place, as the *dastaks* issued by the Dutch authorities were often vaguely worded and did not contain a precise statement regarding the particulars of the goods, the customs officials were compelled to detain the boats in order to check all the goods carried in them. In the second place, detentions were sometimes necessarily prolonged, because the Dutch authorities never willingly allowed their boats to be searched by the *chaukidars* who on their part would not let the boats pass without making a thorough search thereof lest the Government should be defrauded of its revenues. In the third place, as the inland trade of the Europeans had already been prohibited, the customs officials had to detain such boats as were laden with goods not meant for the recognised sea-borne trade. In the fourth place, the failure to pay up the necessary duties at the customs stations was also a frequent cause of delay in the release of the boats.

In order to obviate such causes of detention, Verelst issued strict instructions[8] to Muhammad Riza Khan that the European Companies should forthwith be asked to mention full particulars of their merchandise in the *dastaks*, and allow their boats to be searched at the recognised *chaukis*. The

[6] Letter from Court, March 16, 1768.

[5] Cop. P. L. I., 1766-67, No. 1; Trans. P. L. I., 1766-67, No. 4; Cop. I, 1766-67, No. 31; Abs. I, 1766-67, p. 9.

[7] Beng. Pub. Cons., August 17, 1767.

[8] Cop. P. L. I., 1766-67, No. 4.

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Governor pointed out, " if no search is made at Serampur, Jellingy,[9] and Rajmahal, the Sarkar will be defrauded of its revenues, as the said European people will be free to trade in all the mahals lying between these chaukis without paying any duties. Also they will be able to land and sell their goods duty-free at any place on this side of Azimabad as far as the chauki of Rajmahal. The result will be that all the trade of that part of the country will fall into their hands. When the English and other merchants do not object to their goods and boats being searched, there does not seem to be any reason why the Dutch and the French should. "[10]

While Verelst was unwilling to pay any attention to unreasonable complaints concerning the detention of boats, he took all possible steps to prevent the illegal practice of the *chaukidars*, who were strictly warned on this subject and were instructed not to give the European merchants any just cause for complaint. Any delinquency on the part of the *chaukidars* was severely dealt with, and Muhammad Riza Khan had instructions from the Governor to dismiss [11] them from their posts, when their guilt was fully established. For instance, when the Dutch authorities complained early in 1767 against the *chaukidar* of Bhutmari for having wrongfully collected more than the usual amount of duties, the latter was ordered to refund the excess amount collected and was afterwards dismissed from his post.[12] Muhammad Riza Khan was ordered by the Governor to keep a strict eye on such repacious *chaukidars*, and whenever the Dutch *vakil* made any complaints against them, they were always promptly examined by Muhammad Riza Khan.[13] On

[9] Jalangi.
[10] Cop. P. L. I., 1766-67, No. 4.
[11] Abs. R., 1767-71, p. 15.
[12] Trans. R., 1766-68, No. 125.
[13] *Ibid.*

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account of such strict regulations, the complaints against the *chaukidars* gradually came to an end.

A more serious complaint which the Dutch preferred to Verelst shortly after his assumption of office was in regard to the obstacles they met with in their opium trade. The Dutch evidently suspected [14] that the English Company intended to monopolise the entire business in Bihar opium. Such a suspicion arose from the fact that a person formerly in the service of the Company had recently been entrusted with the sole management of the opium business. The Dutch complained that in consequence of this appointment they were unable to make fair and equitable purchases for their own requirements from the dealers.[15] The Governor took prompt action in the matter and ordered [16] Muhammad Riza Khan to see that the Dutch were not deprived of their legitimate share in the opium business, as the Directors had recently written to the Calcutta authorities, " .....do not obstruct the Dutch in their opium trade which is an object of such importance to them that any difficulties they may be laid under in this part of their investment will certainly be attended with very disagreeable altercations between the two Companies in Europe, and must, as much as possible, be avoided."[17]

Verelst was in favour of the opium business being left free to all traders so that the revenues of the Government might not suffer. Under instructions from him, therefore, Muhammad Riza Khan issued orders [18] to Raja Shitab Ray to open the trade to all people, and prevent any individual from engrossing the entire business. Thus the " open door " policy in opium

14 Trans. I., 1766-67, No. 82.
15 Cop. I., 1766-67, No. 81.
16 Trans. R., 1766-67, No. 82.
17 Letter from Court, May 17, 1766.
18 Trans. R., 1766-68, No. 125.

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trade was confirmed, and free license was given to all on payment of the requisite duties. The grievance of the Dutch was thus apparently removed, for orders were soon promulgated [19] prohibiting the establishment of monopoly by any individual or Company.

It may be pointed out here that the Governor was not unaware of the danger that the Dutch might try to grasp the whole opium business themselves by taking an undue advantage of the free trade allowed. He warned Muhammad Riza Khan that should the Dutch be ever found to be aiming at a monopoly, they should at once be deprived of their share in the business altogether and "the open door" should be closed to them.[20] This clearly shows that Verelst was ready to remove the just grievances of the Dutch, but he was not prepared to allow the interests of the English Company to be jeopardised in any manner. As an example of the Governor's fairness, it may be mentioned here that he did not approve of an increase in the duty on opium paid by the Dutch and the French, and advised Muhammad Riza Khan to maintain the old rate.[21]

The principal cause of the frequent disputes between the English and the Dutch authorities during Verelst's administration was, however, the uncommon scarcity [22] of weavers, which, in fact, unfavourably affected the foreign trade of all the European Companies. The Dutch bitterly complained [23] that the weavers engaged by them were enticed away by the agents of the English Company, and that the former supplied cloths to none except the

19 Abs. R., 1767-71, p. 15.
20 Cop. I., 1766-67, No. 81.
21 Cop. P.L.I., 1766-67, No. 4.
22 Letter from Verelst to Court, March 17, 1767.
23 Bolts, *Considerations, etc.*, pp. 73 & 192.
Verelst, *View, etc.*, App., p. 99.

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English.[24] In order to prevent such misunderstandings Clive had agreed to the institution of a joint commission for making an enquiry into the alleged cases of oppression, but the Dutch later suggested an equitable distribution of the weavers among the various European Companies. Even this proposal had been assented [25] to by Clive and Verelst on condition, however, that the complaints of the Dutch should first be investigated by the commissioners appointed for this purpose.[26] After Clive's departure, the Dutch suddenly changed their former attitude regarding the proposed enquiry, and insisted on the enumeration of the weavers as a preliminary measure. [27] They urged that they have had been complaining against the English agents for several years past without any effect, and that these disputes could not be satisfactorily settled without a final partition of the weavers.[28]

In the hope of bringing about the desired partition of the weavers, the Dutch now began to prefer serious charges against the English *gumashtahs* and *dallals* who, as the Chinsura authorities pointed out, "engaged themselves to work for nobody than for the English, beating and tormenting all of them that made bold to deliver any goods to us, cutting down from the weavers' loom the cloths that were to be made for us."[29] They further complained that in consequence of such high-handed methods adopted by the English *dallals*, the weavers now as a rule refused [30] to work for the other European Companies. As, however, the *gumashtahs* of the Dutch and the English Companies

24 Beng. Pub. Cons., June 8, 1767.

25 *Ibid.*, July 11, 1767.

26 Cop. I., 1766-67, No. 176.

27 Beng. Pub. Cons., June 8, 1767.

28 The authorities at Chandernagore, too, similarly, insisted on a partition of the weavers. *Vide* Letter from the Chief and Couucil at Chandernagore, June 18, 1767.

29 Letter from the Director and Council at Chinsura, May 26, 1767.

30 *Ibid.*, June 25, 1767.

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recriminated against each other with equal bitterness, and as there was reason to suspect that the Dutch too left no means untried to seduce [31] the weavers from the service of the English Company, Verelst informed the Chinsura authorities that the English commissioner [32] had already been appointed "to make the circuit of the aurungs," and requested them therefore to produce "positive proofs" of the alleged oppressions through their own commissioners, so that the guilty might be duly punished. The Dutch, however, showed no enthusiasm for the proposed enquiry, but continued to press [33] for an immediate partition of the weavers as the best means of obviating all chances of friction.

Although Verelst had originally favoured the idea of a partition of the weavers as desired by the Dutch and the French, he changed his mind subsequently when Muhammad Riza Khan pointed out the impracticability as well as the undesirable results of such a scheme.[34] The Governor was fully convinced that a partition of the weavers, even if it were at all practicable, would lead to disastrous consequences. In the first place, it would cause great distress to the weavers themselves. They would be forced to accept the price offered by the Company to which they were to be permanently assigned, and would not be able to dispose of their goods in the open market to the highest bidder. In the second place, the merchants of the country too would be unjustly deprived of their legitimate rights and privileges, and would be unable to secure supplies of cloths sufficient for the requirements of the people. In the third place, the total production of the goods would go down in the absence of a free competition among the purchasers.

31 Verelst, *op. cit.*, App., p. 99.

32 Letter to the Director and Council at Chinsura, June 8, 1767.

33 Letter from the Director and Council at Chinsura, June 25, 1767.

34 Cop. L., 1766-67, No. 176.

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In the fourth place, the revenues of the Government would ultimately suffer as a result of such a diminution in the output of the manufactured goods.

In view of the aforesaid considerations, the Governor and Council definitely refused [35] to acquiesce in the proposal regarding the partition of the weavers. The authorities at Chinsura thereupon vehemently protested [36] against the refusal of the English to listen to their just representations, and in vain reminded [37] the Governor that the partition of the weavers had been promised to them both by himself and Lord Clive. The Governor once more expressed his inability to comply with their request.[38] This provoked a fresh rejoinder [39] from Chinsura. The Governor and Council were, however, adamant on this point, and no compromise was consequently possible.[40] The Dutch authorities were obliged at last to relinquish [41] their claims to a partition of the weavers ; and thus the prolonged altercations between the Councils at Calcutta and Chinsura were finally terminated with good grace.

It must be stated here that Verelst's opposition to the proposed partition of the weavers was not due to economic or commercial reasons alone. The Governor appears to have considered the scheme politically inexpedient too. He thought that a partition of the weavers among the European Companies was bound to bring the *Nizamat* into contempt. [42] He stressed this aspect of the question in a general letter to the Directors in the following words, " A participation of the weavers would be to throw

35 Beng. Pub. Cons., June 3, 1767.
36 *Ibid.*, June 18, 1767.
37 Letter from the Director and Council at Chinsura, June 14, 1767.
38 Letter to the Director and Council at Chinsura, June 13, 1767.
39 Letter from the Director and Council at Chinsura, June 25, 1767.
40 Beng. Pub. Cons., July 11, 1767.
41 *Ibid.*, July 27, 1767.
42 Letter to the Dutch Director, June 11, 1767.

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off the mask, and acknowledge ourselves the sovereigns of the country. It would counteract, in the most expressive manner, the professions we make, the appearances we necessarily assume, and the endeavours we use of seeming to act from the Nabob's authority only. In a word, the disproportion of hands necessary to form their investment and yours would appear so great that we could not accept the proposals of participation, without confessing all that policy requires should be concealed." [43]

Though the proposed enumeration of the weavers could not take place for reasons stated above, the Dutch were afforded certain minor concessions which they had not enjoyed so far. At the instance of the Governor, Muhammad Riza Khan reduced [44] the *abwab* and certain other duties for the encouragement and growth of the weaving industry in Bengal. It was hoped that as a result of such reduction of duty the output of the goods would increase, and the European Companies would no more have any cause for complaint about the scarcity of goods. [45] The important measure in this connection was the abolition [46] of the duty of *mangan* [47] which the Dutch had to pay so far in common with the other European Companies. The Governor thus informed the Select Committee of this reform, "To remove every obstacle which the trade of the French and the Dutch Companies may labour under, we have exerted our interest with the ministers to get the duty of Mongen abolished, which will cause a difference of 20,000 rupees yearly to the Government." [48] Verelst was, however, fully conscious of

43 Letter to Court, September 14,1767.

44 Cop. I, 1766-67, 176.

45 Beng. Sel. Com, July 6,1767. "We have already procured the weavers an exemption from all occasional taxes, or any other demand that can in the least interrupt or impede their labours."

46 Letter to the Dutch Director, June 11,1767.

47 A cess levied to defray the allowance of the public officers at landing-places and customs stations.

48 Letter to Sel. Com., June 28, 1767.

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the fact that such superficial reforms were not likely to satisfy the Dutch, or the French, for, as he confessed, [49] "The truth of the matter is that this country does not afford a sufficient quantity of goods to answer the demands of each Company since our Company's investments have been so considerably increased, although the trade of private merchants have been curbed and curtailed to the utmost."

The Dutch did not always peacefully appeal to the Calcutta authorities for redress of their grievances. Sometimes they took the law into their own hands, and sought to intimidate the *Nizamat* officials by having recourse to unlawful violence. On such occasions, the Company's servants had to exercise their legitimate powers in preventing such unwarranted assumption of authority by the Dutch merchants.

In 1767, one such incident [50] occurred in the Burdwan District. This happened to attract the notice of the Directors who mildly rebuked their servants in Bengal for having taken strong measures against the Dutch independently of the local Raja. The Dutch had forcibly seized a customs official who was alleged to have made unlawful exactions [51] on their *gumashtah*. The Resident at Burdwan took prompt action in the matter, [52] and eventually secured release of the arrested official. The Directors, however, wrote, [53] "Altho' we approve the spirit of your conduct toward the Dutch upon their seizing the Sircar of the Gaut at Duan Gunge, yet being a matter properly recognisable by the Country Government, the Resident at Burdwan should not have taken satisfaction but obtained it through the Rajah you likewise went too far in threatening the Dutch, who

[49] *Beng. Sel. Com.*, July 6, 1767.

[50] *Beng. Pub. Cons.*, Aug. 17, 1767.

[51] Letters from Mr. Graham, Resident at Burdwan to Mr. Russell, Collector-General, July 17 and Aug. 12, 1767.

[52] Letter from Mr. Graham to the Hon'ble G. J. Vernet, Aug. 17, 1767.

[53] Letter from Court, March 16, 1768.

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refused to make proper submission for this insult, to withdraw the benefit of their trade in our lands." It was, however, difficult to observe such forbearance as was enjoined upon by the Directors, when the Dutch gave serious provocation to the Company's officials by beating and abusing [54] the subordinate servants of the Government, or by actually putting them into confinement. [55]

Mr. Bolts's alleged intrigue [56] with the Dutch further embittered the relations between the authorities at Calcutta and Chinsura. A Dutchman by birth, Mr. Bolts was suspected during his disputes with the Governor and Council to be carrying on "an improper intercourse" with the authorities at Chinsura where he frequently resided [57] inspite of the Governor's orders that he must not leave Calcutta.

In September, 1767, Mr. Kelsall, chief of the factory at Dacca, informed [58] the Governor of the re-establishment of the Dutch factory at Dacca for the promotion of the private trade of Mr. Bolts and his partner, Mr. Vernet, the Dutch Director. This "private compact of Messrs. Vernet and Bolts" [59] was considered to be a danger to the commercial interests of the Company.

Mr. Kelsall wrote, "In a letter I had the honour to address you in the month of May last, I mentioned though in a cursory manner, the footing on which the Dutch had then newly re-established their factory at Dacca, not, as the event has shown, to transact business on behalf of their Company, but, under the sanction of public authority, to fulfil a private compact of Messrs. Vernet and Bolts. The late Dutch

54 Beng. Pub. Cons., Nov. 5, 1767.
55 *Ibid.*, Dec. 24, 1767.
56 *Ibid.*, Oct. 1, 1767.
57 Verelst, *op. cit.*, App., p. 205.
58 Letter from Mr. Kelsall, Sept. 18, 1767.
59 *Ibid.*

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Resident, Mr. Lankheet, disdained to accept a commission on such terms whereupon he was superseded. His successor, when he found, instead of a representative of the Company, that he was sent up in the capacity of a mere Gomastah, to fulfil a private engagement, in like manner declined it. Both these gentlemen have ever since been violently persecuted by Mr. Vernet. Here is an Armenian, one Coja Nignel Sarties, a man that has before done business for Mr. Bolts, who, not so scrupulous as either of the Dutch gentlemen, has made no difficulty of accepting the commission. The business is now in his hands, and, to fulfil it, he has had made over to him a sum to the amount of near seven lacks of rupees:[60] so enormous a sum I should have thought even beyond the conscience even of an Armenian to presume to invest, and should have doubted my information, if I had not received it from the best authority, one of the Dutch gentlemen. I have thought it my duty to give you this intelligence, and trust, Sir, you will take measures for defeating the intentions of Messrs. Vernet and Bolts, and of the Armenian, their agent, which must naturally prejudice our Company's business and the trade in general, since, in order to get in their investment, they must necessarily purchase at an advanced price."

Although the Governor did not immediately place this letter before the Council, evidently because he awaited further information on this subject, he was convinced that Bolts' relations with the Dutch Director were not above suspicion.[61] The Council therefore resolved[62] in October, "Farther that we hear he (Mr. Bolts) is carrying on an improper intercourse with the Dutch to the prejudice of the honourable Company's affairs, and, on that account,

[60] £87,500.

[61] Verelst, *op. cit.*, App., p. 196.

[62] Beng. Pub. Cons., Oct. 1, 1767.

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positively forbid his leaving Calcutta without our express permission." Mr. Bolts, however, paid no heed to this prohibition, and continued[63] his friendship with the Dutch Director in open disregard of the Council's orders.[64] On the 9th of October,[65] he wrote to the Governor in a defiant tone, referring to the charge that he was carrying on a secret intrigue with the Dutch as utterly false and baseless. He asked to be confronted with his accusers, and claimed to have as sincere a regard for the interests of the Company as any member of the Council.[66]

Verelst's suspicion[67] that Mr. Bolts had secretly engaged with Mr. Vernet "to monopolize the cloth-trade of Dacca" could not, however, be conclusively proved, and attempts were made in vain to secure written confirmation of Mr. Kelsall's report from Mr. Lankheet. On September 19, 1768, the Council wrote[68] to the Directors, "the President this day laid before us a letter[69] he received from the Chief at Dacca concerning Mr. Bolts assisting the Dutch in procuring their investment, and acquainted us he has for some time past had intimation of the subject on which it treats. But not having been able to procure authentic proofs regarding it, he deferred recording it until this time. He is still endeavouring to gain every other information in his power, which you shall be fully acquainted within our future advice."

Mr. Kelsall's accusation against Mr. Bolts of a secret compact with Mr. Vernet failed to satisfy the Directors

[63] Letter to Court, Dec. 10, 1767.

[64] Mr. Bolts later admitted that he had been obliged to leave Calcutta "to avoid the seizure of his person." *Vide* his petition, May 19, 1769.

[65] Beng. Pub. Cons., Oct. 12, 1767.

[66] Letter from Mr. Bolts, Oct. 9, 1767.

[67] Verelst, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

[68] *Vide* post-script of Sep. 19, to Letter to Court, dated Sep. 13, 1768.

[69] This letter though received by the Governor a year ago had not been communicated to the Council so far.

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in the absence of a proper affidavit from Mr. Lankheet. The Directors thus wrote[70] to the Governor and Council, "as this representation is not authenticated either by Mr. Lankheet's affidavit, or any other evidence, we cannot make any use of it in justification for your sending Mr. Bolts to England in the manner you did. But we hope and expect that you have made a very strict enquiry into this affair and punished such of our servants as have been found guilty of such notorious infidelity to their employers, and we desire you will not fail to transmit the whole of your proceedings in this respect to us, authenticated in the clearest and fullest manner, so as to be made use of as evidence in the Courts of Record here, if there should be any necessity so to do in order to obtain justice and satisfaction to the Company for this offence. Mr. Lankheet's information at large upon oath touching this transaction seems to be the most material evidence, and we hope you will be able to obtain it."[71]

In 1769 there occurred a serious dispute between the Dutch authorities and the *Faujdar* of Hooghly about the payment of the duties of the *Bakshbandar*, and the unauthorised erection of a landmark at Chinsura by the Dutch. Raziuddin Muhammad Khan, the *Faujdar*, had made numerous representations, both oral and written, to the Dutch Director regarding these matters but the latter gave no satisfactory reply.[72] Early in September, the *Faujdar* complained to the Governor that the Chinsura authorities not only refused to pay duties properly, but had lately created a landmark which they would not demolish inspite of his repeated protests.[73] With a view to

[70] Letter from Court, March 23, 1770.
[71] The Council failed to obtain the affidavit.
[72] Cop. R. 1769, No. 34.
[73] Trans. R., 1769, No. 126.

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coerce the Dutch, Raziuddin Muhammad Khan detained a number of rice-boats belonging to them. Thereupon the Dutch Director sent a party of fifty soldiers under a captain to release the boats by force.[74] This obliged the *Faujdar* to order his own men to hold themselves in readiness to meet the opposition of the Dutch. This had the desired effect, and the Dutch did not put in an appearance for the time being. As it was reported just at this time that a large number of Dutch soldiers had arrived[75] at Chinsura from Europe, the *Faujdar* ordered a vigilant watch to be kept on the activities of the Dutch factory.

The Dutch Director in the mean time complained to Muhammad Riza Khan against the *Faujdar*, but the former approved the latter's conduct, and sent a *parvanah* ordering the Dutch to remove the landmark, to pay the usual duties, and not to interfere with the rights of the *faujdari*.[76] The Dutch Director promptly replied that the landmark in question had been erected with the permission of Mirza Muhammad Kazim Khan, the former *Faujdar* of Hooghly and that it would not be removed. As regards the other affairs of the *faujdari* he asserted in a defiant tone that he would not allow the prescriptive rights of his Company to be altered in any manner, and claimed valuable privileges on the basis of a *sanad* which was declared by the *Faujdar* to be fictitious.[77] The latter immediately reported "this insolvent behaviour" of the Dutch Director to Verelst, and asked for permission to demolish the landmark by force, for, as he said, "until the landmark is removed, the affairs of the Sarker will never be administered properly. On the contrary, the Dutch Director will grow more and more

74 Cop. R., 1769, No. 84.

75 *Ibid.*, No. 92.

76 Trans. 1789, No. 141.

77 Trans. R., 1769, No. 165. The *sanad* was said to have been obtained from the Nawab "probably by some stratagem."

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insolent."[78] On hearing of this, the Governor wrote[79] to Muhammad Riza Khan that the attitude of the Dutch Director was indeed "highly reprehensible and derogatory to the Nizamat," and that the *Faujdar* should be afforded necessary assistance in compelling the Dutch to obey his orders.

Armed with the support of the Governor and Muhammad Riza Khan, the *Faujdar* decided on punitive measures[80] against the Dutch and stopped the supply of provisions to their factory at Chinsura. Every gate of the factory was closely guarded and no one was allowed to pass, or carry provisions. For two days there was a general embargo on the importation of grain into Chinsura, and guards were placed round the landmark.[81] Enraged at this, the Dutch retaliated by capturing and destroying the Government boat which had been stationed at Chandernagore to intercept the rice-boats belonging to them. They also forcibly seized two boats coming from Calcutta, and imprisoned two sepoys belonging to the Government. On being informed of these outrages, Muhammad Riza Khan sent a number of sepoys from Murshidabad to support the *Faujdar*, and pressed[82] the Governor to sanction an immediate embargo on the business of the Dutch as a punishment for their insolence and highhandedness. Having no authority to use open force against the factory people, the *Faujdar* managed by stratagem to get two of the Dutch soldiers into his custody, and informed the Dutch Director that the latter would be kept in confinement so long as the two sepoys of the Government were not released. Thus outwitted by the *Faujdar*, the Dutch authorities had subsequently to deliver up the sepoys with their arms in the hope of procuring the release of their own soldiers.[83]

78 Trans. R., 1769, No. 165.
79 Letter to Muhammad Riza Khan, Sep. 21, 1769.
80 Trans. R., 1769, No. 162.
81 *Ibid.*, No. 169.
82 *Ibid.*, No. 166.
83 *Ibid.*, No. 168.

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Reduced to the utmost extremeties in the meanwhile by the stoppage of all supplies of grain, and convinced of the futility of prolonging their opposition to the *Faujdar*, the authorities at Chinsura at last deputed [84] two gentlemen to Calcutta with the object of persuading the Governor to use his influence in settling their disputes with the *Nizamat*. The deputies earnestly pleaded for the immediate appointment of an arbitrator on behalf of the Nawab to decide the points at issue, and promised to abide by his decision, and obey the *Nizamat* orders in future. Subsequently, the Dutch Governor himself came to see Verelst, and on behalf of the Chinsura authorities offered profuse apologies for their past conduct.[85]

In view of the submissive and conciliatory attitude of the Dutch, and because of the famine conditions prevailing in the country, the Governor asked [86] the *Faujdar* and Muhammad Riza Khan to allow the passage of grain to the Dutch factory as usual, in order that the poor people might not die of starvation. In accordance with the Governor's instructions, Muhammad Riza Khan issued orders [87] to the *Faujdar* to permit the passage of provisions to the Dutch, and to withdraw the embargo laid on their trade. An arbitrator was also appointed [88] to settle the pending disputes, and determine the boundaries.

The humiliation that the Dutch had to endure in consequence of their indiscreet obduracy and violence served only to reveal the intrinsic weakness of their position under the changed conditions following the assumption of the *Diwani* by the English.

84 Letter to Raziuddin Muhammad Khan, Oct. 1, 1769.
85 Letter to Muhammad Riza Khan, Oct. 21, 1769.
86 Letter to Raziuddin Muhammad Khan, Oct. 17, 1769.
Letter to Muhammad Riza Khan, Oct. 17, 1769.
87 Trans. R., 1769, No. 172.
88 *Ibid.*, No. 173.

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HUJA-UD-DAULA'S DIPLOMACY (1754-75)

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(*Abstract*)

A very short resumé of his early career.

His training in diplomacy.

Situation in Hindustan in 1754.

His activities on the transfer of Allahabad to the Bangash Nawab by the Emperor.

His activities during the invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali in 1757.

His activities during the Maratha invasion of Hindustan (1757-58).

His part in the march of Ali Gauhar to Bengal (1758-59).

His activities during the Maratha invasion under Dattaji Sindhia.

His activities during the Maratha invasion under Bhau.

His reason for joining the Abdali, his peace negotiations and the battle of Panipat.

His success in releasing the Emperor from the English (1761) and the Bundelkhand campaign.

His march towards Delhi with the Emperor (1763).

His activities in Bengal and Bihar and the battles of Baksar and Kora (1764-65).

His restoration in Oudh in 1765.

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His activities at the Conference at Chapra (1766).

His activities during the Maratha invasion of Hindustan (1770-73).

His conspiracy with Hastings about Rohilkhand.

His Rohilla war and treaty of Laldang (1774).

An estimate of him as a diplomat.

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THE PRESENT PROBLEMS OF INDIAN ADMINISTRATION IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY

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With the prescription of Indian administration as a subject at University examinations, books on that subject following the lines of the fourth volume of the Imperial Gazetteer of India and giving us up-to-date information upon departmental topics have become plenty. The defect of them all is that problems receive no consideration from the utilitarian point of view. We read and are not enlightened. The study is dry.

We are asked, therefore, to read also the political history of India with special reference to administrations or to study the politics of each period as analysed by the specialists. But this is not enough because the joint method fails to present the current administration with a clear, comprehensive and continuous exposition of Indian polity from very ancient times to the present. We see the trees and are lost in the woods.

This paper is intended to show that history of Indian administration is one and fundamentally continuous or at any rate one with the history of India. It may be relevant, therefore, to begin with a statement of the typical features of the Hindu, Muslim and British administrations as found in all text-books of Indian History.

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In the Hindu period the king was the normal head of the state. But he was absolute only in justice. Law was above him and legislation was independent of him. Even the executive powers did not belong solely to him. The army consisted of paid men, led by warrior clans and castes, and non-combatants were safe in the midst of wars, which were fought on scientific lines. Diplomacy was of the finest type in the world. The police was a branch of civics. But spying organised by the state spared neither friend nor foe, neither prince nor peasant, in peace and war. Justice was administered satisfactorily by local *panchayats*, district civil and criminal courts and the king himself with the aid of the chief justice and ministers. Assessors sat with the judges. Procedure was as good as the modern one. And neither king nor his servants were exempted from the procedure of courts or the operation of law.

Land was the real foundation of power under the Hindu rulers. Ownership was collective in every village, but tenure was individual. Land revenue was the largest source of state income. Hence agriculture received the greatest attention of the state. Settlement was made after survey, and census of population, property, and live-stock helped to make the survey full and complete. A separate department of government for agriculture had the care of irrigation from tanks and canals, of pasture and grazing lands, of cattle and forest produce, and had to carry out protective measures against famines and pests. Land created and sustained the villages, whose autonomy and self-sufficiency have been considered as the bed-rock of Indian national progress and prosperity. Land-grants preserved culture in the proper maintenance of temples and universities, priests, courtiers and soldiers, and sentiments and ideals from the ravages of time. Simultaneously with these, industries, trade and commerce were regulated and aided by the state. Foreign merchants and merchandise were

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protected, but there was no special inducement to attract them to the country. Similarly, the state forbade villeinage and feudal tenure, because, both in respect of military service and labour, the state was opposed to taxing the land, while it could easily depend upon paid men and payments could be regulated and ensured by provisions of law.

When the Mussalmans ruled India, they continued the Hindu system of land revenue and accounts but altered almost all other institutions. The emperor was not only the head of the state but also of the church, although like the typical Hindu emperor he was in theory subordinate to law. Every civil servant had a military rank and duty. The Roman colonial dual system was adopted in the control of provinces. And law and justice was communal, at the cost of the king's justice.

The British who succeeded the Mussalmans followed the 'indigenous system', after unsuccessful experiments with the foreign ones. Their genius revealed itself in 'collectorates', secretariates, and civil-service-with-tradition. Although their judicial organisation resembled the ancient Hindu system in essential matters, their outlook on and approach to the idea of justice was novel and inspiring, the human element yielding its place almost completely to the impersonal and abstract rule of law.

The point to notice in the above sketch of the administrative history of India is that the problems of Asoka, Chandragupta, Harsha and Akbar are still our own and none even among the best of rulers for two thousand years could find a better or more enduring solution for all or any of them. Perhaps it will be considered necessary to explain this statement just a little.

The eternal questions of Indian administration are the equilibrium between central and provincial governments, separation of powers, ministerial responsibility, the state's relation to industry, unity, defence, and culture.

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The Hindus recognised the bigness of the whole problem and solved it in a manner that challenges alien intelligence still. Strictly adhering to the physical and social data furnished by history, they solved the questions in a truly scientific manner. It has been already stated that they made land the source of power to the state. They relieved the central authority of a good deal of cost and trouble by admitting the autonomy of villages in the constitution of government. With the aid of the caste system, they succeeded in evolving a unified society; in separating the legislative, executive and judicial powers completely from one another; in rendering ministers, singly and collectively, responsible at once to the king and the people; in organising defence; and establishing the most cordial relations between state and industry. They were greatly supported in their political work by the ideal of *dharma* which the literature and cultural institutions of the country at once reflected as in a mirror.

It may be remarked that the gravest defect of the system was the differential punishment or discriminating justice under the influence of caste spirit. Equality in the eye of law was wanting in the administration of justice. But it has to be remembered that India has never had throughout the ages up till now a better system owing to her unchanging composite cultural and social structure. What was the fate of the Ilbert Bill ?

The Mussalman record differs radically from the Hindu one. The Muslim polity was consistent with its ultimate religious purpose and with the method of force sanctioned for its achievement. At the same time, it was a hybrid of the Roman and Persian forms. If the Marathas adopted the Mughul type in all but the judicial aspect, they were under a compulsion to fight the Mughuls in the wars of liberation with the enemy's own civil and military weapons and methods. The Muslim polity was never intended to leave India under

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a better government than that of the Hindus, and consequently the administrative methods which had been defective once were not improved. On the contrary, the crystal of Hindu polity was dissolved by the strong acid of prejudice, until the Mughuls with the Hindu accession to their blood began to reconstruct on more or less traditional lines. Only one illustration may be enough to substantiate this view. The ancient Hindu empires aimed at producing a blend of cultures by the method of inclusion, comprehension or absorption. Their genius was against the extermination of the alien ; they tried absorption of both stocks and cultures, except when such absorption was suicidal, and in such cases, they segregated the unabsorbable stocks and cultures. Indianisation was being thus smoothly and successfully accomplished by special cultural agencies aided by the force of miscegenation or the physical blending of stocks. But Islam brought with it a new outlook and method. It practises stock miscegenation on the widest scale, but culturally like other Semitic forces it is a repellant force ; it tends to exterminate where it cannot absorb and it does this by *jihad* or methods of war. Right from 1000 till 1500, Islam tried war as a method of solving the socio-religious problem and left the country in an absolutely dry and insipid condition. The old order had given place to none. Fortunately, however, the Mughuls arrived and saved the situation until Aurangzeb's death sounded the alarm signal once again. India then relapsed into a fluid condition and the problems of administration, hard to tackle in the best of times, could not be approached by the greatest man or men of the eighteenth century.

The advent of the British power brought with it new factors and added to the complexity of the whole problem. The Anglo-Saxon stocks, unlike the Latin peoples, are averse to miscegenation, and are not readily acclimatised. Their splendid genius for colonisation is only transformed in tropical

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and sub-tropical regions into one for administration and economic exploitation. Unfortunately, in time and as a direct result of the saturation of European ideas in the Indian head, new problems arose and stood along with the old, clamouring for satisfaction. One of the new ones which is rather disturbing is the fact that the cultural and social fusion that had been achieved in the past under the Hindu and Muslim sovereigns has gone to pieces and threatens to resolve into the original debris of Hindu and Muslim and Brahman and Non-Brahman and lately Aryan and Dravidian.

Apart from this fundamental matter, have the British solved the age-long questions satisfactorily at all ? The problem of equilibrium of governments has now assumed the form of inter-state relations in a federation of governments within India. While the Hindu statesmen always solved this question upon the principle of qualified autonomy (which we mark in the relation of village government to the King's government) enforcing suzerainty and tribute in return for the preservation intact of the dynasty, administration and customs of the conquered states, the British have placed it to-day in a most complicated setting. The simple dualism has become extremely complex and entangled.

Have they separated the powers at least so far as other civilised governments have done ? Early in the nineteenth century, some attempts were made in this direction, but they failed. In some of the advanced states like Mysore the separation made up till now has worked very well. But in British India the reform is still to come. And yet the ancient Hindus had solved the question by leaving legislation to the Brahmans who had not a vestige of executive authority or so much as a personal interest in the material wealth of the country, by thrusting ministers upon the ruler in the detailed management of the government, and by leaving the king alone only in the sphere of justice,

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Then, what has been the economic policy of the British government in India ? In an agricultural country like India which is a first class geographical unit in a tropical belt, it was until very recently free trade with the rest of the world and lately preference with the British dominions along with free trade as before, protection being selective. The consequence is poverty of the nation. Once again it may be useful to remark that the state protection of irrigation, transport, agriculture, trade and industry was a characteristic feature of ancient Hindu imperial administrations, and not at all absent in even the Mughul imperial system. The logic of state regulation of public health, " famine, flood and fire," excise and forest, demands that the British administrators must recognise similarly the importance of state protection of and aid to all industry in India.

Constitutional democracy is coming to India. But discussion about it has produced more heat than light. This is to some extent due to the ignorance of the fact that administrative problems have a constitutional aspect and if they do not receive the attention that is due to them (in the light of history) it is likely that the constitution too would be highly unsatisfactory, in the same way as a motor car would be if put to uses for which it could never have been meant.

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ORIGINS OF INDIAN WAHHABISM

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(*Abstract*)

This is an examination of the generally accepted theory about the origin of Indian Wahhabism. Hunter and other writers consider the Indian movement as an offshoot of the Wahhabi movement of Arabia. They assert that the chief organiser of the movement in India, namely Maulvi Syed Ahmed of Rai Bareilly, was influenced by the Wahhabis during his stay at Mecca and that on his return he propagated Wahhabism in India. But the theory is historically untenable. The main doctrines had been promulgated by him already before he left for Mecca and it has not been established that he at all came into contact with the Wahhabis of Arabia before he left India. What is, however, much more important is that the two movements differ greatly in important respects and are in no way identical. The Indian movement has its origin in the teachings of Maulana Shah Waliullah of Delhi and his school. Maulvi Syed Ahmed himself was a pupil of Shah Abdul Aziz and his two principal lieutenants, Maulvi Ismail Shahid and Maulvi Abdul Hye, belonged to that family.

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FIRST PUBLIC SERVICE EXAMINATIONS, 1845-52

(An episode in the history of Western Education in India)

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Popular imagination associates earliest competitive examinations in this country with the Accounts Service as from almost the very beginning the enrolled officers counted in their ranks a number of highly educated Indians who were required to pass some intellectual tests. In 1887 there were 38 enrolled officers of whom 4 were Indians and 3 Eurasians.[1] The Public Service Commission of 1886-87 however mentioned competitive tests as existing for other services as well. The Report of the Commission clearly states that appointments to the cadre of Deputy Magistrates and Deputy Collectors in Bengal were "usually made according to the results of a competitive examination among accepted candidates."[2] In the Punjab, recruitment to the cadre of Extra-Assistant Commissioners was made "partly by competition amongst approved candidates."[3] The shortlived cadre of the Statutory Civilians was for a few years filled up by a system of limited competition in Bengal.[4] The Commissioners considered the

1 Report of the Public Service Commission, 1886-87 (C.—5327), pp. 70-71.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 24.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 25.
4 *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

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conditions prevailing in the eighties and it was no part of their duty to ransack the past to discover the first occasion when competitive tests guided recruitment to public services in this country. In this paper an attempt will be made to trace such competitive examinations as early as the forties of the last century.

The years 1833-35 form a watershed not merely in the history of education but also in the history of administration in British India. While the year 1835 heralded the doom of the learning which taught "medical doctrines which would disgrace an English farrier, astronomy which would move laughter in girls at an English boarding-house, history abounding with kings thirty feet high and reigns thirty thousand years long, and geography made of seas of butter and seas of treacle,"[5] the year 1833 threw careers open to talents. For the Charter Act of 1833 declared "that no native of India, nor any natural born subject of His Majesty, should be debarred from holding any place, office or employment, by reason of his religion, place of birth, descent, or colour,"[6] and thus set aside the ill-conceived imperialistic policy of Cornwallis. Hence in the thirties of the century the student of history is at the threshold of a new era. The doors of higher employment and the doors of 'New Learning' were simultaneously flung open to the hitherto neglected and suppressed 'eligibles'. Henceforth 'natives' were to be admitted to positions of trust and responsibility. The student of history will not overlook the fact that the 'Indianisation' of administration and the Westernisation of the Indians were growing *pari passu*. Lord Auckland during his Governor-Generalship (1836-42) did his best to promote Western education without launching any crusade against Oriental learning. His most effective device

[5] Macaulay's Minute, Para. 13.
[6] Sec. 87 of the Act.

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for this purpose was the establishment of an extensive system of scholarships in 1839 tenable at Oriental as well as English Colleges.[7] In a letter, dated the 16th December, 1840, to the General Committee of Public Instruction, Auckland's Government made this prophetic statement: "The first ambition of our students will no doubt be that of gaining through these schools admission to official appointments and a rise by graduation from the Zilla to the Central College, and from the Scholarship to Revenue Offices, or to the Subordinate Judicial Branch. But if the scheme be successful, as the Governor-General in Council trusts and earnestly desires that it may be, it should have a far wider, and though slow in operation, a most beneficial effect upon the social condition of this country."[8] A number of scholarship-holders gained admittance to official ranks.

In 1844 the double process of Indianisation and Western education received a great impetus through the Resolution of 10th October, made by Lord Hardinge's Government.[9] In this memorable resolution a fair prospect of employment in the public service was held out to those educated on Western lines either at government institutions or private establishments. (F. W. Thomas is of opinion that this measure was first suggested in 1837 when Auckland was Governor-General.)[10] The Resolution of 10th October, 1844, charged the educational authorities to prepare annual "returns of students who may be fitted according to their several degrees

[7] *Vide* Auckland's Minute in 'Selections from Educational Records,' Part I (edited by Sharp), pp. 147-70. Also Kerr, *Review of Public Instruction in Bengal Presidency from 1835 to 1851*, Part I, pp. 14-15; Report on Public Instruction of the Presidency of Fort William for 1839-40, Appendices I-III.

[8] Selections from Educational Records, Part II, edited by Richey, p. 79.

[9] Selections from Educational Records, Part II, pp. 90-91; General Report on Public Instruction on the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency for 1844-45, pp. 2-11; Kerr, *Review*, Part I, pp. 185-86; Second Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords (*re* affairs of the East India Company), Session 1852-53, Appendix F.

[10] Thomas, *History and Prospects of British Education in India*, p. 41.

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of merit and capacity, for such of the various public offices as, with reference to their age, abilities and other circumstances they may be deemed qualified to fill." H. R. James (Principal of Presidency College, 1907-16) points out, "The immediate effect of this resolution does not appear to have been great: its ultimate influence has been scarcely less than that of the adoption of English education. For it has given English education its value in terms of livelihood."[11]

The Resolution laid down a policy, namely, preparation of returns of qualified candidates; it did not devise any apparatus for this. As nominations by the Council of Education would not be above suspicions, Government issued further instructions for selections.[12] "The Council framed rules founded upon these instructions, for regulating the selection of candidates. It was determined that the minimum standard of qualification for employment should be the same as that for gaining a Senior English Scholarship. The Examinations were to be held in Calcutta and at each of the Central Colleges and the Answers of the candidates were to be examined by the Council of Education or by persons appointed by the Council. It was carefully explained that insertion in the Returns must not be regarded as 'a sure pledge' of employment. Great care was taken to prevent all misconception on this point."[13] The scheme was approved by the Governor-General who himself set the Essay paper,[14] and the Court of Directors were duly informed about the institution of this public service examination. The questions and the answers of the best candidates were printed in the annual official publication entitled 'General

[11] James, *Education and Statesmanship in India*, 1797-1910, p: 32.

[12] General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency for 1844-45, pp. 4-5; Kerr, *Review*, Part I, p. 187.

[13] Kerr, *Review*, Part I, pp. 188-89.

[14] Report on Public Instruction for 1844-45, p. 11.

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Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency.' They form very interesting reading and excite wonder and admiration for the attainments of the students of those days. Within ten years of Macaulay's Minute, Bengali students were digesting Bacon and Addison, Shakespeare and Milton, Adam Smith and Gibbon. Two years after, theories of natural science—then considered to be recent—were to be included in the syllabus.

Yet " after the council had tried this plan for two or three years, it was found that very few candidates from any of the private seminaries presented themselves for examination." [15] In fact the private colleges were boycotting this scheme. The missionaries led by Alexander Duff raised a hue and cry against this examination scheme on the grounds that the syllabus of it was akin to the courses taught at Government Colleges and that the examiners were mostly administrative officials ill-fitted to conduct academic examinations.[16]

The Court of Directors did not sympathise with this examination scheme.[17] In their view " a critical acquaintance with the works of Bacon, Johnson, Milton and Shakespeare, a knowledge of ancient and modern history, and of the higher branches of mathematical science, some insight into the elements of natural history and the principles of moral philosophy and political economy, together with considerable facility of composition and the power of writing in fluent and idiomatic language an impromptu essay on any given subject of history, moral or political economy," [18] were

[15] Kerr, *Review*, Part I, p. 189.

[16] Selections from Educational Records, Part II, pp. 94-96. Kerr, *Review*, Part I, pp. 189-90; Second Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords (*re* affairs of the East India Company), Session 1852-53, specially the evidences of Alexander Duff, J. C. Marshman and C. H. Cameron.

[17] *Vide* the Despatch, dated May 12, 1847, in Selections from Educational Records, Part II, pp. 91-92.

[18] Selections from Educational Records, Part II, p. 91.

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not likely to be attained by a large number of students especially those of private colleges. Nor were they " disposed to regard a high degree of scholastic knowledge constituting an essential qualification for the public service. To require only a moderate and practical knowledge of English, with a thorough command of the vernacular language and testimonials of regularity, steadiness, diligence and conduct will be, in our opinion, the best way to obtain the largest number of candidates competent to become useful officers in the different ranks of the Revenue and Judicial Departments, though we do not deny that there may be some few appointments which it may be desirable to bestow as the rewards of greater proficiency in the higher branches of literature." [19] For other provinces the Directors suggested the lowering down of the standard still further.[20]

So, in April, 1848,[21] the Government asked the Council of Education to make an enquiry regarding the objections raised by the private establishments and also regarding the recruitment of candidates educated in Oriental Colleges. The results of this enquiry were communicated by the Council of Education in their letter of June 29, 1848.[22] In this communication the Council stoutly denied the charge that the tests that they held were highly scholastic. As regards the objections of the missionaries, the Council found no reason to accept them in toto. To an impartial student of history the charge-sheet of the missionaries boils down to the single fact that the courses for the competitive examinations like those offered in the Government Colleges

[19] Selections from Educational Records, Part II, p. 92.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 92.

[21] Lord Dalhousie was Governor-General at the time. Lord Hardinge did not find any reason to worry much over the objections raised.

[22] Selections from Educational Records, Part II, pp. 92-97.

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were "exclusively secular."[23] Without discussing the merits and demerits of 'Christian literature', as the missionaries put it, one can affirm that its introduction in the syllabus for competitive tests would have spelt disaster for the cause of Western education in this country by evoking grave suspicions in the minds of Hindus and Muslims alike. The Council concludes their letter thus: "The present standard has been and can be readily attained by pupils of any efficient and well-organised public or private schools. To reduce it would tend to encourage pupils to become contented with a superficial amount of knowledge, and to enter upon the active duties of life before the maturity of their reasoning faculties, the formation of their character and the principles implanted by a more extended course of studies, had time to produce their full efforts."[24]

A contemporary official, James Kerr (Principal of Hooghly College, 1848-56), however, made a very scathing criticism of this competitive test scheme.[25] Kerr took the side of those who upheld that Hardinge's Resolution of October 10, 1844, did not preclude the students of Oriental Colleges from employment in public services.[26] He also pointed out that the scheme placed too much premium on scholastic attainments and neglected questions of character and personality.[27]

Hence the first Public Service Examinations Scheme invited opposition from different quarters on different grounds. The missionaries, led by Alexander Duff, opposed it because 'Christian Literature' was not included in its

[23] Selections from Educational Records, Part II, pp. 95-96; Evidences of Alexander Duff and J. C. Marshman before the Select Committee of the House of Lords (re: affairs of the E. I. Coy.), Session 1852-53, in the Second Report.

[24] Selections from Educational Records, Part II, p. 97.

[25] Kerr, *Review*, Part I, pp. 185-95.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 191.

[27] *Ibid*, pp. 188 and 194-95.

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syllabus. The Orientalists discovered in it a fresh source of danger. The Court of Directors, as also many officials in India, blamed it for being too scholastic. Authorities of private institutions insinuated against the composition of the board of examiners who, they pointed out, were government men and not *bona fide* educationists. Suspect in the eyes of all, the system dragged its precarious existence for a few years more. Due to lack of co-operation on the part of high officials, appointments were made without reference to the panels of the Council.[28] By 1852-53, when the Select Committee of the House of Lords were enquiring into the affairs of the East India Company, Hardinge's Resolution had become a "dead letter."[29]

The Despatch of 1854, though it provided for the foundation of Universities as demanded by the missionaries,[30] recognised the importance of competitive tests[31] and banned the inclusion of any 'religious beliefs' in the University courses.[32] The story of the Indian Universities begins where the story of the first Public Service Examinations ends.*

[28] Kerr, *Review*, Part I, pp. 191-92; General Report on Public Instruction for 1850-51, Appendix F; Educational Despatch of 1854, Para. 74.

[29] Kerr, *Review*, Part I, pp. 192-93.

[30] Note the evidences of Marshman and Cameron given before the Select Committee, in the Second Report; Educational Despatch of 1854, Para. 75.

[31] Educational Despatch of 1854, Paras. 76 and 77.

[32] *Ibid*, Para. 28.

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PESHWA MADHAV RAO I'S RELATIONS WITH THE ENGLISH

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It was in the days of Baji Rao I that the officers of the East India Company at Bombay began to look upon the expansion of Maratha power with apprehension and jealousy. The repeated successes of Chimnaji Appa compelled the "English factors to tremble for their magazines." They wrote to their friends in Bengal that the exploits of the Marathas rendered "even our Hon'ble Masters' island in danger." The Portuguese invited the English to make common cause against "the idolators and the common enemys to all European nations," but in vain. After the capture of Bassein by the Marathas, the Bombay Council took measures to fortify the town, and it is interesting to note that the principal merchants of the place, who thought that "a formidable power of the Marathas has subdued the neighbouring country and the invasion of this island is threatened," subscribed the sum of Rs. 30,000 towards the expense of this work. Envoys were sent to Shahu as well as to Chimnaji Appa, and a treaty, conceding to the English free trade in the Maratha dominions, was signed on July 12, 1739. This understanding between the Marathas and the English was cemented in the days of Balaji Baji Rao, when measures were jointly taken by the two Powers for the suppression of "the pirate chief Angria." Although the English politely refused Balaji Baji Rao's request for help in

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his Carnatic and Northern expeditions, a new treaty [1] was concluded on October 12, 1756, "which besides securing certain commercial advantages, excluded the Dutch from the trade of the Maratha dominions and gave the English ten villages." [2] But the relations between the Peshwa and the English began to grow less and less cordial. In 1758 a Maratha envoy named Shambhaji Mangesh went to Bombay. We read in a Marathi letter that the "treacherous" English gathered troops even when they were negotiating with him. [3] In 1759 an envoy was sent to the Peshwa from Bombay, but nothing came out of his mission inasmuch as the Peshwa refused to do anything unless the English helped him to take Janjira from the Siddi. [4] Towards the close of 1760 the Peshwa was informed by his agents that the English and the Dutch intended to join the Siddi against him. [5]

The history of Peshwa Madhab Rao I's relations with the English should be studied against this background. The growing coolness between the Marathas and the English during the last years of Balaji Baji Rao naturally coloured the mutual relations of the two Powers even after his death. In July, 1762, Raghunath Rao wrote to the Holkar, "There are at present three great enemies to the state—Haidar Ali, Nizam Ali and the English; but by God's grace, they will all be subdued." [6] It should be remembered in this connection that the successes won by the English

[1] Text of this treaty in Aitchison's Treaties, Engagements and Sunnuds, Vol. III, pp. 17-21.

[2] G. W. Forrest, Selection from the Letters, Despatches, and other State Papers preserved in the Bombay Secretariate, (Maratha Seres), Vol. I, Introduction.

[3] G. S. Sardesai, Selections from the Peshwa's Daftar, Vol. 40, letter no. 109.

[4] Forrest, *op. cit.*, (Maratha Series), Vol. I, pp. 125-38.

[5] Sardesai, *op. cit.*, Vol. 40, letter no. 135. Kincaid and Parasnis (*A History of the Maratha People*, Vol. III, p. 76) write: "..... by helping to destroy Tulaji Angre and by paralysing de Bussy in the Deccan and so giving young Clive a free hand in Bengal, Balaji did the English the best turn ever done them by a foreigner."

[6] Sardesai, *op. cit.*, Vol. 37, letter no. 9.

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in the Carnatic as well as in Bengal strengthened their position and made them more self-confident. On the other hand, the disaster of Panipat, the death of Balaji Baji Rao, the accession of a minor to the Peshawa's *gadi*, the quarrel between Raghunath Rao and the young Peshwa, and the Nizam's successful campaign against the Marathas in 1763 must have given the English factors a welcome impression about the future of the Maratha power. But unfortunately for the English, the Marathas found in their young Peshwa a leader of genius, who succeeded in reviving their fortunes within an incredibly brief space of time. Alarmed at the speedy revival of Maratha power, the President and Council of Bombay observed as follows in November, 1767 :— "The growing power of the Marathas is a subject much to be lamented, and has not failed to attract our attention, as well as that of the Presidencies of Madras and Bengal, inasmuch as that nothing either in their power nor ours would be omitted to check the same as much as possible."[7]

The Company's officers in Bombay were shrewd observers, and they were usually very well-informed about the strength and weakness of their neighbours. They observed in their Secret Consultation of 14th December, 1761 :— "We well know that Nizam Ally is now near Poona, that the Bramins cannot raise a force sufficient to oppose them, from the backwardness of their own officers (who look upon the situation of Nana's family as desperate), and the low state of their finances; Tara Bye (the Shao Rajah's widow) and all the Mahrattas at the bottom are against them, and would show it at a proper occasion."[8] Naturally they tried to exploit these difficulties of the Marathas as much as they could. The Marathas were compelled to act on the

[7] Forrest, *op. cit.*, (Maratha Series), Vol. I, p. 141.

[8] Quoted by Grant Duff, *History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, Chapter VI. Marathi sources indicate that the English factors took too dark a view about the position of the 'Bramins.'

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defensive, because Nizam Ali was preparing to invade their territories. Raghunath Rao, the *de facto* ruler of the Marathas at that moment, "being ill-prepared to resist the expected invasion" of Nizam Ali, tried "to obtain from Bombay some European soldiers and guns." An agreement[9] was concluded on 14th September, 1761, by the Bombay Government and Govind Shiv Ram on behalf of the Peshwa. It consisted of six[10] articles. Article 1 provided for the punishment of those Maratha officers who "obstructed the business of the English by any impediments whatever." Article 2 imposed on the Maratha Government the obligation of making "ample satisfaction within two months from the date hereof, to all merchants trading under the Honourable Company's protection, who have suffered in their property by any unjust or illegal actions of the Maratha officers and subjects, in any place, shape, or manner whatever;" and of issuing "rigid orders... that all assistance be afforded in future to any (English) vessel or vessels in distress." Article 3 provided that all deserters from the service either of the British Crown or of the Company should be "immediately secured and returned to the nearest English Settlements," and that "whatever people, Europeans of all nations excepted" who deserted from the service of the Peshwa should be similarly delivered up by the English. Article 4 provided for the restoration of the territory taken from the Siddi by Ramaji Pant, the Maratha Governor of the Konkan. Article 5 provided for the release of all prisoners taken by either side in the late engagement between the Siddi and Ramaji Pant. There was an additional article relating to the restoration of 'Underee Fort.' It is clear that this treaty embodied substantial concessions to the English and their allies (the Siddi),

[9] Aitchison, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 22-24.

[10] Grant Duff (Vol. II, Chapter VI) wrongly says that it consisted of 6 or 7 articles.

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although the Marathas received nothing in return. So far as the attitude of the English is concerned, Grant Duff rightly describes this agreement as "rather an assurance of civility and friendship than a definite treaty." The English merely sent an envoy to condole with Madhav Rao on the occasion of his father's death; they did not agree to offer military aid, although Raghunath Rao sent another envoy to ask for it and agreed "to cede territory yielding a revenue of one lack and a half of rupees at Jumboseer, and to make several other concessions." The Company expected that without English assistance the Marathas would be "completely worsted" in the impending contest with Nizam Ali. So the Bombay Government pressed for the cession of Salsette and Bassein which were valuable "not only on account of the advantages expected from the revenue, but as advanced positions essentially necessary to the security of the island and harbour of Bombay." Raghunath Rao refused this demand, and "the negotiation for European assistance from Bombay was abruptly terminated by the extravagant and impertinent proposals from Ramajee Punt."[11] Fortunately for the Marathas, they were able to avert Nizam Ali's attack even without the assistance of English troops and guns.

Haidar Ali had taken advantage of the Maratha disaster at Panipat to extend his authority over various districts in the South.[12] He captured Maratha territories like Sira, Hoskote, Balapur, Raydurga, Harpanhalli and Chitaldrug. So Madhab Rao led an expedition against him in 1762. On the Peshwa's return to Poona, Haidar Ali conquered Savanur, Pattihalli, Sirhotti, Dharwar and extended his authority almost to the banks of the Krishna. This led to

[11] Grant Duff, Vol. II, Chapter VI. What these "proposals" were, we do not know.

[12] *Cf.* Sardesai, *op. cit.*, Vol. 40, letter no. 116.

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Madhab Rao's second expedition against him (1764-65).[13] During these struggles the English factors of Bombay were, naturally enough, very anxious to secure the friendship of this rising enemy of the Marathas. On March 22, 1763, the Council laid down the policy that "from his being now in possession of the whole Cannarie dominions, it may be of the greatest consequence of our Hon'ble Masters' affairs on this coast to improve a friendly correspondence with him." [14] It was also decided to gratify Haidar Ali's request for "3 or 4 thousand musquets for soldiers," although this was "a measure the Hon'ble Company are always averse to, and we have ever avoided as much as possible." [15] On August 2, 1763, the Council also allowed the Nawab of Arcot to build some fighting vessels in the English Marine Yard, because "his having a Marine force may be a good check on the Marathas....."[16]. Article 13 of the Agreement concluded by Haidar Ali with the Government of Bombay in 1766 ran as follows: "Whenever the Hon'ble Company may be in want of troops I will furnish them with 10 or 15 thousand men from this Sircar, and on the contrary should this Sircar be in such necessity, the Hon'ble Company are to supply me in like manner as is consistent with our fair friendship, and is also the cause of dread to our enemies." [17]

But this friendship between the English and Haidar Ali was not at all enduring. "The Court of Directors were desirous of seeing the Mahrattas checked in their progress, and would have beheld combinations of the other native powers against them with abundant satisfaction;" but they

[13] These incidents will be narrated in detail by the present writer in *Indian Historical Quarterly*.

[14] Forrest, *op. cit.* (Home Series), Vol. II, p. 124.

[15] March 22, 1763. Forrest, *op. cit.* (Home Series), Vol. II, pp. 124-25.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 126.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 132.

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were unwilling to become "involved in hostilities, especially as principals, in any case short of absolute defence." Their territorial ambition in the Deccan was directed towards Salsette, Hog Island and Caranja in the neighbourhood of Bombay, and the Northern Circars on the eastern coast. The Marathas were not at all willing to surrender the islands; they were naturally jealous of the growing power of the Company, and "they attached peculiar value to these possessions, as the fruits of their success against an European nation." Nizam Ali was willing to farm the Northern Circars (except Guntur, which was included in Basalat Jang's *jagir*) to the Nawab of Arcot, but he "positively refused to rent them to the English" who "offered six times more than he had ever before received." The Company was so anxious to obtain these districts that Lord Clive obtained a grant of them from Emperor Shah Alam, and the Madras Government occupied Rajahmundry by force. Emboldened by his alliance with the Marathas, Nizam Ali "threatened the English with extirpation, and endeavoured to incite Hyder to invade the Carnatic." The Madras Government tried to form an alliance with Haidar Ali who, however, refused to receive the English envoy. The Madras Government referred the matter to Lord Clive, who "recommended a connection with the Nizam." Nizam Ali agreed to the proposals of the English.[18]

When General Calliaud concluded a treaty with Nizam Ali on the 12th November, 1766, the latter was concerting with the Marathas a plan for the conquest or plunder of Mysore; and "it was distinctly understood" that the English auxiliary force, which that treaty placed at the disposal of Nizam Ali, was to be employed for the success of that plan. Although the treaty placed the Northern Circars under the Company, this arrangement was contrary to the advice of

[18] Grant Duff, Vol. II, Chap. VII.

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Lord Clive, who "had expressly suggested that any aid which might be afforded Nizam Ali, should be directed to restrain the formidable power of the Mahrattas, instead of co-operating for their aggrandizement. To check the growing ambition of Hyder in any direction which might affect the British interests, was in his judgment an object of legitimate policy; but to crush the only power in the South who had been able to oppose any respectable resistance to the aggressions of the Mahratta States, and who formed, if his friendship could be secured, a barrier between them and the Company's dominions, was in direct opposition to the views of that profound statesman"[19]. But Nizam Ali was unwilling to break with the Marathas "until he had effected the overthrow of the usurper of Mysore." Madhav Rao probably appreciated the real meaning of the English alliance with Nizam Ali.[20] In any case, he crossed the Krishna in January, 1767, "without waiting for his ally, if such he could be termed." Within a few months he occupied some districts of Mysore and compelled Haidar Ali to pay a heavy tribute.[21] Grant Duff is wrong in saying that the Peshwa "was prepared to return to Maharashtra before Nizam Ally had made his appearance,"[22] for some Marathi letters make it clear that the latter had met the Peshwa in January, 1767,[23] and sent troops to co-operate with the Marathas.[24] Wilks quotes a

[19] Wilks, *Historical Sketches of the South of India*, Vol. II, pp. 4-5.

[20] Grant Duff (Vol. II, Chap. VII) says, "it is not positively known whether Mahdoo Rao was apprized of the ultimate design of the alliance.....;" but the Peshwa's conduct seems to reveal his suspicion.

[21] The terms of the Peshwa's treaty with Haidar Ali are given in Sardesai, *op. cit.*, Vol. 37, letters nos. 158-159. *Cf.* Grant Duff, Vol. II, Chap. VII, and Wilks, Vol. II, p. 13.

[22] Vol. II, Chap. VII.

[23] Sardesai, *op. cit.*, Vol. 37, letter no. 129.

[24] Sardesai, *op. cit.*, Vol. 37, letter nos. 132, 133, 134, 155, 157, 158, 159. But the Marathas suspected that Nizam Ali had some secret purpose. (*Cf.* letter no. 155). This suspicion was not unjustified, for Colonel Smith found that, on entering Mysore in 1767, Nizam Ali treated it as a friendly country. (Wilks, Vol. II, p. 17). Wilks is

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statement of Colonel Tod, a British officer of the auxiliary troops accompanying Nizam Ali, to prove that Nizam Ali's "application for a part of the spoil was treated with broad ridicule" by the Marathas.[25] Grant Duff accepts this version and makes the following remark in justification of the Peshwa's conduct: "……it could not have escaped the observation of Mahdoo Rao, that the English in the war against Hyder, voluntarily appeared as auxiliaries to one of two contracting parties and that upon the subjugation of Hyder, Nizam Ally, by the English aid, could dictate, as the Mahrattas probably otherwise would have done, in any partition of his territories. This proceeding, therefore, on the part of Mahdoo Rao,... was a measure perfectly justifiable, for the purpose of effecting an important political object, and disconcerting the plans of his enemies."[26] We learn from Maratha sources[27] that the Peshwa compelled Haidar Ali to agree to pay to the Nizam a *nazrana* of six lacs per year for three years.

The Nizam was not satisfied with the amount and wanted to put pressure upon Haider Ali for a larger sum; but the Marathas refused to do so, because it was inconsistent with the spirit of the treaty which they had just concluded with the ruler of Mysore.[28] Probably Haidar Ali did not pay this amount to the Nizam, for two years later the latter proposed an alliance with the Peshwa against Haidar Ali for the realisation of the amount agreed to in 1767.[29] For our

not far wrong in saying that he was "approaching as a gleaner, after the Maharattas should have gathered the harvest." (Vol. II, p. 11).

[25] Wilks, Vol. II, p. 16. This statement is supported by Rukn-ud-daula's (Nizam Ali's minister) remark to Colonel Smith that "this was the third conjoint expedition in which his master had been deceived by the Mahrattas." (Wilks, Vol. II, p. 15). A Marathi letter, dated May, 1767, informs us that the Peshwa and Rukn-ud-daula dined together. (Sardesai, *op. cit.*, Vol. 37, letter no. 159).

[26] Vol. II, Chap. VII.

[27] Sardesai, *op. cit.*, Vol. 37, letter no. 158.

[28] *Ibid.*, letter no. 161.

[29] *Ibid.*, letter no. 168, dated February, 1769. Wilks says (Vol. II, p. 15): Niza

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present purpose the most important fact to notice is that these transactions conferred no advantage on the Company. The power of the Peshwa increased; Haidar Ali was not crushed; Nizam Ali proved a false friend[30] and entered into an alliance with Haidar Ali against the Company. The Court of Directors observed in a letter to the Madras authorities, " when the Marathas and Haidar were at war, it was our interest to see the power of the Marathas, if not of both the contending parties, weakened, but by no means to interfere in the dispute. Every Maratha that fell in the contest might almost be considered as one of our enemies slain. But you have diverted Haidar." [31]

A Marathi letter, dated in 1767 and addressed to Raghunath Rao[32] contains a suggestion for the capture of Surat by the Marathas. The writer, Ragho Anant, refers to the growing power and prosperity of the English merchants in Surat and their interference in local politics. There was a dispute between Siddi Jafar and the English; and the former, determined to expel the latter from Surat, invited Damaji Gaikwad, who was entrusted by the Peshwa with the charge of collecting *chauth* in Gujrat, to help him. Damaji asked one of his officers, Rudraji Girmaji, to deal

Ali " resolved to make a few marches in advance, for the purpose of accelerating the determination of Hyder, who had repeatedly urged him to accept of 20 lacs, and the promise of a fixed tribute of six, but who since his adjustment with Madoo Raw, had observed a profound silence on the subject of money ...."

[30] It is interesting to note that in spite of Colonel Smith's vigorous reports the English authorities for some time " professed to discredit the existence of an hostile confederacy " between Nizam Ali and Haidar Ali. (Wilks, Vol. II, pp. 17-18).

[31] Madras Record Office, Despatches from England, Letter dated March 23, 1770.

[32] Sardesai, *op. cit.*, Vol. 39, letter no. 95. Surat was a very rich city. Even after it had declined, its population was estimated in 1796 at 800,000 inhabitants. The aggressions of the Siddis compelled the Nawab of Surat to invoke the assistance of the Marathas by offering to them the right of collecting *chauth*. The highhandedness of the Marathas drove him to the arms of the English. In 1759, the English concluded a formal treaty with the Nawab, who henceforward became a vassal of the Company. The Marathas were naturally uneasy. (Mill and Wilson, *History of British India*, Vol. VI, pp. 288-292).

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with Surat. Rudraji sent his agent to the Peshwa to arrange matters but the Peshwa ordered Narottamdas to take charge of Surat. Narottamdas wanted to have his appointment confirmed by Raghunath Rao, and went to Northern India to see him for that purpose. Nothing was done in the meanwhile to help Siddi Jafar. So Ragho Anant requested Raghunath Rao to capture Surat in the Peshwa's name. He assured the latter that the defences of Surat were very weak. "The wall surrounding Surat is as low as a man's height. The fort is old, and its wall is broken in many places. There are 12 doors, with only 15 or 20 men for watching each of them. There is no strong gun, and the trench is not very deep." Unfortunately Ragho Anant's appeal went in vain. Raghunath, who was at this time leading an expedition in Hindusthan, left his work unfinished and returned home.

The outbreak of the First Anglo-Mysore War made the Marathas the decisive factor in South Indian politics. "Mahdoo Rao, at this period, was courted by the English and Mohummud Ally on the one part, and by Nizam Ally and Hyder on the other. Mr. Mostyn was sent to Poona, by the Bombay government, for the purpose of ascertaining the Peshwa's views, and of using every endeavour to prevent the Mahrattas from joining Hyder and Nizam Ally."[33] The President and Council's instructions to Mr. Mostyn,[34] dated 18th November, 1767, clearly reveal the motives and plans of the Company.

The envoy was instructed to put forward English "claims upon the Maratha Government for depredations made by their subjects and the unwarrantable detention of our merchants' property in some of their ports." On representations being made to Madhav Rao by the late President of Bombay, the Peshwa had ordered Visaji Pant to make good

[33] Grant Duff, Vol. II, Chap. VII.

[34] Forrest, *op. cit.* (Maratha Series), Vol. I, pp. 141-43.

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these losses to the Company; but Visaji Pant had not given effect to the Peshwa's order. The President and Council anticipated that Madhav Rao would " probably urge the detention of Angria's sons as a plea for his order not having been complied with." In that case, Mr. Mostyn was asked to remind the Peshwa that the Angrias had " thrown themselves " upon the Company and could not, therefore, be given up. The Peshwa might also refer to " our sending Mr. Fletcher with the ' Success ' Ketch and ' Fox ' gallivat to Janjira." Mr. Mostyn was then to point out that the Company could not " suffer any one but Siddi Yacoob to possess that fort."

But the envoy had " more interesting objects in view." He was reminded that " the growing power of the Marathas is a subject much to be lamented " and that the Company was very reluctant to " contribute in any shape to increase their growing power ; but most unfortunately, the treacherous and deceitful conduct of Nizam Alli, the Subha of Deccan, in joining his forces with those of Hyder Alli, with a view of invading the Karnatak " compelled the English " to cultivate an alliance " with the Marathas, " at least for the present." The English required the military assistance of the Marathas if they wanted to attack Haidar Ali's possessions upon the western coast. On the other hand, if Haidar Ali and Nizam Ali succeeded in effecting a junction with the Marathas, they would be able to " threaten very dangerous consequences to our Hon'ble Masters' affairs, especially on the other coast." If anything was likely to prevent the Peshwa from " going upon any distant expedition," or if he was unwilling or unable to help the Madras Presidency with cavalry " on immediate application," [35] Mr. Mostyn was asked to be " less anxious about entering into an alliance with him."

[35] The want of cavalry on the English side was one of the principal factors leading to these negotiations.

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In return for the proposal of military alliance, Mr. Mostyn was asked to offer " the kingdom of Bednur and Sounda," provided the Peshwa agreed to " assign over to us Bassein and Salsette with its dependencies, the Maratha share of the revenue of Surat." to " permit of our keeping possession of Purhill fort with its districts and dependencies, and houses and warehouses anywhere else we may think proper in that and the Sounda country," and to " grant us likewise an exclusive right to the pepper, sandalwood and cardamoms produced there, also liberty to export annually from Mangalore to Tellicherry or Bombay, three hundred corges of rice free from duty called *adlamy*, in the same manner as we now enjoy from Haidar Alli." Bednur and Sounda were not to be relinquished to the Peshwa if he did not agree to surrender Salsette : " The possession of Salsette is the first and grand object we have in view." [36]

Mr. Mostyn was instructed to take full advantage of the quarrel between Madhav Rao and Raghunath Rao, and to " encourage any advances " which might be made by the latter. [37] If he found that the Peshwa had already sent troops to co-operate with Haidar Ali and Nizam Ali, he was to " set forth in the strongest terms the bad consequences which may ensue to his affairs in this neighbourhood by such a conduct, " and to indicate that " it is in our power to deprive him at any time of a considerable revenue. "

[36] The critical position of the Company at this time is clearly revealed by this offer to cede Bednur and Sounda to the Peshwa. John Stracey wrote to the President of Bombay : ".....it would be the most unlucky thing that would happen to the Company's commercial interests on the Mallabar Coast that the Marattas should ever have a foot of land more than they have there.....I shall always think...that so strong and fine a country as that of Bednure should never be given to the Marattas." (Forrest, *op. cit.*, Home Series, Vol. II, pp. 132, 134).

[37] Mr. Mostyn was instructed to send presents to Raghunath Rao to Nasik (where he was staying at the time) by his Assistant, Mr. Charles Brome, who was asked " very particularly to attend to any representations Raghoba may make to him. "

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With these instructions Mr. Mostyn left Bombay on November 19, 1767, and arrived at Poona on November 29. He left Poona on February 27, 1768, and arrived at Bombay on March 3.[38] Valuable presents were offered to the Peshwa[39] and Raghunath Rao.[40]

The Peshwa intimated that the English being his friends he wanted to see the envoy on a lucky day.[41] Accordingly the first meeting was held on December 3, but no business was transacted.[42] Mr. Mostyn sent a report to the Bombay Government on December 6, in which he observed "The Maratha court is, from all I can learn, undetermined what part they shall act, and are laying by to see what turn affairs in the Karnatak will take before they come to any resolution."[43] He also stated that the Peshwa intended "visiting his forts on the sea coast from Surat to Gheria;" "I am very apprehensive his principal motive is Janjira, for I have heard he is much chagrined at the disappointments he has met there." Mr. Mostyn also referred to Trimbak Rao Mama's letter to the Peshwa, proposing an alliance with the English and Shuja-ud-daula, Nawab of Oudh, for the expulsion of "the Jats, Rohillas and other petty Rajas to the Northward."[44]

[38] Forrest, *op. cit.*, (Maratha Series), Vol. I, pp. 144, 145, 175.

The only reference to this embassy in Marathi documents occurs in Sardesai, *op. cit.*, Vol. 45, document no. 33. We are told that clothes were presented to Mr. Mostyn and his retinue on his arrival at the Peshwa's court. The document bears the date March 16, 1768.

Marathi documents are very unsatisfactory sources of information with regard to Anglo-Maratha relations.

[39] 1 horse, 1 clock, 1 gold *attardani*, 1 smelling bottle, 2 shawls, 1 piece of *kincob*, 1 piece of *zurbuff*, 1 fowling piece, 1 pair of pistols, 1 dress complete, 4 yards of green velvet, 6 yards of rose colour velvet, 2 horse-whips, 8 bottles of rose *attar*, and 4 yards of gold lace. Forrest, *op. cit.* (Maratha Series), Vol, I, p. 145.

[40] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 166.

[41] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 145.

[42] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 146.

[43] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 147.

[44] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 148.

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The next meeting between the Peshwa and Mr. Mostyn was held on December 11.[45] The envoy wanted to know what the Peshwa had to say; but the latter, instead of giving a direct answer, referred to the affairs in the Karnatak and said that "he had four days ago received letters from Madras and Mahomed Alli Khan requesting his assistance, and that they had sent an agent by name Nagojirav... to confer with him regarding it." The Peshwa also remarked that "although he was upon the most amicable footing with the English at Bombay and bound thereto by treaty, yet no regard is paid thereto by the English at the other two Presidencies." He plainly told Mr. Mostyn that "until Nagojirav arrived he would defer saying anything regarding the affairs in the Karnatak." When Mr. Mostyn referred to the despatch of a large Maratha force under the command of Gopal Rao towards the Karnatak, the Peshwa assured him that "they were only sent as usual to collect the revenues, which could not be done without a force." The English envoy accepted this explanation as true.[46]

On December 12, Mr. Mostyn paid Govind Shivram "a visit purposely to find out if possible the views of the Darbar." He "very openly" told the envoy that "they should come to no resolution until not only Nagojirav arrived but also the agents from the Nizam and Hyder Alli, and these proposals that appeared most for their interest they should without hesitation accept of."[47] Three courses were open to the Marathas—to join the Nizam and Haider Ali; to join Muhammad Ali and the English; to persuade the Nizam to remain neutral and join Muhammad Ali and the English against Haidar Ali. Govind Shivram's conversation

[46] Forrest, *op. cit.* (Maratha Series), Vol. I, p. 149.
[46] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 156.
(Mr. Mostyn's report to Bombay, December 95).
[47] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 149.

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led Mr. Mostyn to think that owing to the doubtful attitude of the Nizam[48] and the open hostility of Haider Ali the Marathas "will gladly accept of our terms."[49]

On December 14, Mr. Mostyn noted in his diary: "The Nizam and Hyder Alli's friendship seems to be upon a slippery footing, and there is a probability.....that Mahomed Alli will be able to draw off the Nizam. In such case our alliance with the Marathas will be the less necessary."[50]

On December 17, Mr. Mostyn received a letter from Bombay, dated December 11, in which he was instructed to "prevail on Madhavrav at least to remain neutral, if you cannot persuade him to take part with us." Here the Bombay Government were echoing the views of the Madras Government.[51] In their instructions to Nagoji Rao,[52] which were communicated to the Bombay Government and by them to Mr. Mostyn, the Madras Government asked their envoy to tell the Peshwa that the English would co-operate with the Marathas to 'root out the disturber' of Mysore,[53] "provided Madhavrav will, at the same time, attack and conquer the country of Bednur jointly with the English from Bombay." Such an alliance would involve the following conditions: firstly, the Raja's family should be restored to Mysore, and the *chauth* should regularly be paid to the Marathas; secondly, "the English should be reimbursed the expenses they may meet;" thirdly, the Marathas should "renounce all claims of *chauth*" on "the countries of Dindagul and other places formerly belonging to the Karnatak;" and, finally, the Peshwa should "grant the

[48] Govind Shivram said that "though the Nizam was in friendship with them, yet he had in part broken it by supporting their professed enemy" Haider Ali.

[49] Forrest, *op. cit.*, (Maratha Series), Vol. I, p. 150.

[50] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 150.

[51] *Ibid.*, Vol I, pp. 150-151.

[52] *Ibid.*, Vol I, pp. 150-152.

[53] This is described as a "glorious undertaking."

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Islands of Salsettee and Bassein to the company's Agents at Bombay." These objects being accomplished, the field of co-operation may be extended, and "by the blessing of God the English and Marathas together may be the means of establishing Shah Allum at Delhi and driving out the Jats and Abdallis." If the Peshwa's attitude proved unfavourable, "he may be given to understand the Raja of Berar has been soliciting the friendship of the English at Bengal and of this court, and that they will doubtless give them their friendship if Madhavrav does not engage it." Finally Nagoji Rao was asked to remember that "it is not so much the Peshwa's assistance the English want as that he should not assist" Haidar Ali or the Nizam.

Mr. Mostyn saw the Peshwa for the third time on December 19.[54] Madhav Rao asked him what demands he had to make. The envoy "then set forth the four following articles, desiring they might be immediately complied with."[55] In the first place, the ketch "*Lively*" was unjustifiably detained in Chaul harbour. Secondly, the compensation-money for "the losses our merchants had suffered from the depredations" committed by the officers of the Peshwa's fleets was not paid. Thirdly, the owners of the boats that were seized at the time of the Orpar affair were still molested by Maratha officers. Fourthly, "several slaves belonging to gentlemen at Bombay" were not delivered. The Peshwa said that the "*Lively*" would be released, but the compensation-money could not be paid until he received a reply to his letter from Governor Crommelin. The conversation was cut short by the arrival of some letters from the Nizam's camp. Mr. Mostyn went away with the impression that the Peshwa had something in reserve to say either with

54 Forrest, *op. cit.* (Maratha Series), Vol. I, pp. 153-154

55 This was communicated to Bombay in a letter, dated December 25, Forrest, *op. cit.* (Maratha Series), Vol. I, p. 158.

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respect to Haidar Ali or Janjira. It is remarkable that neither party wanted to 'open' itself; each tried to 'draw' everything from the other. Mr. Mostyn was prevented from 'opening' out himself by his instructions; moreover, he did not consider it necessary to show his cards, because there was "no appearance at present" of the Peshwa's taking part with the Nizam and Haidar Ali. Many reasons led Mr. Mostyn to think so.[56] In the first place, the Marathas knew that Haidar Ali was "their declared enemy, and will, whenever in his power, disturb them; therefore they will not, in point of policy, support him."[57] Secondly, the Jats "with the Marwar Raja and others joining in Hindusthan will oblige them to be on their guard and not trust too large a part of their force at so great a distance."[58] Thirdly, "Raghoba is also as ever a check upon them notwithstanding their late reconciliations,[59] and they are under some perplexity at his present behaviour as he is of their intentions." Fourthly, the state of the Peshwa's finances was very low. On January 10, Mr. Mostyn noted that "he has sent his people and orders for the whole

[56] Forrest, *op. cit.* (Maratha Series), Vol. I, pp. 154-55, 157, 160, 165.

[57] This was reported to Madras in a letter, dated December 22.

[58] This was reported to Madras in a letter, dated December 22 In his letter dated December 25, Mr. Mostyn reported to Bombay as follows : " .....Joarsing the Jat Raja and Bijaysing the Marwar Raja have entered into an alliance and are endeavouring to persuade Madhavsing of Junagad and the Raja of Bandikot to accede to it ....."

[59] In his report to Madras, dated December 22, Mr. Mostyn says that " though Madhavrav may be under no apprehensions from him (*i.e.*, Raghoba for the present, yet it is believed to be a principal reason for his not taking the field this year himself. " In his letter to Bombay, dated December 25, Mr. Mostyn says : " The chief motive given for this inactivity at so favourable a juncture for his (*i.e.*, Peshwa's) getting possession of the Bednur country, now quite destitute of any force, is his apprehensions of Raghoba creating some disturbance should he leave his capital for any time, whose late behaviour perplexes them a good deal, for he is marching about with his force, and various are the reports of his intentions; nay so jealous are they of him, that it was five days after my application before I could procure the passports for Mr. Brome to go to Nasik. " On December 31, Mr. Mostyn noted that the Peshwa " is under engagements to pay (to Raghaba) the whole of the amount stipulated in their late accommodation by the Divali, the balance of which is twenty lacs. Until he has done this he does not look upon himself at liberty to undertake anything."

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amount of the revenues of the different countries to be paid into his treasury without any deductions for maintaining a certain number of troops to attend him immediately on summons as usual." [60] Finally, the Peshwa discharged 1500 *bigaris*, 400 men belonging to his train, and some thousand horse, showing thereby that he was not likely to take the field himself in the near future.[61]

On December 28, Mr. Mostyn noted in his diary that the English and Muhammad Ali being "much too powerful" for the Nizam and Haidar Ali, the latter "have therefore sent pressingly to Madhavrav for assistance." [62] On December 30, the envoy received the order for the release of the ketch "*Lively*." [63] On December 31, Muhammad Ali paid Mr. Mostyn a visit and conveyed to him the substance of his conversation with the Peshwa.[64] The Nizam had written Madhav Rao pressing for his assistance; in case he could not come himself, he was requested to send "even an officer with ten thousand horse" and to "send orders to Gopalrav, the Commander of his forces in these parts, not to molest Hyder Alli's country for such part of last year's revenues as might be due....." Giving these details, the Peshwa asked Muhammad Ali's opinion "(that as he himself is determined not to go anywhere this year) whether he should comply the Nizam's request for ten thousand horse?" Muhammad Ali naturally tried to represent the conduct and prospects of the Nizam and Haidar Ali in an unfavourable light. On the whole, he left the Peshwa with the impression that he "will not either go himself and lend Hyder Alli any assistance." Thus the conclusion which Mr. Mostyn had formed as early as December 19 was confirmed.

60 This was reported to Bombay in a letter, dated January 21.
61 This was reported to Madras in a letter, dated December 22.
62 Forrest, *op. cit.*, Maratha Series), Vol. I, p. 159.
63 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 159.
64 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 159-160.

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On January 2, 1768, Mr. Mostyn came to know that the *vakils* of the Nizam and Haidar Ali would reach Poona within a day. He concluded that "these agents will immediately make their proposal with very large offers." [65] So he wrote to Bombay for instructions "whether I shall speak plainly to them (*i.e.*, the Marathas), for I find they will not open themselves." [66] To this letter a reply was received on January 10, in which the Bombay Government observed as follows: "we must acquiesce in your speaking first whenever a suitable opportunity offers; but we shall rely on your doing it with the caution and reserve necessary in all transactions with these people." [67] Before receiving this letter Mr. Mostyn had seen the Peshwa for the fourth time on January 5 and supped with him. [68] The conversation related to "indifferent matters with regard to Europe and India." Although the instructions from Bombay authorised Mr. Mostyn to 'open' first, he decided to wait a few days and to use his "endeavours privately to induce Madhavrav to open first." He knew that the terms offered to the Peshwa by the agents of the Nizam and Haidar Ali "will far exceed anything I am empowered to make." He also knew that "it is not in Madhavrav's power to take the field this year." [69] He reported this to Bombay on January 21.[70]

In the meanwhile the detention of Angria's sons [71] and the affair of Janjira were embittering Anglo-Maratha relations. Siddi Abdul Rahim reoccupied Mudgur through the assistance of Visaji Pant. This naturally offended Siddi Yakub Khan,

65 Forrest, *op. cit.* (Maratha Series), Vol. I, p. 160.
66 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 161.
67 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 162-163.
68 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 162.
69 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 162.
70 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 165.
71 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 162.

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the English *protege*,[72] who wrote to the Peshwa to enquire whether Visaji Pant had acted with his approbation.[73]

Mr. Brome had started for Nasik, where Raghunath Rao was residing at that time, on December 19. Mr. Mostyn instructed him to "encourage any advance he may make to you, so as, if possible, to draw from him some proposals."[74] On January 1, Gopal Chakradhar, Raghunath's *vakil*, saw Mr. Mostyn[75] and answered him that "it was Raghoba's sincere desire to be on the most amicable footing with us." He "very openly" told the English envoy that Raghunath and the Peshwa "placed no confidence in each other, and, that.....Raghoba would not sit down quietly under the disgrace of having all the principal forts taken out of his hands and no share in the Government; that he only waited to see if Madhavrav failed in any of his agreements with him, which, should he do in the least point, Raghoba would certainly make use of it to foment matters and, at any rate, I should see in six months what a disturbance he would create." He also said "in confidence that Raghoba had concerted measures for entering into a strict and lasting friendship with the English and intended sending a person to Madras on this account, but as Mr. Brome was now gone to him he would now defer it." Gopal Chakradhar's exposition of Raghunath Rao's sentiments was confirmed by Mr. Brome's report to Mr. Mostyn, dated January 15, which the latter received on January 22.[76] In his conversations with Mr. Brome, Raghunath Rao had expressed his desire "to engage the English on his side and receive help from them when he might take up arms, which after the rains he was fully resolved on;" "and he earnestly entreated they would assist

[72] Forrest, *op. cit.* (Maratha Series), Vol. I, p. 143.
[73] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 163.
[74] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 153.
[75] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 160.
[76] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 166-168.

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him with guns and ammunition." Mr. Brome told him that the Company "would expect some advantages exclusive of the bare pay of their troops, and the amount cost of such ammunition he might receive from their hands." When Raghunath asked for details, Mr. Brome tried "to draw out such proposals as he was willing to agree to;" but Raghunath avoided a direct answer. At that time Raghunath had at his disposal 2,000 horse, 120 guns and 8 mortars mounted, of different sizes; he had other guns at another place, but the number Mr. Brome could not ascertain. A copy of Mr. Brome's report was sent to Bombay on January 25.[77]

On January 17, Mr. Mostyn heard that Nizam Ali had concluded a peace with Muhammad Ali Khan and ordered his *Dewan* Ruku-ud-dowla and Basalat Jang to leave Haidar Ali with their troops.[78] On January 18, Mr. Mostyn had a talk with Govind Shivram about the Orpar affair.[79] On January 20, he heard that Nagoji Rao had arrived at Parvati two days ago in a state of ill-health.[80] Mr. Mostyn reported these incidents to Bombay on January 21.[81]

On January 27, Mr. Mostyn was again received by the Peshwa,[82] who desired that he should talk with Govind Shivram and Ramaji Chitnis about the articles presented by him on December 19. Govind Shivram and Ramaji Chitnis agreed to pay the amount of losses English merchants had sustained as settled three years ago, but regarded the detention of Angria's sons as an infringement of the treaty concluded on September 14, 1761. Mr. Mostyn said that the English "did not look on Angria's children as coming

[77] Forrest, *op. cit.*, (Maratha Series), Vol. I, p. 168.
[78] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 164-165.
Muhammad Ali Khan paid 15 lacs of rupees.
[79] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 164.
[80] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 164.
[81] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 165-166.
[82] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 168-69.

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under any one of the articles" of that treaty. He argued that it was "lucky" for the Peshwa that "they again fell into our hands; for had they gone to any other power, from their connections and influence in the country, might have given them (*i.e.*, the Marathas) much trouble, from which they were now secured." When Govind Shivram and Ramaji Chitnis expresssed the apprehension that the English would give protection to "any of their (*i.e.* Maratha) officers, or even any of their own family (alluding to Raghoba's disaffection)" if he fled to Bombay, Mr. Mostyn merely gave the vague assurance that the Marathas "might depend upon our abiding by our treaties." Govind Shivram and Ramaji Chitnis then referred to "the loss they suffered by our vessels giving convoy to foreign boats, by which means they evaded taking their pass, also the detriment they suffered by our not permitting their *Chowkis* about Surat to remain in the customary places." Mr. Mostyn promised to lay these complaints before the Bombay Government.

On February 9, Mr. Mostyn went to see Nagoji Rao who was "so ill as not to be able to go abroad."[83] The former said that the situation had greatly changed since Nagoji Rao had left Madras: "since the Nizam had left Hyder Ali there was little to be apprehended from the latter alone; therefore the forming a junction with the Marathas appeared the less necessary, more especially as the jealousies and disputes between Madhavrav and his uncle Raghoba would . . . . prevent their joining Hyder Ali or giving us any material assistance, at least before the rains."

A letter from Bombay,[84] dated February 5, but received by Mr. Mostyn on February 9, informed him that an English expedition was being sent against Haidar Ali's fleet and possessions on the western coast. The Bombay Government

[83] Forrest, *op. cit.* (Maratha Series), Vol. I, p. 169.
[84] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 169-70.

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were giving out that the expedition was directed "against fort Augustus to compel the Rani to make good that part of the ransom money now due," and Mr. Mostyn was asked to "make necessary use of this hint in case any question should be asked you at the Darbar." Mr. Mostyn utilised this "hint" on February 19, when the Peshwa asked him "the reason of the armament preparing at Bombay and whither destined."[85] On February 21, he received a letter from Bombay, dated February 18,[86] in which he was informed of the departure of the expedition. He was instructed to request the Maratha Government not to "interfere or in any shape obstruct us in our operations," and to welcome their co-operation. Mr. Mostyn saw the Peshwa, Sakharam Bapu, Nana Fadnavis, Govind Shivram, Moroba Fadnavis and Muhammad Ali Khan on February 22.[87] In reply to the Peshwa's enquiry he told them that the expedition was proceeding against Haidar Ali and that the Bombay Government would gladly "listen to any reasonable proposals" the Marathas wanted to make, "Calculated for the reduction of Hyder Alli." The Peshwa and his advisers "seemed to be thunder-struck;" they imagined that the Bombay Government "were in perfect peace" with Haidar Ali, and that the expedition was going down to Malvan. However, the Peshwa "had no objections to our punishing Hyder Ali;" but he claimed "the whole of the countries of Bednur and Sounda," and wanted the English to surrender any part of them which they might take. He also proposed that the Marathas and the English "should act jointly" for punishing Haidar Ali. Mr. Mostyn advised him to send a proper person to Bombay to carry on negotiations.

We have anticipated events in order to give a connected account of Mr. Mostyn's negotiations about the naval expedi-

[85] Forrest, *op. cit.* (Maratha Series), Vol. I, p. 172. [86] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 172-73.
[87] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 173, 175.

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tion against Haidar Ali.' Before these negotiations were complete, Mr. Mostyn had an interview with the Peshwa on February 11.[88] Madhav Rao said that he "expected and hoped the Hon'ble company would not support or assist any of his enemies even though they were his relations." Mr. Mostyn assured him that "so long as he remained firm in his friendship with them (*i.e.*, the English) they would not think of supporting or assisting either his relation or any one else against him."

In his letter to Bombay, dated February 14, Mr. Mostyn observed that "it is now become unnecessary to form a junction with the Marathas."[89] On February 25, he had his last interview with the Peshwa,[90] who told him that Ramaji Chitnis would be sent to Bombay. Mr. Mostyn's letter to Bombay, dated March 3, shows that the articles submitted by him on December 19 were decided by the Peshwa to the satisfaction of the English.[91]

It is necessary to indicate in brief the part played by Bednur in these negotiations. Mr. Mostyn procured the following account from Nagoji Rao and related it in his letter to Bombay, dated February 14.[92] After the death of the old Raja, the Rani adopted "a distant relation and crowned him in prejudice to one Rama Raja, a near relation to the old Raja and who had a right to succeed." One of the

88 Forrest, *op. cit.* (Maratha Series), Vol. I, p. 170.

89 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 171.

90 *Ibid.*, Vol. I. p. 174.

91 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 175-76.

A Marathi letter, dated September 17, 1765, contains orders to restore half the value of the ship-wrecked property on an English merchantman that floundered near Anjanwel. Another letter, dated October 20, 1765, instructs Sankarji Keshab to pay the English about Rs. 31,000 as indemnity for the losses suffered by their merchantmen, provided they are willing to abide strictly by the terms of the treaty. On May 29, 1766, an English officer, Major Govil, was given a *Kincob* worth Rs. 53. A Marathi document, dated March 16, 1768, records that cloths were presented to Mr. Mostyn and his retinue. (Sardesai, *op. cit.*, Vol. 45, letters nos. 30, 31, 33).

Forrest, *op. cit.* (Maratha Series), Vol. I, pp. 171-172.

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Rani's favourites tried to cut him off; so Rama Raja fled to "the Raja of Chitaldurg (the only powerful person near the Bednur country and able to raise twelve thousand gun men), who gave him protection and promised to assist him in gaining his right." Haidar Ali induced the Raja of Chitaldurg to surrender Rama Raja to him, "promising that he would place him in the Rajaship as the proper successor. But after having conquered the whole country in his name, he confined him. During this confusion the Rani and the adopted Raja fled to Currial fort, but were soon after taken and confined also." In 1767 Madhav Rao compelled Haidar Ali to deliver "these two up to him and was bringing them to Poona, but on the road the Rani died.[93] Rama Raja was also with Madhavrav, but apprehending he was only released from one prison to be put into another, found means to escape and took Nizam Alli's protection, with whom he now is."

It is clear that the Peshwa wanted to annex Bednur.[94] It is equally clear from John Stracey's letter to the President of Bombay[95] that the English did not like

[93] John Stracey wrote to the President of Bombay: "Of the late Bednur family of Rajahs, there is only left the young man who was reigning when Hyder took the country, and who with his mother were released by the Marathas last year from a fort called Mad Ghery, where Hyder had confined them. She is since dead, but whether they will release him is I think very uncertain." (Forrest, *op., cit.,* Home Series, Vol. II, p. 132). John Stracey is wrong about the date; so is Mr. Mostyn, who says in February, 1768, that the Rani and the Raja were released by the Peshwa "two years ago." Elsewhere (letter to Bombay, December 25) Mr. Mostyn says that the Raja of Bednur was brought by the Peshwa "last year" (Forrest, *op. cit.,* Maratha Series, Vol. I, p. 157). Two Maratha letters (Sardesai, *op. cit.*, Vol. 37, Nos. 147 and 152). show that the fort of Madgiri was captured and the prisoners released in March, 1767. Wilks, (Vol. I, pp. 447-453) is correct about the date, and his account agrees substantially with the story incorporated in Mr. Mostyn's report.

[94] The "young Raja" of Bednur told Mr. Mostyn that "not only Madhravrav but some of his ministers were willing to assist him, provided their *chauth* could be secured to them without the trouble they now labour under of recovering it by force." (Forrest, *op. cit.* (Maratha Series, Vol. I, p. 157). On January 22, the Peshwa claimed Bednur and Sounda "in the most formal manner."

[95] Cited before. Forrest, *op. cit.* (Home Series), Vol. II, p. 134.

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that this rich province [96] should fall to the Marathas. It was only with great reluctance that the Bombay Government authorised Mr. Mostyn to offer Bednur and Sounda in return for Bassein, Salsette and some commercial privileges. The "young Raja" obviously expected assistance from the English. In his letter to Bombay, dated December 25, Mr. Mostyn observes :[97] "He has several times sent his man to me, requesting I would interest myself in his behalf, and provided the Hon'ble Company would reinstate him in his Government, has promised to reimburse them their charges and give them any stronghold on the sea coast with an exclusive right to the paper and sandalwood trade.[98] But this desirable end I was convinced cannot be accomplished without a strong land force. I therefore said, as the Raja was now in the hands of the Marathas, it would be impossible for him to enter into any treaty without their consent.....I told him.....if he would prevail on Madhavrav to speak to me about it, I would give Madhavrav an answer, and do all in my power to assist the Raja." On January 2, Mr. Mostyn reported to Bombay that the Peshwa had refused to assist the Raja "this year." In the meanwhile, the Bombay authorities were looking for "a proper person" whom they could establish at Bednur, if they succeeded in depriving Haidar Ali of that province. In their letter to Mr. Mostyn, dated February 5, they enquired whether "the young Raja of Bednur now at Poona" would suit them; but they did not like to "publish our intentions to the Marathas."[99] Mr. Mostyn reported in favour of the "young Raja"[100] and observed, ".....no objection occurs to me at

[96] It was fertile and rich with "timber of luxuriant stature." (Wilks, Vol. I, pp. 448-450).

[97] Forrest, *op. cit.* (Maratha Series), Vol. I, p. 157.

[98] *Cf*: the instructions given to Mr. Mostyn by the Bombay Government.

[99] Forrest, *op. cit.* (Maratha Series), Vol. I, p. 170.

[100] "The young Raja is about sixteen or seventeen years old, a sprightly, sensible young man....."

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present why he should not be openly demanded of the Marathas, nor do I think they can be disgusted at it, provided we are guaranteed for payment of their *Chauth* without trouble." [101] A few days later the Peshwa "laid claim to the whole of the countries of Bednur and Sounda, not only on account of their being already in possession of part and intentions of taking the whole as opportunities offered, but the Raja of the former being under his protection." [102]

We have dealt in some detail with the history of Mr. Mostyn's embassy bacause, although unproductive of any immediate result, it reveals clearly the deep-seated jealousies which governed South Indian politics in the second half of the eighteenth century. It was an age of shifting alliances and treacherous friends. There were four strong powers—the Marathas, Haidar Ali, the Nizam and the English—each bent upon self-aggrandisement at the cost of the others. The fate of the princes of Bednur shows how the smaller chiefs were treated in those days by their great neighbours.

As we go through Mr. Mostyn's vivid and interesting diary, we find how commanding, and at the same time how weak, the position of Peshwa Madhav Rao I really was. His friendship was courted on all sides; envoys from the English and their enemies (Haidar Ali and the Nizam) came to him simultaneously from all directions. His intervention in the war would certainly have proved decisive. But domestic difficulties stood in his way, and the issue was decided without his participation. The Jats, the Rohillas and the Rajputs had already raised their heads in the North,—and the Bhonsle was intriguing in the South; but the most deadly enemy of the Peshwa was his uncle, whose ambition he succeeded in curbing for the moment with difficulty, but

101 Forrest, *op. cit.* (Maratha Series), Vol. I, pp. 171-172.
102 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 173.

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who invited ruin to the Marathas within two years of his great nephew's death.

After Mostyn's departure from Poona, a Maratha agent went to Bombay and demanded Mysore, Bednur and Sounda, saying that any place the English might take in those countries should be delivered up to the Peshwa. This was "peremptorily refused." The Bombay authorities suspected that the real intentions of the Marathas were to restore the former Hindu princes to their dominions and to "have their *chauth* from these countries secured to them." They wrote to Madras on April 5, 1768, "...as this will not only fully answer our design but be most agreeable to the country in general, we shall exert our best endeavour for bringing it out, and in case of Madhavrav's agreeing to it, do all in our power in conjunction with him for restoring the Rajahs..... But in recompense for this important service to the Marathas in acquiring to them so very considerable a revenue without any further trouble, we shall previously stipulate for such advantages to the Company as they may want at this settlement....."[103]

About the middle of the year 1768 the Nizam was reported to be repentant for making peace. Suspecting that Rukn-ud-daula was bribed by the English to advocate peace, he made plans for murdering the minister. It was believed that the Maratha *vakil* in Hyderabad was one of the principal instigators behind this dispute between the Nizam and Rukn-ud-daula.[104] The Madras authorities wrote to Calcutta on June 28, 1768, "...there is too much reason to apprehend that the Soubah may again be induced...to quarrel with us. If that should happen and Madhavrav, as his *vakil* has promised, should assist the Soubah against us, we imagine that a junction may be formed with Janoji Bhonsle by your

[103] Madras Military Consultations, Vol. 30A, p. 633.

[104] J. L. Smith, Chief of Masulipatam, to Madras, June 21, 1768. Bengal Select Committee Proceedings, July 20, 1768.

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Presidency which will afford Madhavrav no small trouble and alarm him for the safety of his country and we shall also in that case recommend it to the gentlemen at Bombay to endeavour to assist his uncle against him." [105] The reply from Calcutta was discouraging: "To prevail on Raghunath or Janoji to attack Madhavrav would be no easy task unless we engage to support them with a body of our own troops, which the present situation of our affairs will by no means enable us to do."[106]

But the Madras authorities were alarmed by various reports. Rukn-ud-daula went to Poona; "it is pretty evident that the design of his mission is to fix the plan of operations." Raja Saheb, son of Chanda Saheb, who had been for some time with the Peshwa, went to Haidar's assistance with some troops.[107] The despatches of Mr. Brome, the envoy of the Bombay authorities at the court of Poona, gave enough cause to apprehend that the Peshwa was ready to join Haidar Ali. He wrote that Haidar's *vakil* "has so well played his cards as to gain over to his master's interest the whole of the ministry by making them large promises and presents." The *vakil* made the following formal offers to the Peshwa: (1) If the Peshwa agreed to assist Haidar, the sum of 30 lakhs of rupees, being the amount of tribute due for the last two years, would be paid to him. (2) The sum of 17 lakhs would be paid as soon as 15,000 horse under Gopal Rao and Nander (Anand?) Rao Raste marched towards Haidar's territories. (3) The remaining sum of 13 lakhs would be paid when they joined Haidar. (4) In addition to these 30 lakhs, an allowance of half a rupee per day for each horse would be paid. These promises, Mr. Brome observed, "would have had the desired effect...had not Madhavrav firmly persisted in not giving his ultimate

105 Bengal Select Committee Proceedings, July 20, 1768.

106 *Ibid.*, August 10, 1768.

107 *Ibid.*, October 6, 1768.

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answer until my arrival, thinking from the Governor and Council having thought proper to send me here, that I had some proposals to make for his joining us against Haidar..." Govind Shivram told him the Peshwa had a demand from the Nawab of the Carnatic the sum of four and half lakhs. Mr. Brome replied that "if his demand was a just one,... it would immediately be paid without the necessity of taking up arms, but on the contrary he must expect the English would never submit to his committing hostilities in the Carnatic without their assisting the Nawab to the utmost of their power." On the whole, Mr. Brome concluded that the Marathas "are on the very brink of breaking with us."[108]

In November, 1768, he reported that Haidar's envoy had paid 12 lakhs to the Peshwa and left Poona. The Peshwa took precautions for the defence of his territories on the Malabar coast, for he anticipated that his alliance with Haidar would involve him in hostilities with the English authorities at Bombay.[109] This Mr. Brome looked upon as "another convincing argument that Madhavrav's intentions are actually to break with us."[110] Gopal Rao advanced towards Colar and the Peshwa himself followed him. Once more the Madras authorities wrote to Bengal for money and expressed the apprehension that if the Peshwa invaded the territories of the Nawab of Arcot, they "would be inevitably deprived even of the small resources we now receive from the revenues of the Carnatic."[111] In the meanwhile Rukn-ud-daula arrived at Poona and concluded an agreement. The Peshwa agreed to give

[108] Bengal Select Committee Proceedings, December 13, 1768.

[109] *Ibid.*, January 25, 1769.

The Peshwa told Mr. Brome that he looked upon the English Settlements of Bombay and Madras as "entirely separate" and expected that hostilities with one would not involve hostilities with the other. Mr. Brome told him that the resources of the three Presidencies would be employed against any one who injured any of them.

[110] *Ibid.*

[111] *Ibid.*, January 25, 1769.

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the Nizam the forts of Ansem and Badaney and a *jagir* worth 12 lakhs. A combined expedition was to be directed against the Nawab of Arcot ; of the territories taken from him one-fourth would be retained by the Peshwa, and the rest would go to the Nizam.[112] The position of the Madras authorities was so desperate in January, 1769, that they were anxious " for making peace with Haidar on almost any terms. " They wrote to Calcutta on January 26, 1769, " There being no room to doubt of Madhavrav's intentions of hostilities, [113] and considering the state of our treasury and resources, it appears evident almost to demonstration that in a very little time far from being able to maintain an army in the field, we should not even have the means of paying our forces in garrison. " They expected that Haidar's apprehension of Maratha designs would restrain his anti-British feelings in the future. They wrote, " He is not less apprehensive of

[112] Bengal Select Committee Proceedings, January 25, 1769.

[113] Two curious incidents deserve to be noticed. (1) A *vakil* from Ibrahim Beg, one of the Nizam's officers in Warangal, came to Mr. Smith, Chief of Masulipatam, and proposed that an anti-Maratha coalition, should be formed by the Nizam, the English and Janoji Bhonsle, and attempts should be made " for either placing Raghunath in the Government of Poona or in failure thereof obliging Madhavrav to such regulations and terms as they (*i.e.*, the allies) should impose upon him." This *vakil* had no paper signed by the Nizam or Rukn-ud-daula. Mr. Smith reported the matter to Madras. The Madras authorities apparently regarded the proposal as genuine, for they wrote to Calcutta as late as July 1, 1769, " We shall studiously avoid.....disgusting the Soubah by a positive refusal and endeavour.....to protract the negotiation but should we after all be under the necessity of giving a categorical answer, we must then avail ourselves of the saving clause in the treaty and declare that the situation of affairs will not admit of our engaging in any distant operations. " (Bengal Select Committee Proceedings, March 1 and August 11, 1769), (2) It appears that the Peshwa offered to assist the Madras authorities with a detachment of cavalry if they were ready to pay the expenses. They resolved, " it appears that Madhavrav seems disposed to assist the Nawab and us. We have great reason to believe it is but a seeming and not really so, but were it real his conditions are such as it is not in our power to comply with." They wrote to the Peshwa that they were prepared to pay 5 lakhs in the following manner: one lakh to be paid two months after the troubles were at an end, 2 lakhs to be paid within the next two months, and 2 lakhs to be paid at the end of other months. The Peshwa's reply, if he sent any, is not on record. (Madras Military Consultations, February 11, 1769, Vol. 33, p. 81)

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Marathas than we are. Certain it is that the increase of their power is as dangerous to him as to us, and it is from this mutual danger that we build our hopes of being undisturbed by him for some time,... his treasures are exhausted and by thus weakening himself he becomes more exposed to the power of the Marathas, who certainly never meant seriously to support him but in all probability taking advantage of our quarrel tried to obtain what they could from him and then to do the same by the Carnatic." The old theory of utilising Haidar as a "barrier" against Maratha expansion was revived: "Haidar is the best barrier to the Carnatic against the Marathas with whom he ever has been and ever must be at variance, and probably never will pay the chauth but when they can demand it at the head of a superior force."[114]

In March, 1769, the authorities at Calcutta wrote to Madras that they were prepared to conclude a defensive and offensive treaty with Janoji Bhonsle, "but that we might not in so doing engage in distant enterprises with that chief unless the exigency of the Company's affairs required such a step, we reserved a clause in the proposed treaty of assisting him with troops provided our own possessions or the security of our allies conveniently admit of such assistance."[115] Sometime later it was reported to Calcutta that the Peshwa had "directed his operations towards the province of Berar, and seemed seriously intent on crushing the power and influence of Janoji." It was felt, therefore, that the proposal for making an alliance with the Bhonsle might be suspended for the time being, to be resumed, if at all, when the Peshwa again threatened the territories of the Nawab of Arcot.[116]

All speculations came to an end when Haidar dictated the terms of peace (April 2, 1769). The second article

114 Bengal Select Committee Proceedings, March 1, 1769.

115 *Ibid.*

116 *Ibid.*, March 23, 1769.

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of the treaty laid down " that in case either of the contracting parties shall be attacked, they shall from their respective countries mutually assist each other to drive the enemy out." Haidar wanted to be sure of British assistance against the Marathas, " so he strenuously pressed that the alliance should be made both offensive and defensive. " The Madras authorities observe, " The offensive part we absolutely rejected and tried to decline the defensive as far as could be done without absolutely breaking off the treaty as we were fully sensible of the difficulties in which we might be thereby involved. But no peace could be expected without it, and it was with the utmost difficulty that Haidar would consent to the article even in its present form." [117]

Soon after this treaty the Peshwa led his third expedition into the Carnatic, and Haidar Ali found himself unable to resist him successfully. Both the parties appealed for assistance to the Madras authorities, who decided to remain neutral. As they wrote to Calcutta in a letter, dated February 13, 1770, " Were we to assist Haidar, we could not hope to reduce the power of the Marathas, and we should thereby inevitably expose the Carnatic to their ravages, and on the other hand were we to afford them assistance, they might probably be enabled to reduce Haidar entirely, which could only tend to aggrandize their power and render them more dangerous than they are at present, or in case Haidar should accommodate matters with them.....he would not fail taking the first opportunity of avenging himself upon the Carnatic and the Company. We must therefore temporize with both in the best manner we are able.[118] It was also apprehended that the Marathas " would demand the chauth of the Carnatic if they were disengaged from the war with Haidar and they would detatch a party of horse

117 Madras Military Consultations, Vol. 33, p. 231.

118 Bengal Select Committee Proceedings, 1770.

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to enter the Carnatic if they were not apprehensive that such a step would induce us to join our forces to Haidar." [119]

The policy of " keeping alive the hopes and fears of both parties by not determining in favour of either and without assuring assistance to the one or the other " could not be pursued indefinitely. If the Marathas gained any signal advantage over Haidar, he might submit to their terms, and then they might turn their arms against the Nawab of Arcot. If, on the other hand, Haidar succeeded in driving away the Marathas, " his pride would be so exalted and his spirits raised that it is to be doubted whether resentment against us for not assisting him might not induce him to disturb us." If the two parties remained equal, they might unite to invade the Carnatic, " perceiving that we amused both without designing to assist either." In order " to raise fresh doubts, new fears and new hopes in both parties as well as to be prepared " for Maratha incursions into the Carnatic, it was decided that the troops at Bellore and Trichinopoly should be ordered to hold themselves in readiness to take the field.[120]

Haidar Ali naturally appealed to the treaty of 1769, and the Madras authorities obviously found it difficult to explain it away. They told Haidar that they considered him to be the aggressor.[121] They argued that the treaty was " an act of necessity." They reminded Haidar that " the impossibility of our engaging to furnish any certain quota of troops when demanded was fully explained " to him. They had to recognise, however, that " although we in some measure

[119] Madras Military Consultations, Vol. 36, p. 49.

[120] *Ibid.*

[121] *Ibid.*

When the Madras authorities found that " excuses would avail us no longer, we represented that ..we would afford him assistance whenever he should be in danger of being overpowered by the Marathas, but he has always represented his situation in the most favourable light." Here is sophistry indeed ! (Madras Military Consultations, Vol. 38, p. 271).

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reserved to ourselves the option of assisting Haidar or not, in case he were attacked, as it suited our own convenience, we certainly cannot without a certain manifest violation of the treaty take part with the Marathas against him." [122] Nor was it desirable to allow the Marathas to impose their authority on Mysore, "as we should in that case from their vicinity be constantly exposed to their ravages and devastations." [123]

The Marathas negotiated with the Madras authorities through the Nawab of Arcot,[124] who supported their claim for assistance and "refused to co-operate" with the Madras authorities in any plan they proposed "for the safety of his own and the Company's possessions." [125] This attitude naturally embarrassed the Madras authorities. In December, 1770, the President had an interview with Madarow (?) Sadashiv, the Maratha *vakil*, at the Nawab's house, at which the Nawab and his two sons were present. The Maratha *vakil* read a long memorandum in which he accused the Madras authorities of carrying on insincere negotiations with the Peshwa during the First Anglo-Mysore War and complained that in the treaty of 1769 the Peshwa's name was not so much as mentioned. In his reply the President said that in that war the Peshwa "had actually resolved to take against us and in consequence thereof actually advanced a few marches, which encouraged Haidar to march immediately with his whole force into the Carnatic, and compelled our army" to make peace. "It is amazing," he said, "that he who was the cause of our making that peace should now blame it." Against this interpretation of the Peshwa's movements, the Maratha *vakil* protested. The President replied that the Peshwa could not carry into execu-

122 Madras Military Consultations, Vol. 36, p. 113.

123 Bengal Select Committee Proceedings, June 9, 1770.

124 Madras Military Consultations, Vol. 36, p.49.

125 Bengal Select Committee Proceedings, June 9, 1770; February 7, 1771.

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tion his plan of attacking the Carnatic only because Janoji Bhonsle created troubles in Berar.[126] Sometime later another interview was held. The Maratha *vakil* merely said that he would disclose his offer when the Company should declare its intention to join the Peshwa. He declared that the king and people of England were desirous of helping the Marathas. This statement was obviously inspired by secret negotiations with Sir John Lindsay,[127] the British King's representative in India, who encouraged the Nawab of Arcot to adopt a pro-Maratha attitude and tried his best to discredit the Company's servants.[128] Although Lindsay and the Nawab pressed the Madras authorities to engage in an offensive alliance with the Marathas, they refused to do so. Uitimately they were supported by the London authorities themselves.[129]

As the position of Haidar Ali became more and more critical, the Madras authorities drifted to the conclusion that he should be assisted; but they wrote to Calcutta on January 5, 1771, "we are prevented by the Nabob's opposition from giving him any other than that of withholding an aid from the Marathas. So much is the Nabob's inclination to favour the designs of the Marathas against Haidar, that he has declined to bear any part of the charges of field operations against them should they enter the Carnatic...The Nabob's dependence now is in the Crown and not on the Company."[130] In February they wrote, "From the present conduct of the Marathas both in the North and in the South

126 Madras Military Consultations, Vol. 38, p. 370.

127 Madras Records, Despatch to Court of Directors, February 6, 1771.

128 Mill, *History of British India*, Book V, Chapter IV, pp. 59-60, 71.

129 Madras Records, Despatch to Court of Directors, July 20, 1771.
Despatch from the Court of Directors, April 10, 1761.

130 Bengal Select Committee Proceedings, February 6, 1771.
Cf.—"We are chained to the Nabob who...we understand from Sir John Lindsay is taken especially under the protection of the Crown by the 11th article of the Treaty at Paris."—Madras to Bengal, June 27, 1771. (Bengal Select Committee Proceedings, July 27, 1771).

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and from the genius, spirit, and ambition of Madhavrav, we are inclined to suspect that their designs are not confined to the mere collection of the choute but extend to the subjecting the whole Peninsula." [131] In June they wrote, " Haidar continues to press us for assistance, which we have it not in our power to grant, as it is impossible for us to attempt anything without the revenues and resources of the Carnatic, which are entirely under the control of the Nabob, who on the other hand earnestly presses us to a junction with the Marathas to subdue Mysore. In this system, he is warmly seconded by Sir John Lindsay...we have told them plainly that we can never acquiesce in a plan which appears to us so dangerous in itself, so inconsistent with our engagements and views of the Company's other settlements." [132]

Towards the close of 1761, the Madras authorities suspected that the Marathas intended " to invade this province with a view to compelling us into a junction with them against Mysore." The main body of their army was advancing towards the Carnatic, and straggling parties actually plundered some of the Nawab's villages, apparently without the knowledge or approval of the Peshwa. Faced with the prospect of " a very formidable invasion," pressed by the Nawab and Sir John Lindsay to espouse the cause of the Marathas, the Madras authorities decided to hold themselves in readiness, but " take no hostile step unless the Carnatic should be attacked." [133] They refused to help the Marathas unless they were ordered by the Court of Directors to do so. They went further : " In order to keep up Haidar's spirits and to prevent his concluding a peace with the Marathas, we have desired he will inform us what supplies of money and what provisions he can furnish, should the orders we

131 Bengal Select Committee Proceedings, March 10, 1771.

132 *Ibid.*, June 4, 1771.

133 Bengal Select Committee Proceedings, January 10, 1772.

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expect soon to receive from Europe authorise us to assist him." The Bombay authorities also made similar enquiries through Mr. Sibbald, their Resident at Onore.[134]

Early in 1772 the Nawab of Arcot sent a *vakil* to the Marathas, in order to prevent them from attacking his territories.[135] The *vakil* succeeded in his mission and the Maratha army returned to Balaghat. Mill observes, "The Marathas notwithstanding their threats, had not, it would appear, any serious intention of invading the Carnatic; for in the month of January,[136] 1772, the Nawab and Sir Robert Harland,[137] finding the Presidency inflexible against their project of alliance, found the means of prevailing upon them to promise a cessation of hostilities till the pleasure of the British king should be known.[138] The Marathas were afraid of provoking the English to join Hyder Ali."[139] The conclusion of peace between Haidar Ali and the Marathas in May-June, 1772, removed all causes of British intervention in Maratha affairs in the Deccan.

[134] Bengal Select Committee Proceedings, February 3, 1779.

[135] *Ibid.*, March 15, 1772.

Previously the Nawab had told the Madras authorities that he would not be able to supply them with money if the Marathas invaded the Carnatic. (Bengal Select Committee Proceedings, January 10, 1772).

[136] It seems that the arrangement was really made in February. On February 7, 1772, the Madras authorites wrote to Calcutta that "matters *will soon* be accommodated." (Bengal Select Committee Proceedings, March 15, 1772).

[137] Sir John Lindsay's successor as king's representative. He had also adopted a pro-Maratha attitude.

[138] "That they gave money and gave largely, appears plainly from a letter in Rous's Appendix, p. 952."—Mill.

[139] *History of British India*, Book V, Chapter IV, p. 73.

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23

SETTLEMENT OF RAJSHAHI BY THE COMMITTEE OF CIRCUIT IN 1772

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The settlement of Rajshahi and the adjoining *huzuri* districts and *talooks* was made by the Committee of Circuit at Kasimbazar. Mr. Middleton in submitting before the Committee the necessary papers relating to the lands in the district of Rajshahi pleaded for "some temporary remission in the exactions of Government." A great part of the *Zemindary* of Rajshahi had been let out to farm during the Bengali years 1176 and 1177. The resources of the province, Mr. Middleton pointed out, had been greatly exhausted and diminished by the exactions of these revenue-farmers. As on account of the famine the collections of 1176 were less than the amount for which they had contracted, the farmers had in the following year compensated for their loss by the imposition of *mathout* and other devices and nearly paid up the amount that they had stipulated for with the Government. In 1178 the whole of the *Zemindary* of Rajshahi was let out to one farmer who also had agreed to a sum higher than could be realised and indemnified himself by imposing on the *ryots*, who remained in the *pargana*, an additional tax to compensate for the failure of cultivation in the lands of those who had died or deserted. The *pargana* of Rajpur or Meherpur had particularly suffered. As a result, the evil consequences of the famine "instead of being alleviated by time had continued yearly to operate." Mr.

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Middleton could not suggest what amount should be remitted in order that the Committee might arrive at an equitable assessment. But the information he had procured relating to the district compared with proposals of intending farmers might enable the Committee to determine on "a settlement adequate to the value of the district."[1]

The Committee first took up the settlement of the Western Division of Rajshahi. In pursuance of the resolutions adopted at Krishnagar, the Committee abolished *Ghat Chalanta* to the extent of Rs. 24,919 and *Haldaree, Jaeruana* and *Goonagaree* amounting to Rs. 6,898/- of the *Chakran* lands; the *pargana serinjamy* were resumed, but the other classes, *e.g., gram serinjamy* were confirmed. The lands of the western division of Rajshahi were then arranged into 14 lots with their *jama* annexed. It was notified that the Committee desired to receive sealed proposals for these lots. A Bengali copy of the notification containing the *jama* of the lots was exhibited at the *Khalsa* for the information of persons intending to be renters. Bidders were informed that they were to expect no profit from the collections except an allowance of 5% *ijaradary*. The conditions of the *cabooleat*, already drawn up at Krishnagar, were also kept open for inspection at the *Khalsa*. The bidders were given seven days' time to send in their proposals.[2] These decisions were taken by the Committee on the 16th July, 1772. On the 28th July, the time for submitting the proposals was extended to 3rd August and the following *arzee* from Rani Bhawani of Rajshahi was read:

"The Zemindary of the parganas of Rajeshahy Bhettorinah and Nuldi etc., by the irregular and oppressive

[1] Sam. Middleton to President and Members of the Committee of Circuit—14th July, 1772-Proc. of the Committee of Circuit at Krishnagar and Kasimbazar—published by Govt. of Bengal (1926)—pp. 49-50.

[2] Resolutions of the Committee of Circuit-16 July, 1772-*Idem.*, pp. 50-51.

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proceedings of the adadars, has been brought into an absolute state of decay; many of the ryots have deserted, and the Government revenue has been much damaged; accordingly many of them have been down at Calcutta where their complaints may hav(e) reached the ears of you gentlemen. I am therefore hopeful that after understanding and obtaining a proper insight into the mofassul papers, you will settle the bundibust of all the districts in my Zemindary on one collective and uniform plan, and vest the management of it in me, that by inspiring and affording encouragement to the ryots, I may bring my Zemindary into a state of cultivation and exert myself in the paymen(t) of the revenue. By this means the complaints of the ryots in the mofassul will not only be obviated but there will be a prospecd (sic) of the revenues being realised. On the other hand the farming out the districts to other people, will increase their present calamities and impoverished state, the realisation of the revenue will hereafter be an impossibility and the complaints of the ryots will daily be more and more." The letter was ordered to lie for consideration till the proposals came to be opened.[3]

On the 3rd August, the proposals given in for farming the western division of Rajshahi were considered by the Committee.[4] The total sums for five years offered by intending farmers deducting the *sayer* and *bazee jama* and *serinjamy* varied from 46 lakhs 14 thousand to 50 lakhs 30 thousands. Rani Bhawani also sent in her proposals for the lands agreeing to the Committee's plan of letting the lands to under-farmers in 14 lots and to deposit the *cabooliats* of these under-farmers as a collateral security with her own for the punctual discharge of her obligations to Government.[5]

3 *Idem.*, p. 88.
4 *Idem.*, p. 90.
5 *Idem.*, p. 91.

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The *jama* of the western division of Rajshahi for the year 1178 amounted to S.R. 12,12,330. After deducting the taxes abolished and adding the rent of the *chakeran* lands resumed, the *jama* to be paid in 1179 was calculated to be S.R. 9,41,399. This was expected to rise to S.R. 11, 41, 399 in 1183 and the total amount that was expected in five years was S.R. 52, 81, 997. Thus the highest bidder had offered 2½ lakhs less than the amount expected. The total amount for five years offered by Rani Bhawani, however, was Rs. 8, 51,025 more than the highest bidder. The Committee accordingly agreed to accept the *Zemindar's* proposals. One of the reasons which led the Committee to make this decision was that "the responsibility and fair character of the Zemindar (Rani Bhawani) obviates in a great degree the risk of deficiency in the revenue or oppression on the reiats. At the same time that the situation of the district renders her so immediately and effectually liable to the control and inspection of the Chief and Council of Revenue as to preclude all attempts of making an improper use of the share of authority which is hereby reserved to her, or of aspiring to any degree of independence." It was resolved that "the under farmers do also enter into a cabooliet containing the same terms and conditions as that which shall be executed by the Ranny and that the rent rolls of their farms together with these cabooliats be laid before us without loss of time."[6]

In the meanwhile, the Committee had taken up the problem of the *huzoor zillas* and discussed the best way of settling them. A large part of the *huzoor zillas* was composed of *talukdaries* and small *zemindaries*.

The Committee saw only two modes of making the settlement.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 92-93.

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The first way was to farm the lands putting the renters in entire possession and authority and obliging them to pay each *zemindar* or *talookdar* a certain percentage as allowance for the subsistence of himself and his family.

The second was to settle with the *zemindars* and *talookdars* on the footing of farmers obliging them (*i*) to enter into all the conditions of a farmer lease, (*ii*) to pay the same revenue that could be expected from farmers, (*iii*) to give responsible securities and (*iv*) " to admit a reserve in favour of government for making in the course of their present lease . . . . . a measurement of their possessions in order to ascertain their true value at a future settlement, should the present accounts be found fallacious or concealments sus pected."

The Committee adopted the second mode. They agreed that the first mode would reduce the *zemindars* and *talookdars* " to the level of mere pensioners, and greatly weaken their claims as proprietors, ... in the course of a few long leases, their rights and titles, might, from designs of the farmers to establish themselves in their estates, the death of the old inheritors, and the successions of minors, be involved in such obscurity, doubt and controversy as to deprive them totally of their inheritance. To expose the Zeminders and talookdars to this risk is neither consistant with the Comts. notions of equity, nor with the orders of the Hon'ble Company which direct that we do not by any violent or sudden change, alter the constitution, nor deprive the Zemindars, etc., of their ancient priviledges and immunities . . . . . .

" From a long continuance of the lands in their families, it is to be concluded that they have rivetted an authority in the district, acquired an ascendancy over the minds of the ryots, and ingratiated their affections. From cases like these if entire deprivation takes place, there cannot be expected less material effects, than all the evils of a divided authority

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prejudice to the revenue, and desertion and desolation to the lands; whereas from continuing the lands under the management of those who have a natural interest in their prosperity, provided their value is not too great an amount, solid advantages may be expected to accrue such as increase of cultivation and inprovement (sic), security to the present revenue, and addition to it in prospect."

Another argument against letting out the lands to farmers so far as regards the current year was that as the season was advanced, the produce of the fruit and the cotton crops had already passed into the hands of the *zemindars* and *talookdars*. Moreover, before farmers could be put in possession, the early harvest in all the districts east of the Ganges would be reaped and great difficulty would arise in settling those accounts and still greater in recovering the amount of the collections that had been made.

The Committee pointed out definite advantages for the second mode. First, a revenue equivalent to the amount that could be expected from farmers would be obtained with security for its punctual payment. Secondly, by converting the *zemindars* into farmers, the Government's right of putting their lands on the footing of lands let out to farmers would be established, "the awe of which must constantly operate to ensure their good behaviour and good management." Thirdly, "the clause of scrutiny to which they are subjected will also have the same tendency, at the same time that it may be strictly put in force where there is cause to suspect concealments, or a prospect prevents of increase to the revenue."

Accordingly, the smaller *zemindaries* and *talookdaries* included in the *huzoor zillas* were settled on this plan.[7]

Proposals were however invited for the larger *zemindaries*.

[7] Proceedings of the Committee of Circuit, 20th July, 1772-*Idem.*, pp. 52-53.

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On the 6th August, the Committee inspected the proposals that had come in for them.

Two proposals only came in for the *zemindary* Futty Singh. The higher proposal offered Rs. 40,233 which was 30,000 less than the net collections of 1178. The Committee could not conceive "that the district can have suffered so great a diminution in its real value" and decided to make the collections *khas*.

A *Sicdar* was appointed to receive the rents of the district.[8] On the 11th August, however, the Committee considered a proposal from Dayaram Majumdar for farming the *pargana* of Futty Singh. He proposed to pay a net revenue of Rs. 4,59,000 for five years. The Committee finding that revenue equal to that offered could not be expected from *khas* collection agreed to farm out the *zemindary* to Dayaram Majumdar and repealed the resolution adopted by them on the 6th August of managing the *zemindary* on the basis of *khas* collection.[9] For the *khas lalooks* of Bhandardeh, Assudnagar and Nababgange, the highest bidders were Huzzuremall, Soberam Bysack and Madan Mohan Dutt, respectively. They agreed to take each *talook* in partnership and to be joint securities. The three together signed the following proposal:—

"From the year 1179 to 1183 inclusive we will pay an annual malguzarry of one lakh, sixty-three thousand, eight hundred and eighty-nine rupees, fourteen annas and twelve gundas, exclusive of the usual malguzarry to the Zemindars which we also agree to pay and will deliver in a dackella for the same to Government. The customary expenses of the lung (er) connah we will also discharge. Should this expense be (r)esu(me)d we will pay it to government. We will have a deduction allowed as for every article which may be re-

[8] *Idem.*, p. 101.
[9] *Idem.*, p. 111.

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mitted of the Sayer Chelenta, etc. We have acquiesced to the above jumma clear of all Soronjammy."

The *zemindary* of Seydpur was let out to Mirza Assud Ally, the highest bidder, who agreed to pay for five years Rs. 4,55,000 minus deductions for the *peshcush* payable to the Tanna of Mizzanagar and the *khas talook* and for *Ghats, Bazee Jama*, etc. He agreed to furnish also the *zemindar's* allowance.

The *zemindary* of Lushkerpore was let out to Buddoo Roy who agreed to pay Rs. 11,18,005 for five years. The *zamindar's* allowance was to be disbursed from the treasury.

Moraudbaug Gunge was let out to Bhowani Charan as the highest bidder for Rs. 2,500 per year. Bhowani Charan also obtained Tanny Cutwa at the yearly rent of Rs. 15,500.

For Rukunpur the highest bidder was Lukshmy Narayan Roy whose proposal to pay S. R. 17,20,367 as the total revenue for five years was accepted.[10]

As to the Eastern Division of Rajshahi, proposals were received from Rani Bhawani on the 20th August, 1772. The proposals were below the actual collections of the previous year. The *zemindar* explained that the collections included a *mathout* of Rs. 87,806 which had proved to be oppressive to the inhabitants and which could not be levied under the new regulations, and a loan of Rs. 1,10,000 for the repayment of which assignments had been made upon the *pargannas* which would encroach on the revenue of 1179.[11]

Enquiry was made of the Collector of Rajshahi on this point. He explained that the practice was to collect the revenue according to the valuation of 1174 and the arrears of rent due by the dead or deserted *ryots* were levied on those who survived in the same village. As this was a very

[10] *Idem.*, pp. 101-103.
[11] *Idem.*, p. 141.

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oppressive method, the Collector levied a general *mathout* calculated upon the *Jama* of the whole district. The Collector was not aware of the loan for Rs. 1,10,000 mentioned by the Rani. [12]

The Committee resolved (29th August, 1772) that "as the system of levying the arrears of the dead and deserted riats upon the survivors, in any mode, has been disapproved of, and abolished by the Regulations of Council, the Committee can not allow of this matoot in future." [13] The Rani's claim of deduction on this account was considered reasonable and on her submitting "rectified proposals" for farming the eastern division on the same terms and conditions to which she agreed to the western, her proposal was accepted. [14] The Collector was ordered to put her in immediate possession so that the "collections of this year may not suffer by the lateness of the season." [15] The *jama* of the eastern division exclusive of the *mofussil serinjamy* was for the year 1178, Rs. 18,58,807. The *jama* for 1179 was settled at Rs. 16, 71,090 rising to Rs. 19,71,090 for 1183. [16]

On the 1st September, the Committee took into consideration "the allowances proper to be granted to the Zemindars (sic) whose lands have been put into the hands of farmers or who have themselves settled for the lands with reserve of a claim for their expences." It was resolved that under the denomination of *malikana* Rani Bhawani was to be allowed a stipend of Rs. 2,50,000 per year, the *zemindar* of Lushkarpur 18,000, the *zemindar* of Rukunpore 30,000 and the *zemindar* of Futty Singh 10,000. [17] Moreover

[12] Rous to President & Members of the Committee of Circuit—25th August, 1772—Letter Copy Book of the Supervisor of Rajshahi-published by the Govt. of Bengal—pp. 50-52. Also Proceedings of the Committee of Circuit—p. 179.

[13] Proceedings of the Committee of Circuit—p. 180.

[14] *Idem.*, p. 180.

[15] *Idem.*, p. 181.

[16] *Idem.*, p. 180.

[17] *Idem.*, p. 189.

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Rs. 18,228, being the amount of the *Bazee Jama*, now abolished, of the eastern division of Rajshahi, was allowed to be deducted from the early rent payable by Rani Bhawani and Rs. 18,556 for the loss of duties occasioned by the abolition of the *zemindary chowkies*. [18]

It is interesting to note that a sum of Rs. 18,000 was included among the estimate of expenses for the Collectorship of Rajshahi on the item of "allowance for the support of the Jentoo Pagodas (and) places of worship at Bernagore, and throughout the purgunnahs. Also for (the celebration) of religious festivals and maintenance of Brahmins and Pundits." [19]

It may be seen from the above account that though the Committee had set out to farm the revenues to the highest bidder, they had expressly declared that it would not be expedient to act in a way as to affect the position of the *zemindars* and that it was preferable from the point of view of revenue as well as the welfare of the province to settle with the *zemindars* who were to be converted into farmers. Several smaller *zemindaries* and *talookdaries* included in the *huzoor zillas* were settled with their proprietors, though the larger *zemindaries* in the *huzoor zillas* were let out to the highest bidders. The lands of Western Rajshahi were advertised on the 16th July, 1772, and seven days time was given for the proposals to arrive. On the 28th July, the *arzee* from Rani Bhawani was read and the time for the proposals was further extended. It may be inferred that proposals were not considered on the appointed date in order to give Rani Bhawani the chance to bid. Whether the Committee would have settled with Rani Bhawani if she had offered a sum smaller than the highest bidder it is difficult to say. Besides, she had agreed to the Committee's

[18] Proc. of the Com. of Circuit—12th Sep. 1772,—*Idem.*, pp. 219-20.

[19] *Idem.*, p. 217.

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terms which had practically converted her into a head farmer. But the Committee put on record that apart from the high sum which the Rani had offered, "the responsibility and fair character" of the Rani was an important reason for settling with her. As to the Eastern Division of Rajshahi, it does not appear that any offer except that of Rani Bhawani was considered by the Committee. On the 3rd August, when decision had been taken on the Rani's proposals as to the Western Division, the accounts of the Eastern Division which had been called for from the Collector had not arrived and the Committee had resolved that "the further consideration of the Ranee's arjee recorded on Committee the 28th ultimo be postponed until we receive the accounts of the eastern division." [20] There was no resolution as to public notification for bidders. On the 5th August, the Committee informed the Collector of Rajshahi that they had "waited with great impatience" for the account of the Eastern Division and requested him "also to send immediately to us whatever proposals you may have received for farming the lands of your district." [21] In reply, the Collector sent the accounts required by the Committee and transmitted along with it "the only proposals, which have been delivered to me; namely from Hultoo Roy Anundiram Bucshy and Colly Churn Sain, the late farmers of Shah Oojall, Havelly and Benoodpore." [22] What amount they had offered, whether they were bidding for the whole of the Eastern Division and whether their proposals were at all considered do not appear in the proceedings of the Committee. The Committee however had already expressed their desire to settle with the Rani when they informed the Calcutta Council that "the mode which we have chosen for

[20] *Idem*., p. 93.

[21] *Idem*., pp. 95-96.

[22] Rous to Committee of Circuit—10th August, 1772—Letter Copy Book of the Supervisor of Rajshahi, p. 48.

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the settlement of the Western Division of Rajshahi" was one "which we are inclined to prefer for that of the eastern division." [23]

One important change for the *zemindary* of Rajshahi was the decision of the Committee to unite the Eastern and the Western Divisions of Rajshahi, to abolish the post of the Collector of Rajshahi and to place the collections of the whole under the superintendence of the Resident at the *Durbar*. Among the reasons stated for the change was that "the Zemindar of Rajeshahy has frequently remonstrated against the separation which has been made of her Zemindarry, as tending in its effects to deprive her family of their inheritance, and attended with a present heavy, and accumulated charge, in the double establishment of vakeels, and other Officers of two cutcharies—

"These objections we own have great weight with us; the one as it affects the Company's revenue, and the other as we think it consistent with justice and humanity to preserve the rights of the Zemindar inviolate." [24]

[23] Committee of Circuit to Calcutta Council, 20th August, 1772—Proceedings of the Committee of Circuit, p. 136.

[24] *Ibid.*

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24

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF BENGAL'S OPIUM TRADE WITH CHINA DURING THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

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(*Abstract*)

Upto the end of the eighteenth century, bullion from England formed practically the only important item in the East India Company's export trade to China. But the exportation of Bengal opium to the Chinese Empire, to a great extent, relieved Great Britain from the necessity of consigning silver, part of the China tea being purchased with the money realized from the sale of opium. The English Company had a monopoly of the opium manufacture in Bengal since 1761, and they sold the article periodically at their public sales in Calcutta. The Company did not directly participate in the opium trade which was a contraband traffic, positively forbidden by the Chinese Government, but left it in the hands of individuals. But as their revenue depended upon an increased sale of opium in China, they encouraged the trade by all possible means in their power.

From the beginning of the nineteenth century, active attempts were made by the Chinese Government to check the importation of opium into their country. But such was the facility for evading the Chinese prohibitory laws, and so great was the demand of the article in China that the

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exportation of opium to that country increased every year. Bengal opium, however, had to suffer a good deal from the competition of Malwa opium imported into China in Portuguese ships and also to a less extent of Turkey opium imported by the Americans. Nevertheless, the superior quality and the low cost of Bengal opium enabled it to defeat all competition in the market. Despite the Chinese prohibitory decrees and the frequent fluctuations in the price of the commodity, the sales of opium increased and the Company's receipts under this head on several occasions reached a crore of net revenue which was nearly ten times the cost of production. The increased severity of the Chinese laws from 1831 failed to check the importation which went on increasing until the war of 1840.

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25

THE CESSION OF THE NORTHERN SARKARS TO BUSSY

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After the assassination of Muzaffar Jang, Bussy raised Salabat Jang to the throne of the Deccan. The latter promised the French political and commercial concessions in his dominions, and recognised Dupleix as the sovereign of the territories south of the Krishna. He also confirmed the grant of Masulipatam, Nizampatnam, Condavir and Mahfouz-bander on the coast of Orissa to the French. A present of 3 lakhs and 80 thousand rupees was given to Bussy and similar liberality was shown towards other French officers, who accompanied Salabat Jang to Aurangabad. But this did not satisfy Bussy's ambition. Along with personal profit he desired to further the cause of the French nation *vis-a-vis* the English, whose first appearance on the Indian scene gave no promise of their future grandeur.

After reaching Aurangabad, Bussy acquired great influence in the councils of Salabat Jang, who regarded him as his most trustworthy and tried friend. Bussy became the virtual master of the Deccan, whose favour was solicited even by the nobility of the realm. He was revolving great schemes in his mind, which, if everything had gone well with the French in the Carnatic, would undoubtedly have produced marvellous results. In one of his letters to Dupleix he writes :—" I think the moment for us to achieve

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great things has come...If you but make up your mind, the treasures of Golconda shall be ours....In earlier letters I could not speak of these advantages, which thanks to the fear of French arms and to the veneration in which our nation is held, and to the absolute conviction that they (Salabat Jang and his party) can do nothing by themselves if we were to abandon them, we are in a position to dictate the law and to draw all profits, even greater ones than those we had hoped to obtain during Muzaffar Jang's life-time." [1]

But Bussy went too far and became more and more exacting in his demands to Salabat Jang, which brought about hatred of the French in the whole of the Deccan.

In the meantime, the Marathas under Balaji Rao invaded the Deccan. Bussy's artillery proved so effective that after several keenly fought battles, the enemy was compelled to make peace and agreed to restore to Salabat Jang all the fortresses and towns which he had occupied in the Deccan since the death of Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah I, in 1748. This peace added to the prestige of the French, and went a long way towards consolidating their position in the Deccan. Addressing Dupleix, Bussy writes thus :—" I need hardly mention all the honour which will be reflected on our nation as a result of what has taken place. You realise this better than I can do. The reputation of Balaji Rao was such that it made even the Emperor at Delhi tremble....I could not tell you how often the name of Nawab Governor (*i.e.*, Dupleix) was mentioned in this connection. It should never be forgotten that the glory which the nation acquires this day in this part of the world is due to your valour, firmness and wisdom." [2]

After the assassination of Ramdas Pandit, the *Diwan* of Salabat Jang, who was extremely friendly towards the

1 Alfred Martineau, *Bussy et l'Inde Francaise*, p. 30.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 53.

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French, Syed Lashkar Khan was appointed to this important post with the approval of Bussy. At first he did not openly show his antipathy towards the French, but after he had consolidated his position as the Chief Minister, he opposed the intentions of the French and even flouted his master's wishes in a most flagrant manner. He was one of the Nobility of the Deccan who resented the predominance of the French influence at the court of Salabat Jang. He started to undermine French designs, whose ambition, he thought, would ultimately lead to the dismemberment of the state.

In 1753, Bussy fell seriously ill at Gulberga, and was advised by his physicians to go to the coast for change of air and rest. Accordingly, Bussy proceeded with reluctance to Masulipatam, leaving the French troops in the Deccan in charge of Goupil, who had neither tact nor experience. He offended the nobles of the court with his overbearing manners. His mismanagement of finances created great confusion and unrest among the soldiery. The finances of the state also deteriorated on account of the heavy bills that it had to meet monthly for the payment of French troops. The treasury had to borrow from private bankers at 3 per cent per month in order to meet liabilities. Taking advantage of Bussy's absence, Syed Lashkar Khan suggested to Salabat Jang to reduce the number of French troops. But Salabat Jang, feeling himself insecure without the French, did not agree to this proposal. Then Syed Lashkar Khan suggested to Goupil to organise the collection of revenues in the districts and thus to procure enough money for the payment of his troops. As the French troops had not received their pay for several months, Goupil agreed to undertake the collection of revenues, which made the French extremely unpopular among the *Polygars* and *Zemindars* of the country. In the meantime, Syed Lashkar Khan wrote to Saunders, the English Governor of Madras, to help him to oust the French from the Deccan. When Dupleix was apprised of this, he immediately

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wrote to Bussy to go to Hyderabad, threatening to lay the responsibility for the failure of the French cause in the Deccan on his shoulders. This time Dupleix granted him unlimited authority in order to enable him to take necessary steps which he might consider called for in urgent cases.

The first thing Bussy did, after reaching Hyderabad, was to borrow huge sums of money from native bankers to pay a part of arrears to his French and Indian soldiery. He found every thing in great confusion in the Suba's administration. He laid the responsibility of the maladministration on Syed Lashkar Khan, whom he wanted to replace by someone more sympathetic to French interests. Bussy was sure that if the French went away from the Deccan, the English would lose no time in taking their place and in maintaining Salabat Jang's authority. To oust Lashkar Khan from the post of *Diwan* and to make himself master of the situation, Bussy sometimes thought of seeking Peshwa Balaji Rao's help. But after receiving reinforcement of 350 Frenchmen from Masulipatam and Pondicherry, he felt himself strong and decided to march, uncalled by the Nawab, to Aurangabad in order to compel Syed Lashkar Khan to accede to his demands regarding the arrangements for the payment of his troops. The news of Bussy's approach to Aurangabad created great confusion in the Council of the Nawab. Syed Lashkar Khan was so unnerved that he took refuge in Daulatabad Fort, considering resistance to be futile. Apprehensive of his future position, he opened negotiations with Bussy in order to adjust differences, making many excuses and apologies for his past conduct. He even expressed his preparedness to surrender the seals of his office, and requested Bussy to confer them upon any person he liked. Bussy, feeling himself master of the situation, was unwilling to impose any harsh terms on Salabat Jang or his *Diwan*, Syed Lashkar Khan. He subtly hinted at certain things which would serve his purpose. Syed Lashkar Khan

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was forced to bend before his erstwhile enemy and come to a settlement with him. According to the agreement, Bussy was made independent of ministerial control in so far as the payment of his French and Indian troops was concerned. Syed Lashkar Khan offered a large tract of territory in the interior of the country, but Bussy insisted on obtaining the coastal districts for commercial and political reasons. Thus were added to the Pondichery Government the fertile districts of Mustafanagar, Ellur, Rajamahandry and Srikakolam (Chicacole)[3]. Technically, these districts were ceded to Bussy personally for the payment of his troops, although the previous assignments of the districts of Masulipatam and Condavir were made directly to the French Company. But usually any grant made to an employee of the Company was to be considered as having been made to the Company itself. Probably this was done purposely, in order to leave the English under the impression that the French had no other intention in possessing these territories except in so far as the payment of their troops was concerned.

The ceded districts comprised a sea coast of 470 miles, stretching inland from 30 to 100 miles, and containing important towns and trading centres. Their area was about 17 thousand square miles with an annual revenue of 400,000 sterling (nearly 40 lakhs of rupees). In the words of Orme, " these territories rendered the French masters of the greatest dominions, both in extent and value, that had ever been possessed in Indostan by Europeans, not excepting the Portuguese, when at the height of their prosperity."[4]

In the treaty entered into between Salabat Jang and Bussy it was also stipulated that the former should not in

[3] Orme, *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan*, Vol. I, p. 334.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 335.

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any manner interfere in the affairs of Arcot, and that all other affairs in his realm should be conducted with the general concurrence of Monsieur Bussy.

This treaty changed the political status of the French in the Deccan. They no longer remained mercenaries, on the contrary they acquired the rights of *Jaigirdars*, who, as usual, were obliged to keep a body of troops to furnish aid on demand. The French troops became the sole guardians of Salabat Jang's person, which resulted in their acquiring extensive power and influence at the court. In order to reform the administration of the country, the Nawab was advised by Bussy to dismiss Syed Lashkar Khan, whose loyalty to the French cause was always doubtful. After securing his removal from the post of *Diwan*, Shah Nawaz Khan, later known as Samsam-ud-Daula, author of the well-known biographical dictionary of Mughul peerage, *Maathir-ul-Umara*, was made the Chief Minister and *Vakil-i-Mutlaq*.

The possession of the Northern Sarkars gave Dupleix an excellent opportunity to establish contact with the Subedar of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa; to crush the English settlement on the Hughli; and to build up the French power in India which was his highest ambition. But he was recalled in 1754, and was succeeded by Godeheu, who was given strict instructions, by the Directors of the French Company, to stop the war with the English and abandon all schemes of conquest designed by Dupleix.

Shah Nawaz Khan's Diwanship lasted four years which are rich in incidents and events of first class political importance in the Deccan. In spite of Godeheu's peaceful intentions, the possession of the Northern Sarkars was retained, where the French had acquired extensive claims. Bussy remained with Salabat Jang as before, and events which ensued augmented French influence in the Deccan. This strengthened the anti-French party whose cause was espoused by Nizam Ali Khan with whom Shah Nawaz Khan later on

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joined, and whose object was to get rid of Bussy and his French and Indian troops and free the Deccan from foreign domination.

At the instigation of Shah Nawaz Khan, Bussy's troops in the Northern Sarkars encountered great difficulties in collecting revenues. Jafar Ali Khan, the late Nawab of the Sarkars, who had been deprived of his government because his territory had been assigned to the French, bore a deep grudge against them. He started organising resistance against the French authority, and even invited the Marathas to ravage the country, which made the French occupation more difficult. Bussy himself had to march in order to establish French administration in the Sarkars. He made some kind of arrangement with the Raja of Vizianagram for the realisation of revenues in order to meet the expenses of his soldiery in the Deccan. After this, Bussy returned to the Deccan at the close of 1754.

The recall of Dupleix shook the confidence in the French, and engendered a belief in the minds of the Deccan nobles that it would be more useful for their cause to enlist the support of the English. Dupleix was regarded in the Deccan and South India with respect and even dread. Salabat Jang used to address him as his uncle. He was replaced by a man of mediocre abilities, who had openly declared after his arrival in this country that the aim of the French in India was commercial profit and not political aggrandizement. This served as a great blow to French influence and prestige in the Deccan. The anti-French party in Aurangabad under the leadership of Nizam Ali Khan, younger brother of Salabat Jang, accused the French of having carried away all the wealth of the Deccan, and having acquired undue influence in the Councils of the Suba. Shah Nawaz Khan, on his part, persuaded Salabat Jang to free himself from Bussy's tutelage, who after all, was nothing more than an ordinary *jagirdar*. He also opened secret negotiations with the English Governor

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of Madras, and persisted in his purpose of ridding the Deccan of the French.

Towards the end of 1756, the Seven Years War was declared in Europe. Bussy left the Deccan for the Northern Sarkars, in order to subdue the English factories on the eastern coast. He was even asked by Siraj-ud-Daula to march into Orissa and Bengal and help him against the English. But he had to return to Hyderabad, where Shah Nawaz Khan, taking advantage of his absence, had dismissed the French troops and had thus practically made the way smooth for a court revolution, by trying to raise Nizam Ali Khan to the throne of the Deccan.[5] Shah Nawaz Khan was killed in the tumult which followed the attack of Bussy on Aurangabad and Salabat Jang's authority was re-established. But soon after, Bussy was peremptorily recalled to Pondichery with all his troops by Count de Lally, who had been recently appointed Governor-General of all the French establishments in India. As the English had sent most of their available troops, under Clive, to Bengal, Lally thought it opportune to attempt to drive away the English from the Carnatic. No sooner was Bussy recalled than Anand Rauz, the Raja of Vizianagram, raised the standard of revolt against the French and succeeded in dispossessing them of certain districts in the Northern Sarkars. He applied to the English authorities at Calcutta and Madras, for assistance against the French. The Madras Government was not in a position to afford any assistance. But Clive, the conqueror of Bengal, despatched a force under Col. Forde to help the Raja to expel the French from the Northern Sarkars. Col. Forde utterly defeated the French at Condore. Monsieur Conflans, the French Commander, at first resolved to make a stand at Masulipatam, but capitulated without any resistance. Monsieur Conflans had also sought help from Salabat Jang against

[5] Tajalli Ali Shah, *Tazuk-i-Asafia*, p. 68.

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the Raja of Vizianagram and the English. Salabat Jang advanced with a body of troops from Hyderabad, but he was still fifteen miles from Masulipatam when the latter place fell in the hands of the English. Salabat Jang agreed to conclude a treaty with the English according to which :—(1) the whole territory of Northern Sarkars, formerly held by Bussy, was granted to the English; (2) Salabat Jang promised that he would not retain any French troops in his service, and that he would not render any assistance to that nation, nor receive any from it; (3) Salabat Jang would not call the Raja of Vizianagram to account, for whatever he had collected during the French regime, but his future liability to make regular payments was recognised. If he failed in this stipulation, Salabat Jang was free to treat him as he liked.[6]

The occupation of the Northern Sarkars, along with the mastery of the resources of Bengal, gave the English unquestioned supremacy in India, *vis-a-vis* the French, whose initial success in the Deccan thus proved to be shadowy rather than substantial.

[6] Orme, Vol. II, p. 492; Thornton, *History of British India*, Vol. I, p. 310.

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THE SEPOY ARMY OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY IN THE 18TH CENTURY

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(*Abstract*)

1. A full and connected history of the origin and development of the Sepoy Army is a desideratum.

2. Brief sketches of the origin of the Sepoy Army—excerpts from James Mill, Elphinstone, Encyclopaedia Britannica and Imperial Gazetteer.

3. Some important points in the evolution of the Sepoy Army that require elucidation and are fit subjects of research by Indian historians.

4. Were Bengalis enrolled as Sepoys in the early stage of the Bengal Army? The ten battalions raised in Bengal. Were these recruits really Bengalis?

5. Some difficulties in answering the above questions.

6. Thorough research in Government military records necessary for a clear and correct answer to the above questions. Appeal to Indian historians to take up the matter.

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RAJA RAMMOHAN ROY AND HIS "TIMOUR MISSION"

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The embassy of Raja Rammohan Roy to England in connection with the Royal Affairs of Delhi has also gone by the name of his "Timour Mission," *i.e.*, his mission from the House of Taimur. The history of the case is a long one and of absorbing interest, involving, as it does, the constitutional question of the position or status of the Mughul Emperor *vis-a-vis* the Company's Government in India. It also redounds to his great glory and reputation, like his exertions in connection with many other subjects. The account of Rammohan's mission that we propose to deal with would be as brief as the space at our disposal allows, to be touched only on its salient points.

The victory of the British in the Second Maratha War in 1803 gave them the possession of the person and authority of the Mughul Emperor, together with other gains. Before coming under the protection of the British, the Great Mughul was held under the protection of the Marathas and the French. The Great Mughul was held in abject misery and restraint, having lost all authority and political consequences abroad. During these years the English of course had chances to hold the Mughul under them, but their non-interference policy had kept them out of it. But the changed circumstances of the time we are speaking of gave a new aspect both to the policy of

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the British as well as to the condition of the Mughul. The growth of the French interest in Hindustan, together with the augmentation of M. Perron's influence and power in the North-west Provinces, had given a new aspect to the political condition of the Great Mughul, who, had he remained under the domination of the French might have become a powerful aid to the cause of France in India. So, one of the main objects of the forward policy of Lord Wellesley in the prosecution of the Second Maratha War was the deliverance of the unfortunate Mughul Emperor from the thraldom of the Marathas and the French, as well as the extirpation of the last remnant of the French influence in India for the security of the English.

During the course of the war, Lord Wellesley had occasion to convey to the King of Delhi his intentions in his favour. His Majesty was intimated that in the actual crisis of affairs he would probably have an early opportunity of coming under the British protection, and that, should he be disposed to accept the asylum, every demonstration of respect and attention would be manifested towards him and that an adequate provision would be made for the support of himself and his family. This letter was conveyed through the Commander-in-Chief, who was asked not to enter into any previous stipulation on the subject. Shah Alam was, of course, too glad to place reliance on the words of the Governor-General, and must have been elated with the new prospect.

The British Government in fulfilment of their promise took an early opportunity to devote their attention to the conclusion of permanent arrangements for the future maintenance of the dignity and comfort of His Imperial Majesty and the Royal family on principles calculated to provide for these desirable objects with the utmost benefit to the reputation of British justice and liberality, and to secure the important advantages to be derived from the connection

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between the House of Taimur and the British Power in India. But it took some time before they could come to a decision. The final decision of the Government was communicated to the Resident at Delhi on the 23rd May, 1805, and this formed the basis of the dispute that arose later on between the House of Delhi and the British Government. It was at a much later stage of the controversy that Rammohan came in and this formed the subject of his embassy to England. By the above decision of Government, a specified portion of the territories in the vicinity of Delhi situated on the right bank of the Jumna was assigned as part of the Royal provision. These assigned territories were to remain under the charge of the Resident at Delhi, but the revenue was to be collected and justice to be administered in the name of the Shah under regulations to be fixed by the British Government. His Majesty was to be permitted to appoint a *Dewan* and other inferior officers to attend at the *Khalsa* to ascertain and report to the King the amount of revenues received and disbursed, in order to satisfy him that no part of it was misappropriated. Two courts of justice were to be established for the administration of justice to the inhabitants of the city of Delhi and the assigned territories, no sentences extending to death to be carried into execution without the sanction of His Majesty, and sentences of mutilation might by him be commuted. To provide for the immediate exigencies of the King and his family, the sum of Rs. 90,000 a month was to be granted, which might be increased to a lakh should the produce of the revenue of the assigned territories hereafter admit of it, and Rs. 10,000 was to be paid on each of the seven chief Hindu and Mahomedan festivals. The Government was further desirous of leaving His Majesty in the unmolested exercise of all his usual privileges and prerogatives, and of not opposing those outward forms of sovereignty to which he had been long accustomed.

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Under the above arrangement, there was indeed to be a sort of *imperium in imperio*. Not that the authorities liked it, but the exigencies and circumstances of the time necessitated it. The political exigency of the time necessitated the reconciliation both of the House of Taimur as well as of the people of India, and especially the Mahomedans. Though the Mughuls had lost all their authority and power long previously, the prestige was still there, which created a peculiar situation or condition at the time. It was owing to this that the fiction of the Delhi Empire had to be retained. It has been said that the "great game" of Lord Wellesley embraced nothing so stupendous as the usurpation of the Imperial throne. Sir Charles Metcalfe, then a junior member of the civil service and Assistant Resident at Delhi, foresaw the danger and had occasion to express the view that by this the authorities were laying in store future trouble. But the succeeding Governors-General thought best not to introduce any innovation.

However, the terms of the above arrangement being communicated to the Shah met with his complete satisfaction on all points excepting that which related to his own stipend. He was disappointed at the amount granted. The Governor-General in reply informed him that the measure was only a temporary one, and when the exigencies of the war had ceased, the amount would be augmented. Shortly after this settlement, Shah Alam died in November, 1806, and was succeeded by his eldest surviving son, Akbar Shah.

Soon after his accession to the throne, the new Emperor was solicitous that the Royal stipend should be augmented by the British Government in compliance with their previous promise. He tried in various ways and even sent a deputation to the Presidency, but could not succeed. The Government not only refused compliance with his request but was very much annoyed at what they considered to be indelicacy

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of style and substance of His Majesty's request, as well as his disregard of "those observances which his actual situation and his obligations to the British Government so justly demand." They were further apprehensive that the increase of the Royal stipend might be prejudicial to their interests and safety by providing resources in His Majesty's hands. But the Shah was not to give up his attempts. At last, Lord Minto took pity on the King, and after reviewing the whole correspondence on the subject and weighing the degree of the Royal claim founded on the provisional promises of the Government, the Royal exigencies, and the political considerations which appeared to affect the question, determined to augment the amount to 12 lakhs a year. But at the same time, the authorities took the opportunity to lead the King to a true sense and just view of his real situation and his relation to the British Power with a view permanently to repress those pretensions which had given rise to disquietude in him and vexation to the Government. They were sorry to observe that their "refined forbearance" had not met with a corresponding return.

However, the King, though apparently satisfied with this grant, was not really so at heart. Soon afterwards, he became involved in another affair, which instead of bringing gain was rather instrumental in bringing dishonour and humiliation on him. This was what was known as the deputation of Pran Kishan, which was a clandestine affair. The Shah at about this time was also trying with the *Vazir* at Lucknow to intercede with the British Government for the augmentation of his stipend. This was being done through the agency of his favourite son, Mirza Jahangir, who was then kept in confinement at Allahabad for a misconduct, and had gone to Lucknow on the pretext of atttending a marriage festival. When the intrigue was discovered, both the King and the Prince had their respective share of humiliation. In his minute of 1809, referred to above, Lord Minto had occasion

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to write in one place that " the King bent on his unattainable purpose, but destitute of power to attempt it openly, and too feeble even to avow it, stoops to every little artifice, engages in every petty intrigue, and is drawn into all the oblique and disingenuous courses which the ladies of his palace, or councillors equally feminine, can suggest and recommend to him." But any way, the King was not to be blamed, as it has been suggestively said that he was " as helpless, though less miserable."

When matters stood in such a pass, Lord Moira assumed the charge of the Governor-Generalship. The King was naturally anxious to meet him and put his grievances and claims before him personally. Lord Moira was then on a tour in the Upper Provinces. But this could not be done as His Lordship refused to concede to the form of ceremonials of the meeting, which he thought to be impolitic, as it kept up the notion of a paramountship in the King of Delhi. The bold forward policy of Lord Wellesley was taken up in right earnest by Lord Moira, and he tried to do away with its defects. He wanted to do away with the legal fiction of the Delhi Empire, and the passing of the Act of Parliament declaring the sovereignty of the Company's possessions to be in the British Crown, had strengthened his hands. Moira set his policy to work rather with a vengeance. He ushered in a new order of things which was much derogatory to the Shah's ambition and desire. Moira started curbing the exercise of the prerogatives by the King much to his chagrin. To do away with the anomaly existing between the assertion of such ascendancy and demonstration of vassalage, he introduced a great change in the existing form of the epistolary intercourse, which led to its suspension for some time.

But still the Shah would not desist. The appointment of the next Governor-General must have roused new hopes in his mind, and he must have been elated with the new prospect. When Lord Amherst was on the usual tour in the Upper

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Provinces, the King deputed his favourite son to arrange for an interview, and, the ceremonials of the meeting being previously satisfactorily arranged, the meeting took place, and this was on a footing of equality. Such a relaxation was made by the King both on the grounds of apprehension and hope. The King later asserted that he conceded to the above forms of the ceremonial of the meeting under the apprehension of injurious consequences. The King thought that his previous refusal to meet Lord Moira on a footing of equality had induced His Lordship to instigate the King of Oudh to assume the kingly dignity much to his chagrin. He had also hoped that by conceding to the demands of Lord Amherst he would be given to realize his desires, in which hope he was totally disappointed. Besides acquainting His Lordship with his claims and grievances verbally, the King took occasion to submit a Paper of Requests embodying these. The King was not only solicitous of a compliance on the part of the Government with the terms of what he called the engagement entered into with his father in May, 1805, but was further desirous of having other requests being granted. This concerned his dignity and emoluments, most of which were old ones.

The Paper was forwarded to the Resident at Delhi and he was asked to submit his sentiments about it. Sir Charles Metcalfe was then the Resident at Delhi, and he, having had no sympathy with these so-called pretensions of the King, recommended their rejection in most cases. He at the outset held that the communication of May, 1805, was never an engagement positively binding the Government as to its future conduct, for it contained the mere intentions of the Government at that time. It was not deemed binding for the shortest period, and it was scarcely written before it was virtually annulled. Moreover, whatever might have been the intention of Government in 1805, it was superseded by the resolution of 1809, which was the final decision of the

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Government on the matter. So he naturally thought that this precluded the King from attaining the main object of his desire, *viz.*, the augmentation of his stipend. The Government accepted Metcalfe's views *in toto* on the main point of the petition, and rejected it. Thus his hopes were again frustrated after so much bolstering.

But before the receipt of the disappointing resolution of the Government, the King was preparing to send a deputation to England, should his petition fail here. And shortly after his receipt of the resolution of the Government, he appointed Rammohan his envoy and sent a *sunnud* of appointment to him together with copies of papers bearing on his case. Rammohan's appointment marked an important event in the history of the Royal Affairs of Delhi. That the nomination did great credit to the discernment and liberality of the Shah and his advisers, and that their trust and confidence were in no way misplaced, cannot be gainsaid in fact. Rammohan was asked to draw a petition in Persian, as well as in English, which he did, and on its being approved by the King, this was forwarded to England in advance. A copy of it was also sent to the Government of India. On this occasion Rammohan was conferred the title of "Raja" by His Majesty, for the recognition of which, as also of that of his embassy, the Government was applied to, though both of these requests were refused. But Rammohan was not sorry for it; he was rather elated with the hope that the chance of success of his mission might rather be improved by being thus divested of all public character.

The Government in their reply to the petition of the King asked the Resident at Delhi to inform His Majesty that they were surprised at what they called the unmeasured and unfounded accusation against the Company of having violated its engagements with the Royal family. They were also much annoyed at the rather novel procedure of sending an envoy to England, though at the same time they

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were careful to inform His Majesty that they were not in the least offended by his sending an envoy to England, and was anxious to know if Rammohan had really been so appointed. The King, of course, replied in the affirmative, and took opportunity to add that extreme necessity alone had compelled him to adopt this course.

The King's petition consisted of two points: augmentation of his stipend, and recognition of his superiority. The first claim was supported by elaborate arguments, but the second one, though not less important, was not done so. The claim to the augmentation of stipend was practically based on the same grounds as that advanced in the Paper of Requests submitted to Lord Amherst. The King was basing his claim on the terms of the communication of Lord Wellesley in May, 1805, which he held to be a mutual contract and according to the first clause of which he was entitled to the whole gross revenue of the *mahals* originally assigned, which at this time amounted to about thirty lakhs of rupees a year. The promise of the Government being expressive of the mutual obligations of the contracting parties, non-compliance with such a claim was clearly a violation or evasion of one of its most important terms. The Government in their communication, referred to above, admitted that the original intention was to assign certain *mahals* to the west of the Jumna for the support of the Emperor and his family, but at the same time asserted that the plan was never carried completely into effect for unavoidable reasons. But the King contended that this plea was untenable. He asserted that when the revenues of the assigned territories did not exceed the minimum of the Royal stipends, the Royal *mutsuddies* were allowed to attend at the *khalsa* according to one of the terms of

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the above engagement, to report the amounts of receipts and disbursments to his late father; but when those revenues materially exceeded the minimum, it was found inconvenient by the Government to carry the plan completely into effect, and the *mutsuddies* were asked to withdraw. Moreover, the recognition of his claim to the revenues of the *mahals* was distinctly made in several of the Company's Regulations relating to the settlement, &c. of the ceded and conquered provinces, some of which were still extant, thus proving that the plan was carried completely into effect for a series of years. The Government asserted that whatever might have been their former intentions, the resolution adopted by Lord Minto in 1809 superseded them, and this was the final decision of the authorities. But the King refuted it by holding that it was null and void on the ground of its being unilateral. Furthermore, what was claimed by the Government as a substantial increase to his stipend was really a paltry sum without having the slightest reference to the improved revenues of the *khalsa* lands.

These were in short the grounds of the King's claim to the augmentation of his stipend. The Government did not reply to these, as they adhered to their previous decision.

After reaching England on the 8th April, 1831, Rammohan presented the King's petition both to the Court of Directors and the Board of Control. It has been said that both his title and embassy were recognised by His Majesty's ministers in England. The Court of Directors also was compelled to consider his case. Negotiations on the subject went on for some time, and the authorities being then very busy with important political matters like the Reform Bill and the renewal of the Company's Charter, no decision could be come to before a considerable period of time. The decision of the Court was communicated to the Governor-General-in-Council on the 13th February, 1833. In a short

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communication the Court wrote to say: " It is not our intention nor do we deem it at present necessary to enter into a discussion of the various points that have arisen out of the agitation of this question, being persuaded for their tendency rather to embarrass and impede, than to facilitate a sound and satisfactory decision." They were agreeable to grant an increase of three lakhs of rupees per annum, provided the King of Delhi was prepared to receive it in full satisfaction of all his claims on the Government. As regards the mode of its distribution, it was left to the discretion of the Governor-General-in-Council. But regarding the other point at issue, *viz.*, on the question of the change of the form of the epistolary intercourse, the Court remained silent.

The success of Rammohan, even though partial, was rather an unprecedented one, and created quite a sensation in the Royal Courts in India. Being encouraged by his success there was a rage for sending ambassadors to England on the part of Native Princes.

However, the above decision of the Court being communicated to the King at first failed to receive his approbation. His Majesty was expecting some thing of a different and higher nature through the exertions of Rammohan. This was taken as the King's refusal to accept the offer, and communicated to the Court accordingly. In the meantime the King was in receipt of Rammohan's letter in which he asked the King not to accept anything that was offered. He was not satisfied with the Court's decision and was intending to bring the matter before the Parliament. But unfortunately he died, much to the detriment of the interests and hopes of the King.

The King being now heavily pressed by debts, and all hopes being gone, was compelled to acquiesce in the terms of the Court and to communicate his acceptance of the offer, and he was only desirous that it be made available

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from the date when the intention of Government was made known to him. But this could not be done by the Government without reference to the Court.

In the meantime, after the King had intimated his unqualified acceptance of the offer, and had executed a *Razeenama* renouncing all his future claims on the Government, he was asked to furnish a list of the names of the members of his family to whom he was desirous that the increase should be distributed. Among others, the King naturally submitted the names of the two sons of Raja Rammohan Roy, as being entitled to a share of the grant, according to his contract with him. But the Government refused to accept the King's list and submitted one of their own, in which it was found that even the King himself was not to have a single pice, not to speak of others. This disgusted the King so much that he refused to accept the increase and asked for the return of the *Razeenama*. Thus the matter remained where it was. The King died shortly afterwards and was succeeded by his eldest son, Bahadur Shah.

Bahadur Shah had not long succeeded to the throne before he put forward his claim to the increase of the Royal stipend which had been promised to his late father. The Government was, of course, willing to comply with it, but not before Bahadur Shah had executed a *Razeenama* similar to that done by his father. But Bahadur Shah would not consent to it. This was taken to be his refusal to accept the offer, and the Court was informed accordingly. Being baffled here, the King made up his mind to send a deputation to England that he might obtain the objects of his desire without any embarrassing restrictions or conditions. Mr. George Thompson, an Englishman of great repute and philanthropic inclination, had come to India at that time. He was immediately approached and appointed his envoy to England. He was also conferred a title, and on Mr. Thompson's applying to Government, both his title and embassy were recognised

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by the authorities. The authorities seemed to have grown wiser since their refusal to recognise the title and embassy of Rammohan.

Mr. Thompson sailed for England towards the end of 1843. The claims and grievances of the King had previously been communicated to the Government in a Paper of Requests, which was forwarded to England in due course. On reaching England, Mr. Thompson presented his petition both to the Court of Directors and the Board of Control. But they refused to recognise his embassy. The Court's reply to the Paper of Requests of the King was communicated to the Governor-General-in-Council, and most of his representations were rejected. The Court observed that the King was receiving in their full extent the claims for the prosecution of which Raja Rammohan was deputed to England by his late father, and their decision being once made, there cannot be any going back on it, though, of course, they were ready to make some relaxation in some of its terms and conditions. But this failed to give satisfaction to the King's mind, and the matter remained as unsettled as before.

It may be said that the long frustration of hopes of the King and his family had some important share in the workings of their mind which must have induced them to join the mutineers in 1857. This had a very tragic end for the dynasty of the illustrious Taimur and this episode thus facilitated the accomplishment of the long-felt desire of the British Government for the abolition of the legal fiction of the Delhi Empire.

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NEW LIGHT ON THE MORLEY-MINTO REFORMS

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This paper has been already printed in the *Calcutta Review* for December, 1939.

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TWO BROTHERS OF SA'ĀDAT ALĪ, NAWAB OF OUDH

(Based on unpublished English records)

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Recently I discovered a few English letters in some files of unpublished records, so long preserved in the office of the District Judge of Patna and now stored in the library of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, which supply us with some interesting details regarding the relations of Sa'ādat 'Alī with his two brothers, Shahāmat 'Alī (alias Mirzā Mangly) and Mirzā Mendoo (Mendho).

Sa'ādat 'Alī, one of the several sons of Nawab Sujā-ud-daulah of Oudh, was raised to the *masnad* of Oudh by Sir John Shore in 1797; and on the 21st January, 1798, he entered into a treaty with the Company, which made him virtually dependent on the latter for all practical purposes. But the evils of maladministration in Oudh were aggravated rather than mitigated by this arrangement. There are differences of opinion with regard to Sa'ādat 'Alī's capacity for administration. A modern English writer remarks that "he was as incompetent as he was inconsistent; at one time crying for protection against his own troops, at another refusing to disband them"[1]. But Prinsep remarked in 1825 that Sa'ādat 'Alī "was a man of considerable ability, and, naturally, not illiberal in disposition; but from dwelling on

[1] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. V, p. 351.

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his own and his brother Asufoo Doula's (Asaf-ud-daulah's) misfortunes, all owing, as it seems to him, to the want of ready money, he had become latterly extremely greedy and parsimonious."[2] According to Rev. Reginald Heber, Lord Bishop of Calcutta, who journeyed from Calcutta to Bombay in 1824-25, Sa'ādat 'Alī was "a man of talents and acquirements, fond of business and well qualified for it, but in his later days addicted to drunkenness..."[3] Sir Henry Lawrence observed in 1845 that he was "in advance of the Bengal Government of the day on revenue arrangement" and that he was "according to all reports, an extremely able, and naturally, by no means an ill-disposed man. Learned, intelligent, and studious, he was one of the few rulers of Oude, who have been personally capable of managing their country, and yet, practically, he was more meddled with, than even his silly predecessor, and very much more so than the silliest of his successors."[4] Sir Henry Lawrence believed that Sa'ādat 'Alī's "maladministration was mainly attributable to English interference, to the resentment he felt for his own wrongs, and the bitterness of soul with which he must have received all advice from his oppressors, no less than to the impunity with which they enabled him to play the tyrant."[5] John William Kaye, relying evidently on the authority of Sir Henry Lawrence, wrote in 1870 that "if there was, at any time, hope for Oude, under purely native administration, it was during the wuzeership of Saadut Ali, for he was not a bad man, and he appears to have had rather enlightened views with respect to some important administrative questions."[6]

[2] Henry T. Prinsep, *History of the Political and Military Transactions in India*, Vol. I, p. 217.

[3] Reginald Heber, *Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India from Calcutta to Bombay*, Vol. II, p. 77.

[4] Calcutta Review, Vol. III, pp. 384-85.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 413.

[6] John William Kaye, *A History of the Sepoy War in India*, Vol. I, p. 118.

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Be that as it may, there is no doubt that Sa'ādat 'Alī was confronted with numerous odds, which were to a great extent responsible for the growing administrative abuses and scandals in the Oudh Kingdom. One of these was the court-intrigues, which had become traditional in the history of the different Kingdoms of India since the middle of the eighteenth century, in Oudh particularly after the death of its able Nawab, Shujā-ud-daulah, in 1775 A.D. Shahāmat 'Alī and Mirzā Mendoo, two other sons of Shujā-ud-daulah, could not reconcile themselves to the rule of Sa'ādat 'Alī, and his relations with them were consequently far from friendly. Some of their hostile acts highly incensed the Nawab against them and led to their expulsion from his dominions towards the end of 1807 A.D.

Both Shahāmat 'Alī and Mirzā Mendoo thereupon solicited the protection of the Company's Government and were permitted by the latter, for reasons not stated in any record studied by me, to reside at Patna, which had then become a refuge also for some other exiles from the Oudh Court.[7] The Company's Government instructed its Resident at Lucknow "to employ his utmost endeavours for the purpose of mitigating His Excellency's resentment" against his brothers and persuaded the Nawab of Oudh to grant them stipends from his treasury for their maintenance, through the British Resident at Lucknow[8] and the Collector of Bihar.[9] They were required to acknowledge the receipt of the stipend in a form bearing the name of the Nawab-Wāzīr and signifying his authority over them. The Company's Government instructed H. Douglas, Magistrate of Patna, in February, 1808, to manifest towards them "proper mark of respect and attention" and to assist them in procuring

[7] Jhāo Lāl, Bāluk Rām, and wives and children of Wāzīr 'Alī. *Vide* my paper on *Rājah Jhāo Lāl of the Oudh Court* in J.B.O.R., Vol. XXIII, 1937, Part IV.

[8] John Collins ; Captain Baillie; Captain Raper acting, 1817; R. Strachey.

[9] A. Cockburn: Wigram Money.

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"proper residence." Their relations and servants were not to be "exempted from the jurisdiction of the Courts;" but so far as they themselves were concerned, the Magistrate of Patna was required to refer all cases in which they might be involved to the Government in Calcutta and to suspend necessary processes against them until he had "received a reply to that reference."

Both the brothers were kept at Patna under the close supervision and control of the local Magistrate, and they could not move to any other place according to their personal desire. Thus when Mirzā Mendoo expressed a wish to proceed to Calcutta, J. Monckton, Persian Secretary to the Government, informed him and the Magistrate of Patna on the 31st January, 1808, that the Government could not sanction this step without the consent of the Nawab of Oudh, who was not likely to grant it to a "brother at whose conduct the Vizier had taken umbrage and whom His Excellency had banished from his dominions." Taking into consideration the fact that Mirzā Mendoo then derived his "means of support" from the Nawab., Monckton suggested to him "the propriety of his studiously avoiding any measure which may not be agreeable to his brother."

It is clear from the correspondence of Shahāmat 'Alī and Mirzā Mendoo with the Company's Government that they were far from contented with their position at Patna. Being inclined not to express any obligation to Sa'ādat 'Alī, Mirzā Mendoo protested against acknowledging the receipt of stipend in a form which indicated that it was actually drawn from the treasury of the Oudh Government through the British Resident at Lucknow and the Collector of Bihar. He suggested the use of a form, from which the name of the Nawab of Oudh would be omitted and which would only show that the stipend was obtained from the British Government through the Collector of Bihar. But the Nawab of Oudh insisted on the use of the first kind of form of receipt,

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and the Governor-General-in-Council considered Mirzā Mendoo's objection to it to be unjust and "entirely frivolous." N. B. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government, instructed A. Cockburn, Collector of Bihar, on the 18th July, 1808, to require Mirzā Mendoo "to grant his receipt in duplicate in the form...received from the Resident at Lucknow and if he should again object" the Collector would signify to him that he had "received orders of the Government to withhold payment of the stipend and...will withhold it accordingly." He also wrote to H. Douglas on the same date to prevail upon Mirzā Mendoo "without further objection to grant the receipt on the prescribed form." Mirzā Mendoo was at the same time asked to comply with the "wishes of His Excellency the Vizier with regard to the form of the receipt, which His Excellency had undoubted right to prescribe as the stipend is paid from his treasury" and was informed that there was "nothing in the form inconsistent with his rank or situation or former usage."

Shahāmat 'Alī too was required to sign the prescribed form of receipt like Mirzā Mendoo. It is known from a letter of N. B. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government, to H. Douglas, dated the 12th September, 1808, that his requests for the regular payment of his stipend received favourable attention of the Company's Government. N. B. Edmonstone wrote to Captain J. Baillie, Resident at Lucknow, on the 12th September, 1808:—

"Repeated applications having been received from the Nabob Shahāmut Alli Khan since his arrival at Patna for the regular payment of his pension I am directed to desire that you will bring that subject under the notice of His Excellency the Vizier at a convenient Season and endeavour to obtain his acquiescence in an arrangement by which he may receive the regular payment of it in future together with the discharge of the arrears now due. It occurs to his Lordship in Council that the most convenient

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method will be that which has been adopted in the case of Mirza Mendoo but previously to issuing any orders on this point to the officers of the Government at Patna, it is His Lordship's wish that the inclination of the Vizier shall be cousulted.

You will be pleased to communicate to Mr. Douglas, the Magistrate of Patna, the Terms of the agreement which may be made in concurrence with His Excellency the Vizier that he may be able to satisfy Shahamut Alli Khan's mind.

On the receipt of your reply to this letter the necessary orders will be issued for carrying into effect the plan that may be determined on."

Captain Baillie informed him, in reply to this letter, on the 26th of the same month, that there was " no objection whatsoever on the part of His Excellency the Vizier to the adoption of the same arrangement regarding the payment of the Pension which has been adopted in the case of Mirza Mendoo and that His Excellency is prepared to liquidate the arrears of both the persons and to pay them regularly in future on the condition of procuring his brothers' receipt for the amount on the prescribed form."

Sa'ādat 'Alī died on the 11th July, 1814,[10] and his eldest son Ghāzi-ud-dīn Hyder was soon declared Nawab. We find from certain letters that Shahāmat 'Alī and Mirzā Mendoo then tried to conciliate the new Nawab. Early in April, 1816, they sent letters to him through Thomas Campbell Robertson, acting Magistrate of Patna, and his answers to these were duly returned to them by R. Strachey, Resident at Lucknow, on the 16th of the same month. Two swords and two *petarahs* (leather-boxes) were sent at the same time by the Nawab for the 'Meerzas.' They also sent *nazars* to him in Calcutta gold *mohars*, on suitable

[10] Prinsep, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 222.

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occasions "such as the *Iduzzoha*," with the permission of the Company's Government and through their Resident, who had sometimes difficulties in exchanging these coins as Calcutta gold *mohars* were not current at Lucknow.[11] They received in return *khelats*, *shookas* and other costly presents, which were forwarded to them through the Resident at Lucknow and the Magistrate of Patna.[12]

But still the control of the Company over them was not relaxed in the least, though in some cases the Company did not hesitate to comply with their requests. In December, 1818, Shahāmat 'Alī sent a letter, through his *vakil* Maulavi Muhammad Akbar, to the Governor-General intimating to him his desire, "as he had often done before for change of climate, to repair to Benares from Patna" to see his "beloved children" who had been "married to the sons of the Nawab Shumsoo Dowlah (Brother of the Nabob Vizier)" and soliciting His Excellency's favour to grant him "once for all a general notification" in this matter through the Magistrate of Patna, as "constant notification of these journeys especially to His Excellency the Governor General" caused much inconvenience and undue delay. In compliance with his request, the Persian Secretary to the Government informed the Magistrate of Patna on the 4th March, 1819, ".....on any future occasion of Shuhaumut Alli Khaun's intimating to you his intention of visiting Benares you will be pleased to make the necessary communication to the Agent to the Governor General at that station reporting the circumstance to me for the information of His Lordship in Council." He wrote to Shahāmat

[11] Letter from R Strachey, Resident at Lucknow, to T. C. Robertson, Acting Magistrate of Patna, dated the 18th September, 1816.

[12] Letters from the Acting Resident at Lucknow to W. H. Tippet, Magistrate of Patna, dated the 1st April and 5th April, 1817; and letters from J. Monckton, Resident at Lucknow, to W. H. Tippet, dated the 18th June, 1818, 8th April, 1819 and 27th January, 1820.

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'Alī also on the same day to the following effect :—"As it must ever be a source of real satisfaction to me to promote your wishes, I have great pleasure in informing you that His Excellency the Governor General in Council has been pleased to comply with your request and that in future it will be necessary only that you give previous intimation of your intention to the Magistrate of Patna, who has been desired to make the requisite communication to the Agent at Benares."

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THE *HYDER-NĀMA* ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF HYDER ALI

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The *Hyder-Nāma* is an unpublished historical manuscript in Kannaḍa, the author of which is not definitely mentioned in it. The original manuscript, a copy of which is in the possession of the Mysore Archaeological Department, was obtained from a descendant of Nallappa, a Brahmin, who was an officer of repute in the court of Krishṇarāja Waḍiyar III in the middle of the last century. One of his ancestors, also Nallappa by name, is said to have been in the service of Hyder as a *mutsaddi* or clerk and to have produced the work. The internal evidence clearly indicates that it was written by a contemporary Hindu officer in the immediate service of Hyder.

Another copy of the manuscript which is in the Mysore Palace contains the date Krōdhi samvatsara, Āshāḍha śuddha 11, Tuesday, corresponding to 29th June, 1784. Hyder died on 7th December, 1782, and the period of 18 months since his death appears to have been taken by the author for preparing the biography of his patron.

The chronicle describes the *Durbar* of Hyder Ali. But it also contains a detailed account of Hyder's rise to power and of the events of his life year by year until his death.

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The author is a reliable historian, well-informed, frank and trustworthy. He admired or condemned his hero according as Hyder deserved praise or condemnation. Hyder's heroism, patriotism, diplomacy and generalship are well spoken of, while his failures and personal weaknesses are equally criticised. The manuscript is thus important as a corrective to the several existing accounts of Hyder's life. A detailed study proves that it is the most valuable account of Hyder written by any of his contemporaries.

A brief review of the manuscript was published in the Mysore Archaeological Report for 1930. By way of illustrating its value, passages from the manuscript which pertain to the administration of the Mysore Kingdom during the time of Hyder are now extracted and translated.

Extent of the Kingdom of Mysore

The kingdom of Mysore before Hyder's usurpation included about 107 groups of towns and villages, of which 11 belonged to Seringapatam *Kasaba*, 29 were below the *ghats* and the remaining 78 were '*gaḍis*' or frontier posts. Besides towns and villages there were also some forts and 102 '*abhaya-gaḍis*.' The entire territory thus comprised of the major parts of the modern districts of Mysore, Hassan, Kadur, Tumkur, Bangalore, Salem, Coimbatore and Madura up to Dindigul. A classified list of the places mentioned in the *Hyder-Nāma* is given in the Mysore Archaeological Report for 1930.

The territory added by Hyder to this kingdom was, indeed, very vast and was acquired mostly by conquest. About 227 places in all are mentioned in the manuscript, besides 43 tributary districts. A list of these is given in the Mysore Archaeological Report for 1930. At the time of Hyder's death the kingdom extended up to the Krishna in the north and Ramesvaram in the south and over an area

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with a radius of 40 *gavudas* (leagues) or 480 miles from Seringapatam.

Revenue

The revenue of the State of Mysore during the time of the Wadiyars amounted only to about 40 lakhs of *varahas*. Hyder increased the yield of the original area by about 70 lakhs, thus bringing the total to as much as one crore and ten lakhs of *varahas* per year.

Hyder's wide conquests further increased the revenue to a fabulous sum. The capture of Arcot and other places during the Second Mysore War yielded a revenue of one crore of *varahas*. The conquest of Calicut (Malabar), Kodiyala (South Canara), Gadwal (Raichur), Nellore, Sarvapalli, Mylapore, the districts neighbouring on Madras and other places up to Rameswaram (Ramnad) yielded an income of two crores and ten lakhs of *varahas*. A sum of 20 lakhs of *varahas* was being realised as tribute from the *Pallegars*.

Besides the above, Hyder used to come upon treasures hoarded in the past in the kingdom. The income derived from this source amounted from 2 to 5 lakhs of *varahas* every year. From some of the provinces Hyder used to get an income of 10 to 20 lakhs at a time.[1]

Administration

The work of administration was carried on by several departments. About 111 departments are enumerated in *Hyder-Nāma*, though their respective functions are not mentioned. The names of some of them indicate that they were borrowed from the Maratha and Mughul systems.

[1] At six rupees a *varaha*, the total revenue could thus be computed at twenty crores of rupees, which must have been a huge sum when rice was selling at 80 Mysorean seers per rupee. The total income of the Mysore State now is 3¾ crores of rupees.

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Mostly, however, they appear to be Hindu and may have been existing for long in Mysore.

Hyder appears to have aimed, as far as possible, at continuing the time-honoured system of administration and levy of taxes. But some of the taxes like the *Mări-kaṭṭe*, *Iraḷu-tappina terige* and *Bāla-derige* were unfair. The *shanbhogues* and *shirastedars* accused persons of false crimes and exacted from them the *Māri-kaṭṭe* and *Iraḷu-tappina terige*. The *Bāla-derige* was the tax levied on cattle imported from abroad. Hyder abolished these taxes.

Half of the total revenue of the *sarvamānya* gifts attached to temples, *agrahārs*, *puravargas*, etc., was in practice being appropriated by Government. Though Hyder allowed the practice to continue for some time, he finally put an end to it and completely made over to the owners of the *inam* gifts, the usual full benefit of the *devamānya*, *bhaṭamānya*, *agrahār*, *puravarga*, *fakir*, *jōgi* and *dāsari mānyas*.

The Ursus constituting the ruling community related to the Mahārāja were respected and given, according to their rank, maintenance-allowances in the shape of permanent grants of villages yielding revenues variously from 30 to 1000 *varahas*. They were also given permanent houses to dwell in and their rights were zealously guarded during the life-time of Hyder.

Trade and Commerce

Factories were established for purposes of trade in Muscat and many other places. Ambassadors were being sent as far as Rome and articles of merchandise were sent to all the provinces.

Weights and measures like the seer, *koḷaga*, *khaṇḍuga*, etc., which were in vogue during the time of Chikkadēvarāja Wadiyar were continued. In the countries newly conquered the old systems generally continued without much change.

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But only in Nagar the Hyderi seals and *varahas* were introduced.

Public Works

The *Darya-daulat* and the *Lal-bagh* were the two royal palaces that Hyder constructed in Seringapatam. Similar retreats and buildings were also constructed at Bangalore. The gardens were planted with special flower and fruit bearing trees imported from such distant places like Delhi, Lahore, Multan, Kabul, Kandahar, Kashmir, etc. It is said that the plants were nourished by milk, butter-milk and tender cocoanuts.

Architects of repute were also invited from abroad and engaged on building the *Mahals* in the gardens at Seringapatam and Bangalore. A grand *bazar*-town named the Ganjam Sahr was opened up in Seringapatam between the two branches of the Kaveri. The forts were strengthened at Seringapatam, Bangalore, Gutti, Chitaldrug, Bellary, Maddagiri, Chennarayadurga, Penugonda, Nagar and other places. In Saka 1696 (1774 A.D.) the house of Kadim Uddin at Seringapatam caught fire. Many buildings including a portion of the temple of Ranganath were destroyed. But Hyder rebuilt the temple within so short a period as one month.

Hyder and the Raja

As long as Chikka Krishnarāja Wadiyar was alive, the '*Kartar*' of Seringapatam was allowed to enjoy territory yielding a revenue of 3 lakhs of *varahas*.[2] Later, during the time of the king's two sons and that of Chāmarāja Wadiyar, the revenues of Yelandur, Hullahalli, Mangala, Mugur and other places were made over to meet the expenses of the *Kartar's* family, though the administration

[2] It is interesting to note that the Maharaja's civil list was already a feature of Mysore finances and that it amounted in value to about 18 lakhs of rupees.

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of the places was carried on by Hyder himself. In addition to the revenue of one lakh of *varahas* obtained from the above-mentioned places, all the articles required for the use of the king's two stores, the *chāvadi* of Seringapatam, *benne-chāvadi*, the hay-stack, the palace dairy farms, and the *ashṭagrāmas* belonging to Seringapatam and Mysore, were given over at the requisition of the *Kartar's* Pārupattegār, Vīrapathiah.

The usual celebrations, charities, etc., in connection with the *Navarātri* festivities were allowed to continue as far as possible. The piper played at the respective Palaces of Hyder and the *Kartar* on the first and last days. But on other days Hyder and the *Kartar* had seats of equal status. Fruits, flowers, garments, etc., were sent as presents to the *Kartar* who was held in esteem by Hyder.

Hyder and Karāchūri Nañjarāj

For the expenses of the family of Karāchūri Nañjarāja, Hyder set apart some territory in the Kalale and other *taluks* yielding a revenue of 60,000 *varahas*. He also arranged for the supply of the necessary things to the store of Nañjarāja.

Off and on, fruits and flowers were being sent to him. Hyder too used to visit him occasionally and discuss the marriage of Nañjarāja's son. Though Nañjarāja often spoke ill of Hyder, Hyder kept calm, and yet took care to see that his letters were not despatched to outside places.

After Nañjarāja's death, Kalale and other places were confiscated, Hyder providing, however, for the expenses of the family during the year Jaya.

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APPENDIX A

Extent of Kingdom before Hyder's Usurpation

11 villages (departments) in Seringapatam Kasaba—Seringapatam chavadi; Seringapatam Hobli Ashtagrama; Mysore Hobli Ashtagrama; Sunkada-chavadi; Pommana-chavadi; chavadi of the temple; Todaya-baduku; Hullumede chavadi; Hogesoppina-chavadi; Marikatte-baduku; Panyada angadi;

78 Gadies (towns and villages)—Ummatturu; Hullalli; Mangala; Yalavanduru; Kottagala; Sosale; Nanjangud; Haradanahalli; Kabbinada-chavadi; Kanike-chavadi; Baladerige-chavadi; Benne-chavadi; Gandhada-karkhane; Uddaburu; Honganuru; Muguru; Kollegala; Talakadu; Tayuru; Kalale; Terakanambi; Hutari-durga; Arkalagudi; Konanuru; Hosaholalu; Periapatna; Salagrama; Kattemalavadi; Kikkeri; Yedatore-tippuru; Garudanagiri; Kere-godu; Honnavalli; Chiganayakanahalli; Kaduru; Vastare; Maharajandurga; Haranahalli; Hosuru; Harohalli; Kanikaranahalli; Madduru; Bengaluru; Bhairavana-durga; Nijagallu-suragiri; Chennarayadurga; Devarayadurga; Hebburu; Nagamangala; Midigesi; Siriyuru; Melagote; Chennarayapatna; Sakkare-patna; Banavara; Turuvekere; Kandikere; Beluru; Chikkamagaluru; Hasana; Nuggeehalli; Denkanikote; Ramagiri; Malavalli; Chennapattana; Nelavangala; Makali-durga; Maddagiri; Kadama; Tumakuru; Kunigalu; Belluru; Dayavandanahalli.

29 in the South—Danayakana-kote; Perandore; Karuru; Paramati; Koyammatturu; Tangya; Vijayamangala; Sankhagiri; Salya; Erode; Chakragiri; Syadamangala; Chevuru; Votaguli; Kaveripura; Anantagiri; Dharmapuri; Kengerekote; Karamuru-chitrachavadi; Dharapura; Namakallu; Landuru; Chenjeri; Satyamangala; Kaveri-pattna; Pennagara; Viravadradurga; Muruchavadi; Dindugallu.

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102 'abhaya-gadis'—Sulagiri ; Ratnagiri ; Magadi ; Singanalluru ; Ankusagiri ; Vamaluru; Budihalu.

APPENDIX B

Hyder's Additions

Doddaballapura ; Anekallu ; Mula-bagalu ; Hoskote ; 12 in Bara-mahalu ; Javadipalya ; Kallavi ; Matturu; Kathora-gad ; Jadadevu ; Vanambadi ; Tirupatturu; Singara-pete; Gaganagad; Sudarsana-gad ; Maharaja-gad ; Krishna-giri ; Pavavanagad ; 21 in Gutti Taluk ; Haveli ; Kadamri ; Yadaki ; Vemala-padu ; Singanamala ; Maddikere ; Munimadagu ; Konakondla ; Peramali ; Uyalavadi-gangapatla ; Hampe ; Yara-Timmanayana-charru ; Chikkaballapura ; Bagaluru ; Kolara ; Rayakote ; Dodasirya; Madaka-sirya ; Penagonde ; Korikonde ; Ratnagiri; Nidigallu ; Pagondu ; Hanchati-durga ; Hunde-durga ; Hande-Anantapura ; Amaku ; Banaganapalli ; Timmanayana-pyate ; Perasamala ; Hanumanta-gad; Kalasavadi-Narasapura; Kenchana-gudda ; Nosanchala-Chalamala; Podatibandu; Ramesvara ; Sonduru ; Hirihalu ; Hagalvadi; Pamadi ; Tadapatri ; Nitturu-bogasandra ; Yallanuru; Nadimadoddi ; Pyavalli; Karuru; Kudatani ; Channapalli.

Nagara-kasaba ; Ikkerisagara ; Kavulidurga; Sivamoggi, Bankipura ; Hole-honnuru; Mahadevapura-Sikaripura ; Udagani; Kumsi; Ayanuru ; Turugara honnali ; Ajjampura ; Araga ; Mandagadde ; Lakkuvalli ; Danivasa ; Anepattu-Jadiyali ; Chandragutti ; Chennagiri ; Koratagere ; Harihara ; Basavapatna; Mattodu; Gubbi-Hosahalli, Palghat-cheri; Nemmala-kote; Yellappa-nayakana-Hoskote ; Tarikere; Biliga ; Chavutara-bangala ; Dharavada; Koppala; Bhadara-bandu ; Gajendra-gad ; Badami ; Jali-halu ; Amina-gad ; Siratti-Lakshesvara ; Kodagupatakinadu Balele-nadu, etc. ; Ankole Kasabe Sivesvara; Bada ; Kadivara ; Dure.

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Anantapura; Mavinahole; Koppa; Tavanandi; Soraba; Yedahalli; Ballalarayadurga.

Below ghats—Barakoru; Kundapura; Kusalapura; Karakala; Batakala; Honnavara; Mangalura-kodiyala; Muda-bidire; Basavaraja-durga; Dariyabaha-daragada; Kolluru; Kotesvara; Vuduma; Sankaranarayana; Gokarna; Subramhana; Tangondi; Salugonda; Lala-gadi; Nadimidodi; Amarapura; Kalyana-durga; Kotta-charuvu-Bukkapattna; Changamakote; Sante-Bidanuru. Bellari-Kasabe; Kuragodi; Hoturu; Idavanakallu; Dammuru; Havaligi; Uravakonde; Tekkalakote; Gadiganuru (9)

Sude-kasaba; Heruru; Karuru; Baluru; Isaluru; Huttakhanda; Bharatanahalli; Sivalli; Santapura; Maligi; Betala; Mirji; Badanagodu; Mundagodu; Nandi-katte; Yellapura; Totada-sime; Manjugunni; Binnapura; Menasi; Sirasi; Banavasi; Naganuru; Sambrani; Ulive; Kulenadu.

Sadasivagada; Sufe; Hallihalu; Chitradurga-kasaba; Nayakana-hatti; Hosadurga; Monakalumuri; Hiriyuru; Sannakki-baguru; Davanagere; Ramagiri; Bilajodu; Taluta; Dodari; Mayikone; Ayyamangala; Kadape; Sidhavati; Baddavela; Parama-mila; Chennuru; Kamalapura; Paidikalava; Duvoru; Kamkam; Dupada; Maralna; Donnipada; Kottakota; Idamakala; Ganj-kota; Chamalamadagu; Koyilakotla; Vempali-nandi-mandala; Sintakunta; Malyala; Kotakola; Anaji.

Guramkonda; Haveli; Pileragotukalava; Gundlurachote; Komarukalava; Madanapalli; Malivendala; Peddapalyam; Kottalapedavali Kalikote; Darinayanapalya;

Mohammed Ali's Provinces—Arcot, etc.

Arcot-Kasaba; 'Arani; Timari; Chengamavu; Tiranamale; Tindivana Kaveripata; Mahimandala; Dhobigada; Chambaragada; Kailasa-gada; Gudiyata; Satagada; Janji; Chetepatu; Permakallu; Tirapasuru; Tiruvakuru; Tiratini;

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Tirakatamaturu ; Madhyarjuna ; Mannaragudi ; Kumbhakona; Chidambara ; Kanchi ; Pulcheri; Toreyuru; Kalara; Karnataka-gada; Pluru ; Chitturu.

Tributary

Karnulu; Kaniyanuru; Savanuru ; Adavani ; Punganuru ; Chittevelu-matlevara; Kanakagiri; Balla-ayyanuru-manjirabada ; Rayadurga; Talacheri ; Kituru ; Kotakonde Kapatarala; Vandikone; Mogaralu; Ramara-Venkatagiri ; Narigunda ; Ammanayakana-palya; Golappanayaka-Palani; Gopinayaka; Appajigauda ; Mille-Marangi ; Dambala; Kochchi ; Gaddavala; Sunnakallu; Havanuru ; Anegondi ; Charakalu; Hulikallu ; Haravanahalli; Gummanayana-palya; Sarajapura ; Dudikonde; Narani-vana; Kalahasti ; Mekala-nayakana-palya; Dodda-Vada-Habbali ; Appenayaka-Maduru ; Virupaksha; Ghantamanayaka; Kannamedi.

APPENDIX C

Various Departments working under Hyder

Mahalata-kacheri-sime ; Bara-kacheri ; Baragiri-kacheri ; Kamaratosha-khane; Khasa-poshaku ; Shutara-khane; Khabarachi-khane; Imarata-khana-Garehatti ; Anche-kacheri ; Hasuvina-karohatti; Modi-khane; Karuvana-kacheri ; Ahasham-kacheri; Vardi-ettu; Dodda-ugrana ; Hullu-mede; Kandachara-kacheri ; 2 Savara-kacheri; Toshi-khane; Kapadekhane; Fila-khane; Gadi-khane; Topu-khane; Javahirakhane; Bennechavadi ; Yemme-karohatti; Dodda-bajaru; Chikka-bajaru; Kamati-kacheri; Bana-dara ; Lambane ; Chikka-ugrana; Shagirdu-pesha; etc., Brahmana; harakare ; Kalla-bhantaru ; Belli-bhale ; Chopadara ; Jileba-dara; Khalaseru; Chati-dara ; Kalagada-kona; Bitte; Naphuri ; Lalagoja; Bhoya; Bhatangi; Sastris; Salantri; Taphe; Bagayata; Nankhata; Dhobi; Khijamata-gara; Cheli; Jakhambande ;

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Jodedavaru; Dhalayita; Jahasuda; Hasarabhale; Kempu-balekha; Sabara-dara; Mahalu-dara; Pakaleru; Golandaja; Habashi; Tagaru; Kutte; Taturi; Masalaji; Sarapha; Joisaru; Vaidyaru; Nakaleru; Jetti; Hammu-khana; Gadiyara-Khana; Hajama; Chuvara-baradara; Gulama; Rana-vaidya; Taji-mulla; Munashi; Vinekaru; Sangitagaru; Nataka-sale; Gollara-hobali; Vura-hobalimandi; Darji; Jinagara; Chitra-gara; Nala-banda; Halala-kora; Julayi; Saravana; Gadikara; Bagavana-malika; Saranga-vale; Itivuliga; Hale-paika; Sarapha; Lohara; Bodayi; Sunnara; Sikalavanda; Bandi; Chaluka-savara; Charavedara; Mavata; Phulari; Mutafara-kata.

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31

RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION IN INDIA

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(*Abstract*)

Modern Indian History suffering from too much political and administrative obsession.—Need of emphasis on socio-cultural forces.

Reformation before 19th century sporadic—First true reformer, Raja Ram Mohan Roy; the birth and the creed of the Brahmo Samaj; The nationalism in Arya Samaj, its irrational attitude towards the Vedas; Dayananda, a Hindu revivalist;—The Prarthana Samaj in Bombay; the reformed Parsi Religion; the Theosophical Society of Dr. Annie Besant in the South, its compromise with idolatry and caste;—Reformed Hinduism; Ramkrishna, Vivekananda.—Non-violence of Gandhi, a new force for social reform.—Reformist movements in Islam; the Ahmaddiya Sect in the Punjab; Sir Syed Ahmed, the Ram Mohan of Islam; the followers of Sir Syed.

The results of this reformation—The rigours of caste softened; the desire of the lower castes to be recorded as higher castes in the Census of 1931; inter-caste marriages—The awakening and liberation of Indian womenfolk; abolition of *purdah*, early marriage, etc.; women in services

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and political life—The depressed classes—the modification of the Communal Award—removal of their disabilities.

Revival of Literature—*Bengali*,—Bankim, Tagore, Sarat Chatterji—*Hindi*—Lalu Lall, Harish Chandra, Siva Prasad—*Urdu*—Mir Aman, Maulavi Nazir Ahmed, Ratan Nath. Science—Bose, Ray, Raman. Indian Painting, Sculpture, Architecture—the Bengal School ; the Bombay School; Indian Music, its nature. The rapproachment between the East and the West—Indian cinematographic art.

The result of this renaissance and reformation. Political consciousness—the Congress and the Muslim League—Communalism—moral duty of Great Britain.

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SOME EARLY POST-MUTINY SCHEMES OF DECENTRALIZATION

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Before the Mutiny, centralisation was the underlying principle of the Government of India. But in actual practice, it was greatly tempered by the demands of the situation. The opposition of the Presidency Governments, the lack of knowledge in the Supreme Council about the details of administrative needs in the distant provinces, and the impracticability of maintaining a minute control on the local administration, all tended to an occasional relaxation of supreme authority. It is no exaggeration to say that centralisation in its literal sense was never given an uninterrupted trial. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that even the most sanguine optimist could not contemplate a prolonged establishment of that idea in India without apprehending an eventual breakdown.

Soon after the Mutiny, it was found that centralisation had not been without serious difficulties and defects, the most important of which was the chronic state of conflict between the Government of India and the Presidency Governments, leading to serious inconvenience in administration. The Local Governments felt that they were unnecessarily repressed by the Supreme Government in their effort to do good to the people under their charge. The greatest resentment was against the financial control of the

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Government of India which without tending to economy embittered the relations between the two. The Government of Bombay by "taking the bit between its teeth" habitually defied the authority of the Government of India and authorised expenditure not sanctioned by the latter. Then, owing to the lack of responsibility, there could not develop a sense of economy in the Local Governments. Extravagance, or expense disproportionate to the resources of the state, was the result. That in turn led to serious dislocation of the financial system and deficits were the consequence. The control over the expenditure of the subordinate governments and exhortations for economy having failed to have due effect, other methods of making the two ends meet had to be considered. Also, the work of the Central Government had increased immensely due to the necessity of scrutinising the details of local administration. Relief to the over-burdened government could be secured only by entrusting more authority to the subordinate agencies.

The local administrators could not be blamed for their zeal to improve the country in their charge. With new education and new standards of civilisation, a demand for modern means of communication, for urban improvement, for police, for schools and colleges and for facilities of irrigation etc., had arisen. To provide all these, money was required. The Central Government could not afford money for internal development because of its growing military, political and general administrative expenditure pressing hard on the revenues. The Supreme Government was naturally reluctant to increase taxation, as in the absence of any voluntary imposition by the people themselves, it might be resented as an act of despotism giving rise to discontent. Thus the very need of general improvement and up-to-date administration made for a change in the system.[1]

[1] See Maine's Minute, 16th March, 1868, Public Proc., 1868, 28th March, No. 158. "Is it not the fact that India is daily becoming more difficult to govern, more

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There is one more factor which might have led to decentralisation. As a result of the Mutiny, it was felt necessary to bring the measures, specially legislative and financial, of the Government under public scrutiny, so that the Government might be able to know the public feeling before discontent flared up into open revolt. Also it was considered desirable to associate Indians with the administration with a view to training them for the ultimate, though, distant purpose of governing themselves, "the end and object of our (British) connection with that country."[2] It could not be conceived that they should be given any share in, or influence over, the complexities of central administration. The only field for experimentation was the local government or municipal administration. When the proposal for the reconstitution of the Legislative Council was being discussed in 1860-61, the importance of the admission of independent members, European and Indian, was emphasised. There was "considerable difficulty", as Sir Charles Wood remarked, "in assembling at any one place, official and non-official persons from distant parts of India, who may bring to the Council of the Governor-General the advantage of their knowledge of different parts of the country." But it was felt that "the grant of legislative powers to councils in other parts of India" would render "it less necessary to have such persons present" in the Supreme Council.[3] At the same time, opinion was express-

submissive certainly as regards physical resistance, but more exacting in its demands for good, precise and politic Government? It seems to me a man must be very unobservant who does not perceive that a time is near at hand when either the duties of the Govt. of India must be ill-discharged, or their sphere must be contracted. The present opportunity seems to me an excellent one for making timely provision against an inevitable future by conceding comparative independence to a province which after all, from the very necessity of the case, is even now pretty much left to itself."

[2] Trevelyan's Evidence, Q 866. Select Committee on Indian Finance, 1872-73.

[3] Despatch from Secretary of State, No. 14, 9th August, 1861.

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ed, though not adopted, that such local councils should discuss the " budget or apportionment of the funds annually assigned by the Supreme Government for expenditure on police, education, public works, etc., etc.," that it should have the right of reviewing local governments' expenditure and voting taxes for local purposes.[4]

The establishment of local legislative councils was the first step in the direction of decentralisation. But the question was tackled seriously only when the government was faced with a financial crisis. A commencement was made with the deficits of 1859-1862, and discussion was resumed when deficit recurred in 1866. Failure of relief measures in the Orissa Famine also prompted discussion on the relationship between the Presidency Governments and the Government of India.[5] It was then suggested that the Government of India must confine itself to general supervision and determination of all-India affairs by withdrawing itself from all minute control over the details of local administration. All local legislation was to be undertaken by the provincial legislatures, the Supreme Council being concerned merely with general laws. But this view was opposed by the then Governor-General and no advance could be possible. It was not practicable to dissociate financial relations from the question of general central control. Prejudice, fear of innovation, or exigencies of Imperial considerations, prevented any radical change being made.

At about the same time, Chesney propounded a scheme of decentralisation in his *Indian Polity* by assigning defence, foreign and political affairs, imperial services

[4] Minutes of Sir Bartle Frere, 16th March, 1860, and 29th December, 1860. Also Mr. Laing's Minute, dated the 28th January, 1861. (A Selection of Papers relating to the constitution and functions of the Indian Legislative Councils, 1886).

[5] Public Proceedings, 28th March, 1868 (Parliamentary Papers, 1868, Vol. 49).

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like Post Office and Telegraph, as well as guaranteed Railways and debt, to the Central Government, while leaving all other heads of adminjstration to the Local Governments. This division followed closely the existing administrative practice which had definitely marked off Imperial from Local or Provincial subjects.[6]

With regard to general control over the provincial units, there were two views; first, that, as before 1833, there should be three Presidency Governments, or if necessary one more should be added, which should be for all purposes in direct communication with the Secretary of State, and the Governor-General, being the head of one of the Governments, should act merely as *primus inter pares*;[7] and second, that the general superintendence should vest in the Governor-General who " should be the sole authority" in India " responsible to the Secretary of State, " and that the Local Governments should not have the right of direct correspondence with the Home Government.[8]

In respect of financial control also, decentralisation was suggested as the chief remedy for the inharmonious relations between the Supereme and the Local Governments and the dislocation of finances resulting in constant deficits.[9] Almost every one was agreed that the Local Governments must be allowed some discretion in settling their budgets and managing their expenses. But different proposals were made to secure this end. While some recommended a complete separation of local and central finances, others were prepared only to extend the limit of the sanctioning power of the Local Governments in respect of the public works expenses and the entertainment of public establish-

[6] Chesney, *Indian Polity*, Chapter III.

[7] John Bright, also Halliday.

[8] Minute of Mansfield, 24th Feb., 1868, P. Papers, Vol. 49, 1868. See Notes of Bayley. Dickens and Muir in Public Proceedings, 7th December, 1867.

[9] Between 1860 and 1870, there were six deficit years and four surplus years.

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ments.[10] Also, as a means of freeing the Local Governments from the annoyance of central scrutiny and veto on their expenditure, "the principle of transferring the power of local taxation to a limited extent to the different Local Governments" was officially put forth.[11] At the same time a more comprehensive scheme for the division of functions and the separation of the local from the central budget was discussed in the press and on the platform.[12] The advocates of this scheme had before them the model of the United States of America. They proposed that the Local Governments, like the States in the other hemisphere, should own the revenues collected within their territories. But as the Central Government would manage the army, the diplomatic service and the debt, contributions should be made to that authority by the Local Governments out of their revenues for such general expenditure. Sir Charles Trevelyan, one of the advocates of this policy, said that "the principle of apportionment would be a first charge upon the revenues, and that the surplus of the different local administrations would be drawn upon *pro rata* for the expenses of the Army and the other services, under the immediate direction of the Supreme Government.[13] Also that "the Supreme Government and the Local Government would each make up an annual budget of its own, which would be fully discussed in their respective councils but the whole might be compiled in one by the Supreme Government and submitted to the "Home Government" with the latter's remarks. This scheme was taken up by the Bombay Presidency Association which

[10] Public Proceedings, 7th December, 1867.

[11] Sir Stafford Northcote's speech in the House of Commons, 12th August, 1867. Such schemes were proposed by Messrs Wilson, Laing and Massey.

[12] Proceedings of the Bombay Association (Tracts., India Office, Vol, 512).

Proceedings of the East India Association, 870; George Campbell; The capital of India, 1865 (Tracts. Vol. 503, etc.

[13] Trevelyan's Paper read before East India Association in 1870.

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suggested it was a method of providing "a check in India against unnecessary increase of taxation and expenditure" and giving "to the representatives of different classes of her Majesty's subjects an effective voice in the imposition of taxes, the disposal of revenues, and enactment of laws."[14] A similar plan was outlined by the "*Hindu Patriot*," an Indian journal of Bengal.

The Government of India, too, was not idle. Being faced with the recurring deficits, the successive financial members of the Governor-General's Council considered the best means of relieving the central exchequer by throwing a part of the burden on the Local Governments or the local bodies. Without in any way diminishing supreme control by the Government of India, they desired to minimise the occasions of conflict with the Presidency Governments and to tap sources of taxation which were sealed to the Central Authority. Starting from the proposal of Mr. Wilson for an income tax of one per cent. for strictly local purposes, in the appropriation of which the municipalities may have a voice,[15] we come to the more definite scheme of Mr. Laing for making over to the Local Governments certain objects for local taxation to meet local expenditure.[16] He was convinced that the means for the internal development of the country could not be provided for from the Central Treasury, and so at a time when "Imperial allotment to the Local Governments" for public works had to be curtailed, he proposed to give them "powers of local taxation" by which they might be able to raise the residue. These taxes would be such as were inappropriate for general and uniform incidence. By this means, he expected to afford relief

14 Mr. Norowzjee Furdunjee's letter to Mr. Gladstone, 21st December, 1870 (Minutes of the Third Annual General Meeting of the Bombay Association, 5th October, 1871, p. 34).

15 Provincial and Local Finance, Synopsis of Schemes, 1861-1872, p. 1.

16 Circular letter, March, 1861, to Local Governments. Also Financial Statement, 27th April, 1861.

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to the Imperial Budget and obtain more money for expenditure. "Such a system of local budgets," it was his belief, "would harmonize extremely well with..... Local Legislative Councils." Moreover, he thought it would "greatly foster the growth of Municipal institutions."[17] The proposal met with a good response from the Local Governments, but the scheme could not be put into action for the reason that "it would have been manifestly improper to anticipate the action of the local Legislative Councils, in a matter which is so peculiarly their province."[18] Mr. Laing, however, was in favour of breaking through "the system of barren uniformity and pedantic centralisation" by giving to the Local Governments "the power and the responsibility of managing their own local affairs." He held that the great branches of revenue and expenditure must remain Imperial, but still there was "a wide field both of revenue and expenditure which is properly local and which must be met locally or not at all."[19] This plan was not pursued further for with the return of solvency, the need which had stimulated thought of economy was over.

But the prosperity was very temporary. In 1866 again the budget showed a deficit, which recurred in succeeding years. Mr. Massey, who was then the Financial Member, took up the question anew, and formulated a scheme by which Local Governments were required to take over Rs. 12,000,000 of imperial expenditure and then raise revenue by local taxation to meet it. The heads of charges proposed to be transferred for the purpose were education, police, jails and public works, to be met out of the revenue from license tax, house tax, octroi and a succession duty.[20] He desired that the Local Governments should determine their

17 Financial statement by Mr. Samuel Laing, 1861-62.

18 Financial statement by Mr. Samuel Laing, 1862-63.

19 *Ibid.*

20 Circular letter to Local Governments, 21st February, 1866.

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own expenditure, so far as it concerned merely local objects and that they should provide "the ways and means for themselves."[21]

However laudable the spirit behind the proposal might have been, it could not secure the approval of the Local Governments as it fell far short of their expectations and was considered to be less liberal than the plan of Mr. Laing.[22] Mr. Massey submitted a modified scheme in January, 1867, for the transfer to Local Governments of a few heads of charge exclusively of a local character amounting in the aggregate to Rs. 80,000,000, accompanied by a license tax. That was assented to as an experimental measure, but was postponed on account of the state of the finances.[23] A larger scheme, however, was soon developed in a Note by Colonel R. Strachey, and was placed before the Government of India for consideration by the Finance Member. "The main object" of this revised project "was to limit the expenditure under several heads, specially under the control of the Local Governments, which exhibited a constant tendency to increase owing to the Government of India being practically unable to resist the demands or control the expenditure administered by the Local Governments. This was to be attained by creating a sense of financial responsibility in the Local Governments. The method proposed [23] was to

[21] Financial Statement, 1867-68.

[22] The Bengal Government replied the Provincial taxation should be had recourse to, not for the relief of Imperial finance but for the internal development of the country. (Letter, dated the 8th March, 1866). The N. W. P. Government thought that the distribution of imperial charges was not fair and did not favour transfer of imperial charges to local account unless the local liability was clearly established and admitted. (Letter, dated the 8th March, 1866). Bombay first compared it with that of Mr. Laing's project and concluded that where the earlier one contemplated new local taxation for fresh expenditure, Mr. Massey proposed it in the relief of existing imperial expenditure. (Letter, dated the 25th November, 1866. Madras Government thought the plan was not practicable. (Letter, dated the 20th March, 1866.

[23] Mr. Massey's Minute, 7th September, 1867.

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make over to the control of the Local Governments certain heads of charge, which were at first to be Jails, Registration, Stationery and Printing, a portion of Police, Education, Medical and Miscellaneous and certain Public Works charges, together with the charges of collection of the revenues to be transferred; to meet these charges, revenues under the following heads were to be transferred—Law and Justice, Police, Education, Miscellaneous and Public Works, and a share of Land Revenue, Income Tax and License Tax. The revenue and expenditure to be transferred were intended to be nearly equal in amount at the time of transfer; and the amount of revenue transferred was to be a final adjustment of the claims of the Local Governments for the transferred charges, any increase of charge to be met by the Local Government either by retrenchment under some other head, or by increase of the transferred revenue, or from local resources."[24] The intention of Col. Strachey was to place "the entire responsibility of managing the local revenues and expenditure" on the Local Governments.[25] He contemplated a change "of a much more organic character" as compared to the earlier proposals which transferred simply the local charges to the Local Governments for the relief of the central exchequer. That he even envisaged the eventual establishment of a modified form of federation in India, seems likely from the following extract from his note: "The end to be aimed at by the Government of India should be to divest itself of all detailed concern with all those items of expenditure which pertain to the branches of the administration, the details of which it cannot, in fact, control. Thus I should conceive that the financial position of the central authority should by degrees be brought to assimilate generally

[24] Finlay, *Provl. Financial Arrangement*, p. 7.

[25] Note by Col. Strachey, 17th August, 1867 (Extracts in Finlay).

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to that of the United States Central Government; though of course a power of supervision and control of a general nature must continue to be exercised over the finance of the separate local Administrations which has no existence in the case of America.''[26]

These proposals for leaving greater responsibility to the Provincial Governments, whether in respect of administrative or financial matters, had their origin in the desire to secure harmony in the relations between the supreme and the subordinate governments, to afford relief to the former, and were "advocated in the interest of economy, plenty and equity."[27] Decentralisation in some degree was the keynote of all the schemes, though a few would go to the length of establishing a sort of federation in India. The attack on them was made on the ground of practicability and expediency. Also, it was asserted by the other side that the evil of over-centralisation, which has been so vociferously complained of, did not exist in fact.[28] And even if that was practically so, it was inevitable and essential. In one of his minutes,[29] while discussing the proposed project of financial decentralisation, Sir Henry Mortimer Durand gave clear expression to this view. He desired a strengthening of the authority of the Government of India so that its supervision might be real. He doubted the wisdom of delegating financial powers to the Local Governments for that, without securing the ends so fondly cherished by the advocates of this view, would curtail the "power of the Supreme Government, in the adaptation of expenditure to real requirements" to the extent that it would be "less and less able to meet

[26] Note by Col. Strachey.

[27] Ambedkar, *Evolution of Provincial Finance*, Chap. II.

[28] See Notes by Muir, Dickens and Bayley and the Minutes of Durand and Lawrence (Public Proccedings, 7th December, 1867).

[29] Minute, dated 7th October, 1867 (Pub. Pro., 28th February, 1868, No. 154).

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great emergencies" and "the reality of its power will evaporate." He criticised the argument of the other group relating to the analogy "between American States, expenditure and that of Indian Local Administration" by drawing attention to the fact that the federal system there was "based on the theory and practice of the control of the people of their representatives." There is not a "shadow of such control in the case of Indian Administrations."[30] These views prevailed at the time, and due to the influence of Sir John Lawrence the existing system was allowed to remain undisturbed.

The various schemes for decentralisation aimed at removing the existing evils. One evil was the jealousy of the Provincial Governments towards the controlling authority of the Government of India. Another was the uncertainty of the Indian finances owing to lack of economy and responsibility in the Local Governments. One remedy suggested was the separation of the budgets, the grant of the right of taxation to the Local Governments and the withdrawal of interference by the Government of India with their local concerns. Their aim was to establish a federation of provincial states ultimately. The very boldness of the project had a fascination for some, both at that time and later on. There is no doubt that it was a comprehensive scheme pregnant with great potentialities in the future. But it was wholly unsuited to the existing conditions. Theoretically, too, it was unsound. Federation presumes the existence of sovereign states which are accountable to no one outside. But the case was different in India in the sixties of the last century. The Parliament of England was the sovereign and all the governments in India, whether Central or Local, were responsible to it. There was no vestige of representa-

[30] Minute, dated 7th October, 1867.

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tive institutions in the province, and the executive was in no way responsible to the people there. Autonomous states could not be said to exist. As such, a fundamental condition of federation was absent. In the absence of such popular control on the authority of the local executives, there were only two possibilities, either that the Secretary of State should maintain a close supervision on their activities to check any waywardness, or that they should grow into irresponsible bureaucratic administrations. And as it would have been impossible for that distant authority in England to keep an efficient control over so many local administrations, the second and more unfortunate consequence was the more probable one. Secondly, howsoever necessary it might be to strengthen the Local Governments, the Government of India as yet could not afford to be weakened. Besides military and political reasons, the very interest of uniform internal progress, good and just government, blending of diverse sectional interests so as to create a sense of nationality, and the enforcement of due subordination of the administration to the wishes of the Parliament, all required a strong central government at the time. Thirdly, a clear demarcation of the functions of the central and the provincial governments was difficult at that stage. Theoretically, a division on the lines of Chesney's suggestion could be made, but in the existing immaturity of Indian administration, such allocation was bound to be imperfect and overlapping, and such defects would have caused conflicts more serious than before. Moreover, in the undeveloped state of many Local Administrations, the Government of India could not relinquish its closer control over them; and if they were allowed to hang on the Central Government, the projected federation would have been an anomaly, for the federal government should have been both a local as well as a central government simultaneously. Finally, so soon after the Mutiny, when the situation was still uncertain both inside the country and

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beyond the frontiers, the Government of India could not agree to any legal and permanent partition of the revenues and expenditure of India which might make it difficult for the Central Government to concentrate all the resources of the State on the object at stake in an emergency. It was too early, therefore, for the establishment of autonomous provincial administrations grouped in a federation.

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LORD ELLENBOROUGH'S POLICY REGARDING SIND

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Lord Ellenborough succeeded Lord Auckland in the Governor-Generalship of India in February, 1842, and he inherited a very complicated political situation.

The British Army in Afghanistan had met disaster after disaster and Auckland's invasion of Afghanistan had turned out to be what has been so aptly described as an Asiatic copy of Napoleon's invasion of Spain. The reputation of the British arms was at its lowest. The Afghan disasters had reacted most unfavourably and to the detriment of the British throughout the North-Western countries and there was wide-spread apprehension that the Afghan disturbances were likely to spread as far as Quetta, and that the safety of the Bolan Pass was in danger.[1] The situation in the Punjab was far from satisfactory. With the death of Ranjit Singh had begun that struggle for supremacy which was ultimately to lead to the two Sikh Wars and annexation of the Punjab in 1849. It was believed that Raja Gulab Singh, who had been placed at the head of the Sikh soldiers, to help the English at Peshawar, was secretly negotiating with Akbar Khan for the destruction of the British forces.[2] The

[1] From Outram to Government, dated 15th December, 1841. India Secret Consultation, 10th January, 1842; and Outram to Government, dated 23rd January, 1842. India Secret Consultation, 14th February, 1842.

[2] Clerk to Government, 15th March, 1842. India Secret Consultaion, 30th March, 1842.

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demeanour of the Ameers of Sind, too, had changed and apprehensive of trouble in this quarter, Outram the Political Agent wanted more European soldiers to keep the Ameers in check[3] and in a separate private letter to the Private Secretary to the Governor-General said that a large force was absolutely necessary, as the Ameers were deeply intriguing against the British Government.[4] Thus we find that the situation with which the new Governer-General was faced was one of extreme difficulty. It was indeed a critical time and the events that had already occurred were bound to lead the disaffected to combine and the ambitious to hope for the overthrow of the British power in India. The only good feature was that the new Governor-General possessed in abundance the very qualities needed for a crisis and lacked so lamentably by his predecessor. He was energetic, and capable—perhaps even too capable—of taking an independent line of action and had that decision of character which is so very badly needed for facing a situation full of difficulties and dangers. He had served his apprenticeship as President of the Board of Control and had throughout his career taken a keen and intelligent interest in matters relating to India.

It is to be regretted that we have no explicit statement of Lord Ellenborough's policy towards Sind at the time when he took over charge from Lord Auckland. But everything seems to indicate that Ellenborough did not start on his Indian career with any intention of conquering and annexing Sind. On the other hand, it can be safely asserted that he had an open mind on the question and regulated his conduct in accordance with the circumstances which arose after his arrival in India. In his Memorandum on

[3] Outram to Colvin, 11th February, 1842 and 13th February, 1842. India Secret Consultation, 21st March, 1842.

[4] Outram to Durand, 11th April, 1842. Ellenborough Papers (Ellenborough Papers—henceforth cited as E. P.), 61.

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Afghan Affairs, the little he says of Sind suggests that he was not only critical of Auckland's Afghan policy, but considered his treatment of Sind anything but satisfactory. "In order to carry our forces into Afghanistan," he writes, "it has been necessary to violate the express letter of the Treaty with Sind and to take forcible possession of its only port and its capital (Sic.). To those acts of necessary violence (necessary if the expedition was necessary) we have added the further and to us, the disgraceful wrong of extorting money for the support of the war. This we have done against a state with which we have never had the smallest ground of quarrel."[5]

Again, writing to Napier as late as March 17,1842, he says, "That done and the troops drawn out of Afghanistan with honour everything else will be easy. The thing I am most anxious about is, the recovery of our military reputation in Afghanistan by some decisive success. It would not vary my policy."[6] That his policy did not contemplate the annexation of Sind is further shown by his letter to Peel a little later :—

"At last we have got a victory and our military character is re-established. Sir Robert Sale has completely defeated the Afghans under the walls of Jellalabad.....I am satisfied that the momentary success of Sale and Pollock must not lead us to change our view of what ought to be our permanent policy. We must draw back our forces in to positions in which they have certain and easy communication with India."[7] Similarly in the Instructions he issued to Political Agents, he writes :—

"You will distinctly understand that the further extension of its dominions forms no part of the policy of the British Government, that it is desirous on all occasions of respecting

5 Law, *India under Lord Ellenborough*, p. 1.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 23.

7 Ellenborough to Peel, dated 21st April, 1842. Law, *op. cit.*, p, 25.

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the independance of native states and that satisfied with the extent of its own rule, it has no other wish than that every state within the limits of India, should truly exercise its rights as recognised by Treaty, and contribute by the maintenance, by its own means, of peace and good government in its dominions, to the general happiness of the whole people." [8]

Finally in his minute on Indian Foreign Policy he writes :—

" It may be expedient with a view to the navigation of the Indus to retain our relations with Sind, even after the cessation of military operations in that quarter shall have rendered this continuance of those relations no longer indispensable; but the more recent reports as to the river Indus and our improved acquaintance with the population on its banks and the countries with which it communicates certainly lead to the conclusion that the hopes originally entertained of extending our commerce were to a great degree exaggerated. . . . . It is now seventy seven years since the first acquisition was made of the Dewanee. During a large portion of the period which has since elapsed, we have been extending our dominions, but we have not equally increased our revenue, while we increased our charges. The acquisitions which have been made may, some of them, have been necessary in order to secure what we already possessed, some of them, may have more than repaid in revenue the cost of governing and protecting them. The consequence of extended dominion has necessarily been a more extensive employment of British-born subjects in military and civil capacities, but the general revenue of the state has not been improved, and the Govt. has diminished means of improving the condition of the people.

[8] Instructions by Ellenborough, dated 26th April, 1842. Law, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

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"The practical effect of this policy of still extending our dominion and our relations is strikingly manifested at the present moment. We have an army of 250,000 men, but a large portion of that army being stationed either upon or beyond the Frontier, we are compelled to employ the contingent of Gwalior and Bhopal and even to solicit the loan of troops from the Rajah of Berar in order to preserve the public peace in the centre of India. It is impossible to proceed further in this career of expensive conquest, and further to extend our foreign relations without endangering whatever we now possess, and incurring the certain consequence of being unable to perform the first duty of a government, that of protecting its loyal subjects and punishing the evil doer." [9]

In view of all these statements, it can be safely assumed that the conquest and annexation of Sind formed no part of the original policy of Ellenborough. So far as the North-West of India was concerned, his objects were, primarily to withdraw the troops from Afghanistan, after re-establishing British military prestige, and then to return to the relations already established with Sind.

But before proceeding any further to discuss the causes and events that led to the annexation of Sind, it is essential to study in some details, the reaction which the Afghan disaster had produced in the minds of the Sind rulers. Taking advantage of these disasters, Nasir Khan of Hyderabad had opened a correspondence with Sawan Mall, the Sikh governor of Multan and Outram gave it as his opinion that his "restless ambition cannot resist any bait that offers, which gives a hope of our expulsion and his attaining the chief station among the Ameers." [10] Under these circumstances was Ellenborough, in the words of William Napier,

[9] Minute by Lord Ellenborough, dated 27th April, 1842. Law, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

[10] Outram to Colvin, dated 21st January, 1842. Correspondence relating to Sind (henceforth cited as C. S.) p. 340

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"to sit silent and foment the hopes of the neighbouring powers, eager for war, by a show of humility, which could only appear to them weakness." But the first step taken by Lord Ellenborough with reference to this hostile attitude of the Ameers was merely in accordance with his resolution to maintain the position acquired by the British on the Indus. Having received from Outram a distinct statement that some of the Ameers were engaged in hostile intrigues,[11] he proceeded to send to the Political Agent a letter to those rulers, to be delivered or withheld according to that officer's discretion. The main object of this letter may be gathered from its concluding paragraph :—

"I should be most reluctant to believe that you have deviated from the course which is dictated by your engagements : I shall confide in your fidelity and in your friendship, until I have proof of your faithlessness and of your hostility in my hands; but be assured that if I should obtain such proofs, no consideration shall induce me to permit you to exercise any longer a power you will have abused. On the day on which you shall be faithless to the British Government sovereignty will have passed from you; your dominion will be given to others and in your destitution all India will see that the British Government will not pardon an injury received from one it believes to be its friend."[12] It is needless to add that if ever such a letter could be justified it was so by the circumstances of the time. There was little doubt that the Ameers were ready to take advantage of any opportunity that might arise. Lord Ellenborough, for instance, himself wrote to the President of the Board of Control :—

"Saugor, Bundelkhand, Nepal, Scinde and the Nizam's enmity all give some inquietitude. The success in the Khyber

[11] Outram to Government, February 22nd, 1842. C. S., p. 346.

[12] Governor-General to the Ameers of Sind, dated 6th May, 1842. C. S., p. 347.

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an d Jellalabad came but just in time." [13] In another letter about the same time to Nott, [14] he spokei n the same sense and we find that this tone of anxiety and distrust of the Ameers continues henceforth throughout the correspondence of the Governor-General.

Outram had already written to the Governor-General to suggest that in his opinion Sukkur and Shikarpore should continue to be occupied by the British in order to render the British power on the Indus invulnerable and to secure easy communication with the Punjab, Sind and Central Asia. [15]

Ellenborough, however, proposed the permanent occupation ot Karachi, Sukkur and Bukkur and the cession of a strip of land on both sides of the river. [16] In return for this all the arrears of tribute from the Ameers of Sind were to be remitted. The new arrangements were to be based on the principle of cession of territory in commutation of tribute, because according to Lord Ellenborough, " The payment of tribute by the native state however equitable it may be in principle cannot fail to affect the otherwise friendly nature of our relations with it, to introduce much of disagreeable discussion, to occasion the frequent visits of officers in the unpopular character of exacting creditors and to attach to the British Government in the eyes of the subject of the tributary state much of the odium of the acts of extortion by which native administration is too frequently conducted." [17] And again :—

" The obligation on the part of a native state to pay tribute to Government is one which places us in a false position. No character can be more offensive than that of an exacting creditor, with which this obligation invests us

13 Ellenborough to Fitzgerald, dated 17th May, 1842. E. P., 77.
14 Governor-General to Nott, dated 21st June, 1842. E. P., 95.
15 Outram to Government, dated 8th May, 1842. C. S., p. 348.
16 Government to Outram, dated 22nd May, 1842. C. S., p. 350.
17 Government to Outram, 22nd May, 1842. C. S., p. 350.

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. . . . . It makes us appear to be the cause of all the exactions which the native state inflicts upon its subjects." [18]

In recommending the cession of Karachi, Bukkur and Sukkur, the Governor-General had a two-fold object in view. Firstly, he wished to obtain the power of acting on both sides of the river. The occupation of Bukkur and Sukkur was necessary in order to insure a passage over the Indus, so as to be able to maintain communications with British stations on the Sutlej and the army at Kandahar by the Bolan Pass. The continued occupation of Karachi was necessary in order to communicate with Bombay. In addition to this, the Governor-General aimed at controlling commerce.

Meanwhile Outram had collected various proofs of the hostile designs of the Ameers. These were :—

1. Intercepted letters from Nasir Khan of Hyderabad to Dewan Sawan Mall, the Sikh Governor of Multan and by Rustam of Khairpur to Sher Singh, the ruler of Lahore were considered a violation of the 8th article of the Treaty of 1839, which forbade Ameers to negotiate with foreign powers.

2. A secret plot of the Brahooes and Baluchis was encouraged by the Ameers to rise against the British on a favourable opportunity. Postans believed that all the Ameers with the exception of Ali Murad of Khairpur were conspiring to revolt, and had been encouraged to this step, by the reverse suffered by England at Hakalzye. But the late successes of the British at Kandahar and Jellalabad had caused the movement to be checked.

3. There existed a most cordial private feeling between Nasir Khan of Hyderabad and Rustam of Khairpur and the counsels of both the Hyderabad and Khairpur Governments were under the dominating influence of Fateh

18 Governor-General to Napier, dated 4th November, 1842. C. S., p. 470.

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Mohammad Ghori, the confidential minister of Rustam who was well known for his talents and his hatred of the English.

4. Nasir Khan of Hyderabad had in the month of January proposed to the Sikh Government the expulsion of the British Government and had offered aid for the purpose.

5. The Ameer of Mirpur too had secret intercourse with the Lahore *Darbar* with the object of driving out the English.

6. Robertson, who had been employed to survey the lower parts of the country, had brought to the notice of the Political Agent certain unusual occurrences. The tone of the people towards him was entirely changed and certain chiefs who had formerly nothing to do with Sind were now assembling at Hyderabad. The reason assigned for this ferment was the fear of the Afghans but Robertson believed that this was only a blind and that in a short time the hostility which unquestionably existed against the English down to the very sea coast will be openly manifested. Gordon in a private letter had noticed the altered tone of the neighbouring Chief of Bela and the inimical proceedings of his officers.

7. The Ameers had failed to pay the sums due to the British under the engagements of 1839. The money was withheld because the Ameers were sure of getting rid of the English. Tolls and duties had been levied in spite of the treaty clauses abolishing such imposts.

8. The plan of the hostile Ameers was to take possession of the fortress of Bukkur and concentrate all their forces in Upper Sind. They would then attack the villages of Ali Murad and force him to join the coalition against the English. Rustam had guaranteed to get all the Upper Sind Ameers to join this plot. The person making these allegations was considered by Outram to be inimical to Nasir Khan of Hyderabad but high in the confidence of the Khairpur Ameers and placed in a position from where he could always ascertain the truth. In short, the Political Agent considered

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the testimony of this witness to be of a character which could be entirely relied upon, especially when all that he had communicated had been confirmed by Outram through various channels unconnected with each other.

9. Intercourse was being conducted with Persia. A Persian had arrived at Hyderabad. Nasir Khan had detained him and dismissed him with presents. [19]

On these grounds and considerations of commerce, Outram had recommended that the Ameers may be deprived of Shikarpur as well. [20] In his opinion the evidence which he had already submitted to the Government, though deficient of legal proof, gave "sufficient data for suspecting that intrigues were in progress to overthrow our power and to authorise consequently our now taking the precautions necessary for self-preservation; and it cannot be denied that as at present situated in Sind our military positions are insecure and our communications liable to be cut off." Outram, therefore, proposed the infliction of a new treaty involving, in keeping with the suggestions of the Government, the cession of Sukkur, Bukkur and Karachi. All articles of commerce were to have free passage between the sea at Karachi and the Indus at Thatta, free communication by the mouths of the river during the season, when practicable, being already provided for. Tolls on the river, which had already been abolished but had continued to be levied in spite of treaty engagement, were to be emphasised as having been finally abolished and the British Government was to be allowed to cut and consume for steam navigation, wood growing within hundred cubits of the river bank and to clear the bank of the jungle for that space. In return for this, the British Government was to remit all arrears of, and future claims to tribute.

In continuation of these recommendations, Outram also

[19] From Outram to Government, dated the 31st May, 1842. C.S., pp. 352-369.

[20] Outram to Government, dated the 20th June, 1842. C.S., p. 371. Outram to Colvin, dated the 1st February, 1842. E.P., 61.

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suggested that Nasir Khan of Hyderabad being the principal offender might, if the Governor-General thought fit, be deprived of all his territory. But the question remained as to how those Ameers who did not pay any tribute were to be compensated. They were three in number, *viz.*, Rustam and Ali Murad of Khairpur and Sobdar Khan of Hyderabad. Of these, Rustam's case was complicated because he was involved in intrigues against the British Government. Outram thus solved the difficulty. At an earlier period of the relations between Sind and the British, Rustam's attitude having been uniformly friendly, he was entitled to a more lenient treatment than given to the other offenders and therefore he should be deprived only of Bukkur and two small islets above and below that fort, which was in effect no pecuniary loss, as these were already in the possession of the British. Rustam was also to surrender the right to levy tolls from his own subjects and was to agree to the expulsion of his minister, Fateh Muhammad Ghori. As regards Ali Murad, he was to be given the promise of the Turban in succession to Rustam. Sobdar Khan was to be compensated with the gift of a *shikargah* belonging to Nasir Khan of Hyderabad. Finally, the district of Subzalkot was to be transferred to the Nawab of Bahawalpur.

Since Lord Auckland's system of dividing authority in Lower Sind had been given a fair trial, and proved a failure because each Ameer evaded responsibility charging it on others, (so that the negotiations were lengthened and complicated and every petty dispute which should ordinarily be settled between themselves was referred by the Chiefs to the British Government.) Outram proposed that one of the Ameers in Lower Sind be invested with chief authority. He recommended that Mir Muhammad Khan be raised to this position at Hyderabad and a promise of succession be held out to Sobdar Khan.[21]

[21] Outram to Government, dated 21st and 26th June, 1842, C.S., pp. 373-79.

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But Outram foresaw that all these arrangements could not be accomplished peacefully, for in a letter to the Governor-General he remarked :—

" If I am allowed to communicate with the Amirs on the above grounds, I anticipate little difficulty in satisfactorily concluding the arrangements desired by his Lordship *before the Army returning from Afganisthan passes through Sinde, otherwise it may be impracticable to induce the Amirs to concede what is required on the mere ground of mutual advantage.*" [22]

This proposed treaty was vetoed by the Governor-General because he did not see any occasion for a hasty and precipitate negotiation. It was also added that it would be a matter for consideration before final instructions were issued to Outram on the subject whether any probable benefit to be ever derived from the treaty could compensate for the annual expenditure which would be brought upon the Government of India by the maintenance of a large force at Karachi and Sukkur.[23]

On the situation in Sind, Anderson, the acting Governor of Bombay, wrote in a private letter :—

" Major Outram's last letters have made me more anxious about Sinde. I have never had much confidence in the Ameers nor in the good faith of the Baluchi tribes. Major Outram has always been more sanguine. His present impressions therefore show things to have grown worse." [24]

A little later Sir George Arthur in a Minute stated :—

" There can be no doubt that most of the Ameers of Upper and Lower Sinde have for some time past been engaged in intrigues against us ; in fact that they only want

[22] Outram to Government, dated 21st June, 1842. C.S., p. 373.
[23] Government to Outram, dated 10th July, 1842. C.S., p. 380.
[24] Anderson to Ellenborough, 3rd May, 1842. E.P., 39.

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the power not the will to make an attempt in imitation of the tribes of Afghanistan to expel us from the country." [25]

Ellenborough was thus all the more convinced that the aspect of affairs was far from satisfactory and he naturally felt that at such a crisis what was needed was a tried and experienced soldier, at once firm and resolute, whose presence should check all these intrigues and the possibility of the communications being cut off, and for this purpose he selected Sir Charles Napier, a tried soldier of the Peninsular War, and ex-Governor of Cephalonia, who had arrived in Bombay in December, 1841. On 26th August, 1842, Napier was formally appointed to the command of all the troops in Upper and Lower Sind and he was also empowered to exercise control over all civil and political officers within his command.[26] Outram was thus placed under the Officer Commanding in Sind. But it must be remembered that the subordination of the Political Agents to the Officers Commanding was the result of a general scheme adopted by Ellenborough for the justification of which he had before himself the lesson of the Afghan War. The prevalent opinion was that the military disasters in Afghanistan had been caused, partly at least, by a division of authority between the Military Commanders and the Political Agents and it must be admitted that there was a great deal of truth in this view.

Sir Charles Napier on his appointment was informed that if any Ameer or Chief had evinced hostile designs, the Governor-General would inflict upon the treachery of such ally or friend, so signal a punishment as should efficiently deter others from similar conduct; but that this would not be done without the most ample and convincing evidence

25 Minute by the Governor of Bombay, dated 2nd September, 1842. C.S., p. 384.

26 Governor General to Napier, dated 26th August, 1842. C.S., p. 384.

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of the guilt of the person accused and that he relied entirely upon the General's sense of justice.[27]

On 3rd September, 1842, Napier left Bombay with a small detachment of 200 soldiers and arrived at Karachi on the 9th September. His small force had been reduced to 136 only because of the outbreak of cholera on board the ship.

Napier prepared himself to meet the difficulties of the situation. The British were already in possession of Karachi, Sukkur, Bukkur and Shikarpore and a number of posts leading to the Bolan Pass. The forces already present in Sind were 2,000 soldiers at Karachi and 4,078 at Sukkur. From the day of his arrival in Sind, however, Napier began getting reports which showed him that the Ameers although loud in their professions of loyalty were breaking the treaty in small points and anxious to throw off the ascendancy of the English, which had been so distasteful to them from the beginning, altogether.

These infractions briefly summed up were :—

(*a*) the attempt on the part of the Ameers to prevent supplies coming into the English Camp at Karachi,

(*b*) the levying of tolls on the river Indus,

(*c*) the firing upon Bahawalpur boats under the orders of Nasir Khan of Hyderabad.[28]

When called to account for these breaches of the treaty, the Ameers took refuge under Article I which laid down that the British would have nothing to do with the complaints of the Sind subjects. Napier correctly remarked that " it would be improper to allow the wording of one article in a treaty to neutralize the whole spirit of the treaty which it must have been the intention of every article to enforce." On his way to Sukkur, Napier stopped at

[27] Governor General to Napier, 16th September, 1842. C.S., p. 386.

[28] Napier to Government, 5th October, 1842. C.S., p. 389.

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Hyderabad and gave a distinct warning to the Ameers that "Article V does not and cannot guarantee to the Amirs the power to break any other article of the treaty, still less the spirit of the treaty throughout." [29]

Even at this stage, however, Lord Ellenborough was in favour of a moderate and more judicious view. Writing to Napier on the 28th September, 1842, he said :—

"Your first political duty will be to hear all that Major Outram and all the other Political Agents may have to allege against the Amirs of Hyderabad and Khairpur tending to prove the intention on the part of anyone of them to act hostilely against the British Army. That they may have hostile feelings there can be no doubt. It would be impossible to believe that they could entertain friendly feelings, but we should not be justified in inflicting punishment upon the thoughts." [30]

And in another letter to Napier a little later, he says :—

"You will find that without some diplomatic arrangement with the Ameers, we cannot properly retain possession of Kurachee and Sukkur and Bukkur now that the Army is withdrawn from Afghanistan. There must be a change of equivalents and we must give up the whole or a portion of the tribute the Ameers have consented to pay to us..... Karachi, Sukkur and Bukkur, entire freedom of trade upon the Indus, and the right of cutting wood for our steamers or of having depots where it can be collected, shall seem to be the only objects we have in Sind on the supposition that we are to retain our hold upon the Indus." [31]

29 Napier to Ameers of Hyderabad, 25th September, 1842. C.S., p. 390.

30 Governor-General to Napier, 28th Sep., 1842. India Secret Consultation, dated 28th December, 1842.

31 Governor-General to Napier, 10th October, 1842. E.P , 96.

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Both these letters clearly show that the conquest and annexation of the whole of Sind was farthest from the mind of the Governor-General. What he aimed at was a revision of treaties so as to secure a commanding influence on the Indus in order to have a more direct communication with England from the North-Western Provinces for the transmission of troops and military stores. Another and a very considerable object that Ellenborough had in view was the position that the British would occupy on the flanks of the Sikhs after they had become masters of the Indus.

It is, however, true that Napier took a rather soldierly view of the situation. His standpoint in his famous "Observations on the occupation of Sind" is alarmingly forceful. He argues that even if the British were to evacute Sind "future events will inevitably bring us back to the Indus. If on the other hand the British remain, will not the Ameers remain hostile and continually be committing breaches of the treaties? This produces another question. Can such things long continue? . . . . I conceive such political relations cannot last, the more powerful government will at no distant period swallow up the weaker: Would it not be better to come to the result at once? I think it would be better, if it can be done with honesty. Let me then consider how we might go to work on a matter so critical."

His plan was simple: "Several Ameers have broken treaty in various instances stated in the accompanying Return of Complaints. I have maintained that we only want a fair pretext to coerce the Ameers and I think the various acts recorded give abundant reason to take Kurachee, Sukkar, Bukkur, Shikarpore and Subzlkot for our own; and for obliging the Ameers to leave a trackway along both sides of the Indus, stipulating for a supply of wood, and at the same time remitting all tribute and arrears of

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tribute in favour of those Ameers whose conduct has been correct, and finally enter into a fresh treaty with one of these princes alone as chief and answerable for others."

On the 4th of November, 1842, Napier was instructed to require the consent of the Ameers to a new treaty. Two separate drafts had been prepared for presentation to the Ameers of Hyderabad and Khairpur but the tenor of both was essentially the same. The Lower Sind Treaty of 1839 was to be strictly enforced, while Upper Sind was to be held by its Treaty of 1838 and a definite clause was inserted that the Ameers of Khairpur were to promote the free navigation of the Indus in the same manner as their brethren at Hyderabad and as such all tolls on the river Indus were abolished. The currency of Sind for the future was also settled and it was laid down that the Ameers shall not in future coin any money and the Government of India shall provide the coins (one side of which was to bear the Queen's head) which alone were to be the legal tender.

With regard to territory the new treaty for Lower Sind contained the following stipulations :—

"7. The following places and districts are ceded in perpetuity to the British Government: Kurachee, Tatta with such arrondisement as may be deemed necessary by Major General Sir Charles Napier and moreover the right of free passage over the territories of the Ameers between Kurachee and Tatta along such line and within such limits on either sides thereof as Major General Sir Charles Napier may prefer: and within such limits, the officers of the British Government alone shall have jurisdiction.

"8. All the rights and interests of the Amirs or any one of them in Subzlkot and in all the territory intervening between the present frontier of Bahawalpur and the

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town of Rori are ceded in perpetuity to H. H. the Nawab of Bahawalpur, the ever faithful ally and friend of the British Government.

"9. To the Mir Sobdar Khan, who has constantly evinced fidelity to his engagements and attachment to the British Government is ceded territory producing half a lakh of annual revenue, such cession being made in consideration of the loss he will sustain by the transfer of Kurachee to the British Government and as a reward for his good conduct."

With respect to the Ameers of Upper Sind the new treaty provided that—

"1. The pergunnas of Bhoong Bhara and the third part of the district of Subzl-Kote and the village of Golki, Malader, Ghoonga, Dadoola and Uzeezpore and all the territories of the Amirs of Khyrpore or any of them intervening between the present dominions of H.H. the Nawab of Bahawalpore and the town and district of Roree are ceded in perpetuity to the Nawab.

2. "The town of Sukkur with such arrondisement as shall be deemed necessary by Major General Sir Charles Napier and the island of Bukkur and the town of Rooree with such arrondisement as may be deemed necessary by Major General Sir Charles Napier are ceded in perpetuity to the British Government."

The British Government on its part agreed to renounce all claims to future tribute on Lower Sind and all claims on the heirs of Mir Mubarak for the sums due from him on account of the subsidies to be paid for Shah Shuja and the subsidiary force.[32]

Napier was at the same time authorised to select his own Commissioner for the necessary adjustment of territory

[32] Governor-General to Napier, dated 4th November, 1842. C.S.,pp. 469-476.

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and revenue between the Ameers[33] and with the approval of the Governor-General he selected Ouiram for this duty.[34]

Ellenborough's own reasons for exchange of tribute for territory have already been given. It must be admitted in addition that the cession of territory is done at once and is over while the pecuniary payments are a lasting hardship and a continued source of irritation. It would seem that Ellenborough's arguments in this respect, even if they do not command absolute assent, are indeed very strong. The uniformity of currency was a very desirable object, because of the inconvenience and evils which arise from the intermixture of currencies of different and varying values. Moreover, this was part of a general plan formed by Lord Ellenborough, to be brought into operation throughout the whole of India.

The only other clauses of the proposed treaties that deserve attention are those relating to the transfer of territories from Sind to Bahawalpur. With the claims of Bahawalpur upon the districts of Subzlkot and Bhung Bhara the British Government had originally nothing to do. But on the hypothesis that the Ameers had merited this degree of punishment, the mode in this case also seems to have been judicious, in so far as it would mean the punishing of a faithless to the benefit of a faithful ally. It is clear, moreover, that the Nawab had never relinquished his claims to these districts.

Unfortunately, however, there was a serious flaw in the new treaty. The territory demanded on behalf of the Nawab of Bahawalpur extended southwards beyond Bhung Bhara to Rohri, one of the points to be occupied by the British, and included land in which all the Ameers of Upper Sind were interested. The largest possessor in these territories was Mir Nasir Khan of Khairpur,[35] the son of

33 Governor-General to Napier, 4th November, 1842. C.S., pp. 469-476.

34 Government to Outram, dated 24th November, 1842. C.S., p. 490.

35 Governor-General to Napier, 4th November, 1843. C.S., p. 469.

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Mir Mubarak, the only Ameer of Upper Sind on whom the British had, since 1839, a claim for tribute, which, however, had never been paid. Moreover, he owed to the Government of India the entire sum of ransom money imposed by Lord Auckland on behalf of Shah Shuja. Along with his namesake of Hyderabad and Mir Rustam, this chief was also accused of intrigues against the British Government and he might therefore have been considered liable to a greater penalty, especially because the new treaty relieved him from all pecuniary payments for the past as well as the future. These considerations might have warranted a slight addition to the territorial penalty inflicted by the loss of Subzlkot and Bhung Bhara, but not such an addition as the terms of the revised treaty imposed. Napier drew the attention of the Governor-General to this :—

" It is right to inform your Lordship that I have been told Your Lordship said that you had given Bahawal Khan Nawab of Bahawalpore £16,000 a year. The value of Subzlkot and Bhoong Bhara are about that sum, but the country between the latter and Roore is (the latter included) about £44,000 a year and forms the great difficulty in settling with the Ameers of Khyrpoor. They say, it wholly ruins them. I only learned this from Lt. Brown yesterday from Khyrpoor."[36] And again :—

" With regard to the rich district between Bhoong Bhara and the town of Roree, the loss of which presses very heavily on the Ameers of Khyrpoor and in fact has thrown them into consternation, perhaps your Lordship would either allow them to retain it or permit me to consider the subject in detail and lay before you some project less painful to the feelings of the Amirs."[37]

[36] Napier to the Governor-General, dated 20th January, 1843. India Secret Consultation, 15th February, 1843.

[37] Napier to the Governor-General, 30th January, 1843. C.S., p. 533.

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It is perfectly clear that the Governor-General was exacting a penalty far greater than he had intended to exact, for he wrote :—

"I had no information before I received your letter of the actual value of the territory to be ceded to the Nawab of Bahawalpore between the southern limits of Bhoong Bhara and the districts of Roore and I had not reason to imagine that it was so valuable as it now appears to be."[38]

Lord Ellenborough's first reaction to the information supplied by Napier was unfavourable. He felt that the conduct of the Ameers having been very vexatious, they did not have a claim on his consideration, and he therefore suggested that the Khairpur rulers may either be left as they were or might be compensated at the expense of the ruler of Mirpur who, though he paid Rs. 50,000 per annum to the British, had been designedly left by the Governor-General under the old engagements. But in all fairness to Ellenborough, it ought to be stated that the very next day he corrected himself and wrote :—

"I observed that the recent conduct of the Ameers of Khyrpoor did not entitle them to consideration, indeed it would be politic to make them feel that designs of hostility cannot be entertained without the certainty of punishment being inflicted. Still if you should be of opinion that the cession originally demanded presses too heavily upon the Ameers I shall be glad to receive any suggestion you may be able to offer for its modification."[39]

But before this letter could have reached Napier, the whole issue had been decided by an appeal to arms. Whether a war could have been avoided if this letter had reached Napier in time, is a question which will always

[38] Governor-General to Napier, 8th February, 1843. India Secret Consultation, 15th February, 1843.

[39] Governor-General to Napier, 9th February, 1843. India Secret Consultation, 15th February, 1843.

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remain unanswered, though there are strong reasons to believe that a conflict could not have been put off for very long.

To sum up: The main objects of Lord Ellenborough were—in demanding cession of Karachi and other towns, to acquire an absolute command over the River Indus, both for commercial and for military purposes; in transferring territory to the Nawab of Bahawalpur, to strengthen the bonds of common interests with a loyal ally and to establish a line of communication through a friendly state between Sind and British stations on the Sutlej. It is thus abundantly clear that the Governor-General was not being guided by any desire for pure territorial aggrandizement.

In his letter, dated 4th November, 1842, Ellenborough distinctly stated that the treaty rested for its justification upon the assumption that Fateh Mohammad Ghori was really guilty and that the letters alleged to have been written by Nasir Khan and Rustam Khan were genuine and he left it to Napier the task of proving this assumption, believing that he and the experienced officers who were with him were best qualified to form an opinion[40] and indeed after his previous correspondence, the Governor-General could hardly do otherwise. On the 25th of October, 1842, he had already said :—

"I am satisfied you will weigh well the evidence you received upon the subject of all the Chiefs upon the Indus."[41]

A reference to Napier's diary shows that he took a different view of the problem, for he says that it was for the Governor-General to decide whether the Ameers were guilty or not. "I will take nothing," he writes, "on any head

40 Governor-General to Napier, dated 4th November, 1842. C.S.,p. 472.

1 Governor-General to Napier, 25th October, 1842. E. P., 96.

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except in cases where time is important and it is not so here." [42]

Nevertheless, he set himself to pursue his enquiries in the spirit of an impartial judge and with the help of officers on the spot. From this moment onwards, the responsibility of the measures which followed devolves upon Napier.

[42] W. Napier, *Life of Charles Napier*, Vol, II, p. 238.

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THE OLD RIVERS OF HOOGHLY AND THEIR EFFECTS ON SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

RAJA KSHITINDRADEV RAI MAHASAI

Bansberia

The Secretaries regret that this paper was not left with the office and is not in their file.

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THE NEPAL FRONTIER IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 18TH CENTURY

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The purpose of this paper is to attempt a summary in a connected fashion of events on the Nepal frontier in the second half of the 18th century. Surveys of the subject, in the histories of Nepal or in the old books like Markham's edition of Bogle's narrative or Kirkpatrick's account, are not necessarily complete. One particular episode—the Kinloch expedition of 1767—was dealt with by Long in 1869 in his Selection of Records from 1748 to 1767, Volume I, Appendix A, and has been described more fully in Dr. Nandalal Chatterji's paper in the Proceedings of the 1938 session of the Indian History Congress. Other aspects have been touched at different times by different authors including the present writer in his paper at the 1930 session of the Indian Historical Records Commission and in *Bengal, Past and Present*, 1932 (Serial No. 87). It may be acknowledged however that a fuller account will be of some value to students and scholars and will not be, therefore, quite out of place here. The present paper is based almost entirely on original documents, largely unpublished, but being limited to an intensive study of the British official records only, it cannot of course pretend to be a complete or impartial survey of the subject.

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It is a well-known fact that there was in the middle of the 18th century a brisk trade between Bihar and Bengal on the one hand and Nepal and Tibet on the other. The civil wars and commotions in the Nepal region and the process of the Gurkha conquest naturally interrupted this trade and caused much anxiety to the Company, when it was taking over control in Eastern India. Logan's memorandum to Verelst (O. C. 1 of October 31, 1769) describes the old Nepal trade, the chief exports and imports of Patna in these transactions, and the nature of the routes from Patna to "Cutmundoo." O. C. 20 of November 25, 1789 (a copy of an official report from the envoy Bogle in 1775-1776) gives an account of the part formerly played by "the Gosseines, the Trading Pilgrims of India" in this trade and mentions their expulsion from Nepal after the Gurkha conquest for their sympathy with the old rulers. It states further that the *Fakirs* or the *Gossains* used to frequent, after this, the route to Tibet through Morung and Sikkim; but the Gurkha expansion eastward and unhealthiness hampered this channel of commerce also. Bogle's famous northern mission itself must have been largely prompted by the necessity thus caused of securing new trade routes as compensation for those blocked by the rising Gurkha power.

Prithvi Narayan launched the Gurkhas on their career of conquest which built up the modern state of Nepal and constituted the central political event in our present study. In 1169 A.H., he seized Muckwanpur, taking the ruler Bikram Sen prisoner. Another chief, Kanak Singh, complained to Mir Kasim next year and "in consequence of this complaint the Nabob himself crossed over sending Gourgeen Cawn before him who arrived near Muckwanpore, where his whole army being destroyed the Nabob returned to Patna."[1] The Gurkhas now could turn their

[1] Public Consultations, Copy, I.O., p. 150. Also see *Seir-ul-Mutaquerin*.

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attention to the subjugation of the Nepal Valley. According to Father Giuseppe, Ranjit Malla, Chief of Bhatgaon, invited Prithvi Narayan into Nepal but repenting soon of his rashness, he joined the other two Rajas of Patan and Kathmandu against the conqueror (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol II). By 1767, the confederates were reduced to extreme difficulties. We learn from the *vakils* of Jaiprakas Malla, Chief of Kathmandu, (statement before Captain Kinloch, taken down in June, 1767),[2] that, in the course of a five years war against their master, "the said Goorka Rajah has taken ten principalities, and Possession of all his Country, having now only the Towns of Cutmandoo his own Residence, Patan, Baudgon (sic.) & Zeemy all closely blockaded, by which he took all the others, some of whom held out two, & others three years." The conquest of the *parganas* of Lamboo and Tassey, the two chief granary districts, reduced the Rajas to sore straits, and "the four Cities are so closely beset, that it is with the greatest Difficulty even a Letter can pass between them."

Under these circumstances, the Newar Chiefs naturally turned to external aid, following the Muckwanpur precedent. Anticipating their appeal to the British, Prithvi Narayan tried to avert foreign intervention for we find T. Rumbold, the Chief of Patna, reporting that "the Goorcully Rajah . . . is so very apprehensive of our assisting the Napaul Rajah, that I had a Letter from him the other day, desiring he might be allowed to visit me at Patna, & that Protection might be afforded him."[3] Meanwhile, on April 5, 1767, Golding, who had been posted at Betteah as Resident some time before March 18 (see Rumbold's letter of that date in the Select Committee Proceedings of March 27, 1767), had a conversation "with a person who had arrived from Nipal for the purpose of soliciting, on the part of the Rajah,

[2] Select Committee Proceedings, July 21, 1767.

[3] Rumbold to Verelst, April 18, 1767, in Select Committee Proceedings of April 30, 1767.

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the assistance and protection of the English."[4] Golding recommended intervention on the ground that "from the former very insolent letter of the Goorkally Rajah, and some letters which have lately passed between him and the Phousdar here,"[5] there was some danger to Betteah if the Gurkhas won the upper hand over the hill rajas. In that eventuality, the fir scheme in the hills also would have to be given up while the Gurkha power would become too strong in the future to be challenged with prudence. Intervention was also likely to open up the China trade across Nepal. Rumbold inclined to Golding's views and enquired from Verelst whether on the arrival of the Nepalese *vakil* at Patna he was to give him any encouragement.[6]

The Select Committee on April 30, 1767, resolved to help Jaiprakas Malla by mediation if possible, by force of arms if necessary. Accordingly, Rumbold was authorised to send an ultimatum to Prithvi Narayan to stop him from molesting the Raja of Kathmandu.[7] At the same time, Captain Kinloch, who at the end of the preceding year had taken the fort of Tippera and driven its raja into the jungle,[8] was ordered to "march with all Expedition from Tipera to Mongheer, & to proceed from thence to Patna."[9] Rumbold reported on May 28, 1767, that the ultimatum had been duly sent but, as the Gurkhas had nearly completed the conquest of Nepal, he was afraid that mere negotiation would be unavailing.[10]

In June, the Nepal *vakils* "Mucktan Unda and Faquir Ramdoss" made a statement before Captain G.

4 Quoted by Long, in Selection of Records from 1748 to 1767, Vol. I.

5 *Ibid.*

6 Rumbold to Verelst, April 18, 1767; in Select Committee Proceedings, April 30, 1767.

7 Select Committee Proceedings, April 30, 1767.

8 Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. I, No. 2978.

9 Select Committee Proceedings, Vol. 13, p. 199.

10 Long, *op.cit.*

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Kinloch at Patna. The Gurkha strength was estimated at a total of 50,000, of whom only 20,000 were in Nepal, the rest being engaged on cultivation in their home district. " They are chiefly armed with Bows & Arrows, swords & Matchlocks." The English authorities were assured of a road to Nepal where " neither Hills nor Rivers will obstruct them, & where good Water will be had for the People." If the expedition was delayed, there would be " much greater Difficulty towards the End of the Monsoon, as the Rains cause an immense Growth of Jungle which almost choaks up the Road " and " the whole country will undoubtedly be in Possession of Ghorkwallah." Unless help arrived soon, the four cities were likely to be starved into surrender.[11] The statement of the *vakils* had been preceeded by a map done by them and was accompanied by a plan depicting the Gurkha attack on " Cuttrwandro and Patan " " which indeed is neither Plan, perspective or profile and altogether out of Proportion." The redoubts blockading the cities were " so contrived, that there is no passing between them out of arrow shot, and are from 100 to 150 yards or more in compass." [12] Rumbold also informed the Select Committee (letter of July 6) that he had examined " The Vacqueel and Faquir " and verified Kinloch's version of their report. He also forwarded an account of the eleven stages [13] from Patna to Nepal, *via* Hajipur, Darbhanga and Siddley—a distance of about 96 " coss "—with specification of the nature of the road and the supply of water and provisions along the route. The Raja of Nepal had undertaken to provide *coolies* and provisions in the last sixth portion of the journey.

On the basis of all this information, the Select Committee at last issued orders for Kinloch's advance into Nepal on July

[11] Select Committee Proceedings, Vol. 13, pp. 239-241.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 242.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 243.

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21, 1767, though the instructions which accompanied the orders were extremely careful and cautious.[14] On August 6, Rumbold reported that Kinloch was ready for the enterprise and that Prithvi Narayan had at last "returned a very evasive and insolent answer" to the ultimatum, sending at the same time "a vakeel to Patna for the purpose of demanding in his name the Bettea country on pretence of its having formerly belonged to his family."[15] The Court of Directors was informed of Kinloch's expedition to Nepal in the Letter of September 25, 1767 (Paras. 9 and 10), together with the reasons for the enterprise which might have seemed "foreign to the spirit of that System of Politics whereby we proposed regulating our Conduct."

Kinloch's campaign of course proved to be a failure. On December 11, 1767, Verelst placed before the Select Committee his correspondence with Rumbold and Kinloch's letters to the same gentleman from which it appeared that to attempt proceeding further, "without being supported by a strong Reinforcement would serve only to expose the Troops to the Danger of perishing by Famine and the Sword."[16] Reinforcement being difficult on account of the repeated demands on Bengal from "the Gentlemen at Fort. S George," the Committee ordered Kinloch's recall from Nepal, though the retention of the lands occupied by him on the borders of the Betteah country was recommended, if it could be managed without risk or expense. The Committee was inclined to think, so Rumbold was informed, that the failure of the expedition was due to "some Misconduct in the officer, or Forgery in the Letters & Informations given you by the Vaqueel & Faquir." It also suspected looseness of discipline and Rumbold was enjoined to make the

[14] .Select Committee Proceedings, Vol. 13, pp. 244-245.

[15] Long, *op. cit.*

[16] Select Committee Proceedings, Vol., 13, p. 455.

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strictest enquiry.[17] The news of Kinloch's failure was duly conveyed to the Directors in the General Letter to Court, of December 16, 1767 (Para. 9).

On December 19, 1767, Rumbold reported from Patna[17a] his opinion about the causes of the failure. He admitted that the Nepalese report had given too rosy a picture of the ease of an advance into Nepal, but the failure of provisions, he thought, was the main reason for the English discomfiture. Kinloch had reached "the Fort of Hariapore within sixteen Coss of the principal city" but the weather proved remarkably unfavourable and the bridge across a river which barred his way was swept away by the rush of water following "violent heavy rain." Rear attacks by the hillmen caused panic among the *coolies* carrying grain who "would frequently in the night make off leaving the burthens." Rains continued many days and sepoys fell sick or began to mutiny. Rumbold thus attributed Kinloch's failure to misfortune and warmly defended him who had "behaved with the Fortitude and resolution of a good Officer." He had also occupied[18] all the country between Betteah and the hills, a land which, it was reported, "now yields to the Goorka Rajah nearly a Laak of Rupees yearly and he is from thence supplied with grain." He had reduced every fort in this region (two of which, Bara and Tulahaut, were very strong) and this conquest would "prevent incursions into the Betteah Country which used frequently to suffer from the Hill people," and also secure "the Fir Timbers which grow in plenty on the Hills adjacent." Rumbold feared that the recall of Kinloch would only increase the Gurkha insolence and enclosed an optimistic letter from Kinloch himself[19] from Pirsa Fort in which he reported that Bara, Pirsa and the neighbouring tract "consisted of

[17] Select Committee Proceedings, Vol. 13, pp. 456-457. [17a] *Ibid.*, Vol. 15, pp. 7-12
[18] *Ibid.*, Vol. 15, pp. 13-14—Rumbold's letter of January 3, 1768.
[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

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13 Pergunnahs—besides some villages the Courant Rajah is in possession of" and the region was so fertile that "proper improvement might make them yield Ten Laaks per Annum."

The Select Committee was unmoved by this special pleading and pointed out that Kinloch had deviated from his instructions and this "might possibly have occasioned the want of provisions" which baffled him. "A too hasty and impudent progress" had brought on failure. The newly acquired district was to be retained of course, to reimburse if possible "the Company the Charges of the Expedition," but Kinloch was to be relieved of his command and to appear before a Court of Enquiry. [20]

Meanwhile, Kinloch in a letter [21] to Rumbold from Barra on Christmas Day, 1767, had expressed the greatest concern at the likelihood of being recalled. He was merely "five days march from Napaul only three of which is amongst the Hills" and was sure of a victory as soon as he emerged into the Valley. He was convinced that "the two great Evils by which I suffered Rain and the want of grain will now be removed." The Gurkha army would be increased fourfold on the fall of the four cities for all the hill people would then have to join the conqueror and consequently English help for the confederate rajas now was absolutely necessary. Moreover, English retreat would confirm the bad impression produced on the Gurkhas by "that unhappy affiair of Sidley which has put them in Possession of above 100 Stand of our Arms." Kinloch naturally ventured to remark also that "my own honor obliges me to wish it in my power to put an end to the work I have begun." On January 28, 1768, Rumbold,[22] while forwarding the above letter of Kinloch, warmly defended his conduct in pushing

[20] Select Committee Proceedings—Vol. 15, pp. 17-18.

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 126-132.

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 122-126.

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from Janakpur to Siddley on the assurance of a plentiful supply of provisions "from the man who undertook to provide Grain for the Detachment" and follow him there. From Siddley, Kinloch had pushed forward in the expectation of reaching Nepal in five days in which attempt he would have succeeded but for unlucky circumstances like bad weather and "the timidity of the Bazar People," and "bad behaviour of the sepoys." It was then that Kinloch had fallen back on Janakpur. In consideration of all this, Rumbold informed the Select Committee that he had taken the liberty of vindicating Kinloch's conduct again "before I put your orders in execution."

Rumbold gained his main point, for the Select Committee wrote him back on February 10, 1768, that "as you have now given us such positive assurances, that a variety of unavoidable occurrences alone occasioned the Miscarriage of that Enterprize—we shall remain satisfied with regard to Captain Kinlock's conduct, and hereby revoke the order relating to him under date the 12th Ulto."[23] Thus ended the ill-fated first English expedition against Nepal but the commander had at least escaped the dishonour of trial by a Court of Enquiry.

A second expedition, however, was already under contemplation. "The Choudind Raja, Coran Sine" (Karam Singh Deo) "whose Hills lie to the Eastward of Neypall," who was first cousin of the dispossessed and imprisoned Raja of Muckwanpur, had proposed to Kinloch a junction between his force and the English detachment and invited Jas. Logan " up to his Capital in the Hills to Settle the terms of this Coalition."[24] On December 25, 1767, Golding reported to Rumbold that "Rajah Jil Beekram Sing has now made an offer of conducting our Troops through

[23] Select Committee Proceedings, Vol. 15, p. 75.
[24] O. C. 1 of October 31, 1769.

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his own country should they propose a second attempt" and that "he is master of the Hills for a long way almost as far as Navocot-Pertarain's (sic.) chief City and the other Rajahs are so nearly connected with him that they would immediately follow his example."[25] Golding wrote again on January 3,1768, that this raja wanted to know whether "his assistance would be accepted of" adding that "it was in his power to bring over many other Rajahs to his Party."[26] Kinloch himself firmly believed that he could still make as many allies in the neighbouring rajas as he could wish if only "the Gentlemen in Calcutta came to some Determination." On the strength of these letters, Rumbold recommended[27] a second expedition which he thought would be materially helped by Kinloch's occupation of the lowlands beyond Betteah. The season was now more favourable and Kinloch had gained valuable experience while the hill rajas were all secretly hostile to the Gurkha power. The Gurkhas themselves were apprehensive of the English advance, so much so that the Commander of their forces, Keer Sing, had addressed a letter to Kinloch in which he expressed concern at having received no answer to his five petitions, adding that " we stand handbound at your Mercy " and " Our Rajah awaits yr pleasure. " [28]

The Select Committee felt naturally tempted " to make a second attempt for the relief of the Napaul Rajah " and on Feburary 10, 1768, asked Rumbold " to inform us the Number of Troops you judge sufficient to Ensure the greatest probability of Success." [29] Rumbold, who had come down to Calcutta, reported from there on Feburary 15, that in his opinion " one complete Battalion besides five or six

25 Select Committee Proceedings, Vol. 15, p. 132.
26 *Ibid.*, p. 133.
27 *Ibid.*, pp. 124-125.
28 *Ibid.*, p. 134.
29 *Ibid.*, p. 75.

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Companies" would be absolutely necessary besides "a few more Artillery men for the Guns." He delivered to Verelst some plans sent by Kinloch "showing the Route he intends to take."[30] In view, however, of the requirements of Madras communicated in the secret letter of January 9, 1768, the Select Committee thought that the force estimated as necessary by Rumbold was too considerable to be spared and "Prudence directs that a second enterprize be for the present postponed." Kinloch was accordingly directed merely "to remain with his present Force to secure the countries newly acquired."[31] Thus the idea of the second expedition against the Gurkhas was dropped for the time being.

The expectation of ample compensation for the military failure from the retention of the lowlands beyond Betteah was also doomed to disappointment. On November 11, 1768, the Court of Directors enquired whether the lands taken from the Gurkha Raja had "answered your Expectations."[32] Rumbold wrote on July 17, 1769, however, that the cultivation of the occupied region was being neglected by the *ryots* "owing to the interruption of the Hill people who continually make incursions and destroy whatever they find. The Country is so unhealthy that Our sepoys could not continue there during the Rains." The total collection amounted to only Rs. 20,400, nine thousand from Janakpur, the rest from Barra. But the possession of the lowlands had at any rate secured the collections in Betteah "which had suffered greatly before the Goorka's people coming down from the Hills."[33] The explanations of Rumbold for the poor income derived from the occupied territory were duly conveyed to the Directors in the Public General Letter to Court on September 30, 1769 (Para. 45).

30 Select Committee Proceedings, Vol. 15, pp. 150-151.
31 *Ibid.*, p. 152.
32 *Ibid.*, Vol. 23, pp. 151-152.
33 *Ibid.*, Vol. 16, p. 428.

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The condition of Kinloch's army was also found to be deplorable when it was at last withdrawn from the frontier. Colonel Smith on reviewing the Second Brigade at Bankipur found the Eighth Battalion " very deficient in Discipline and the Tenth totally unfit for Service." He added that " of the eighteen Companies of Brigade Sepoys, sent on the Napaul Expedition, these are all that remain."[34] Kinloch himself was dead by this time.[35] The desire of the Directors to renew the Nepal trade, expressed in the Public Letter from Court, March 16, 1768 (Para. 41) also remained unfulfilled and in 1774 Bogle, in his Tibetan journey, had to explore other routes to the north as the Gurkhas barred the road *via* Nepal.

Even apart from the Gurkhas, the northern frontier lands caused much anxiety to the English. Sir Robert Barker, Colonel of the third Brigade at Patna, was informed on December 19, 1765, of " the necessity of immediately reducing to obedience the rebellious Zemindars " and that " Narain Sing will probably return to his duty when his Forts are demolished."[36] Barker carried out orders but was directed on February 10, 1766, to spare the fort of Takarry, " on account of its advantageous situation upon the frontiers."[37] The Court was informed on March 24, 1766, that Barker had succeeded in "demolishing forts and reducing the turbulent zemindars in the Betteah country. "[38] On April 30, 1767, the Select Committee approved of Rumbold's action in detaching Captain Wilding with a force to clear the " Sircar Serang Country. " This had been rendered necessary by the incursion of a body of " 5,000 Sinnasses." The *Sannyasis* had overcome two companies of sepoys under a serjeant, by standing their

34 Select Committee Proceedings, Vol. 14, p. 643.
35 *Ibid.*, p. 645.
36 *Ibid.*, Vol. 22, p. 69.
37 *Ibid.*, Vol. 11, p. 5.
38 Select Committee Press List, p. 276.

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ground till the sepoys had fired away their ammunition.[39] On March 13, 1768, Raja Shitab Rai wrote that the whole of *Sarkar* Saran was in confusion owing to the insurrection of Fate Shah, *Zemindar* of Halsipur and the resistance of the fort of Tuppah-Newan.[40] Shitab Rai, on April 16, 1768, reported that Wilding, who was besieging Tiloor, had captured Halsipur, but the hillmen in large numbers were dispersing themselves in parties over the plains plundering and laying waste the country of Tirhut.[41] By April 29, however, Wilding, according to Shitab Rai, had at least mastered the Halsipur rebellion which the *zemindar* had started with the help of "the wandering mendicants called Naggis."[42] The facts mentioned above illustrate to a large extent the unsettled conditions near the northern frontier of the dominions managed by the Company.

In 1930, attention was drawn by the present writer to the Logan mission to Nepal.[43] Surgeon Jas. Logan's departure for Nepal was announced in the Public Letter to the Court, dated January 25, 1770 (Para. 42). Dr. Chatterji in his paper mentioned at the outset supposes that Logan's task was to placate the Gurkhas ruffled by the English intervention in 1767, and to establish commercial relations with them. This view is, of course, supported by the two letters to Prithvi Narayan, dated November 13, 1769, which Logan carried.[44] But a close study reveals the fact that the mission was not so very innocent after all. Logan's own memorandum (O.C.I of October 13, 1769) states that Jaiprakas Malla, after the fall of Kathmandu, "is now either Coop'd up in a strong-

39 Select Committee Proceedings, Vol. 13, pp. 198, 200.

40 Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. II, No. 856.

41 *Ibid.*, No. 913.

42 *Ibid.*, No. 922.

43 The whole text of the Logan memorandum, which Dr. N. L. Chatterji describes as worth quoting in full, was published by me in *Bengal, Past and Present*, 1932 (Serial No. 87).

44 Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. II, Nos. 1682, 1686.

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hold, or has retired into Tibett, where he has some Territory and a friend and Protector in the Goora, or white, Lama, the Pontiff of Laissah." (sic.). Logan offered to undertake to find him out and personally confer with him. In Logan's opinion, a small force was sufficient to restore him as his old subjects were still attached to him. He also thought that, after what had already happened, to abandon Jaiprakas Malla would give "a bad Impression of the English in these parts" and also that the overthrow of Gurkha power "may be Effected more easily *now* in Concert with Juyper Cuss and his Connections, than it can be afterwards without them." Friendly relations of the Company with Prithvi Narayan on the other hand were likely to offend the Lama "whom he has provoked beyond all hopes of reconciliation, by Plundering the Rich Temples of his votaries in Neypall." Logan also observed that such penetration as he suggested had been accomplished before and therefore, he presumed, might be done again. The Board not merely permitted Logan to undertake the journey "as he proposed."[45] Two letters were also given him to carry to Raja Jasa Goshmal—another Malla again—recalling "the assistance which the English rendered to him in the past," emphasising that "their attitude towards him remains unchanged," and promising him that if he "in return for assistance received, opens up trade with these provinces, the English will grant him ample support." The Raja is also exhorted to be sincere for "whatever plan is decided upon by the Raja and Mr. Logan, will be communicated to the writer and the other English sardars."[46] Logan carried another letter[47] to Goran Sen, Raja of Chaudand (obviously the same as Coran Sine, the Choudind Raja of Logan's memorandum) who had negotiated with

[45] Public Body Sheets, October 31, 1769.

[46] Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. II, Nos. 1681, 1683.

[47] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, No. 1684.

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Kinloch and from whom, Logan thought, "provided my business is unfavourable to the Goorka, I'm pretty sure of a hearty welcome."[48] Similar letters[49] were addressed to five other hill rajas and obviously Logan was being sent, therefore, to explore the possibilities of a new confederacy against the Gurkhas. Here we lose sight of James Logan who had no tangible success. It is just possible that Bogle's remark that the Gurkha Raj informed the Tashai Lama that a Firingi was being sent back from Nepal had reference to this enterprise.[50]

But the frontier had hardly settled down yet. Kirkpatrick refers to the intrigues at Benares of the fugitive Abdhoot Singh, son of the unfortunate Ranjit Malla of Bhatgaon, to engage the British in measures for reinstating himself. Again, at the other end of the Nepal frontier, the Company had already come in contact with the affairs of Morung, the tract in the border between the Kusi and the Teesta.[51] Mahomed Reza Khan is known to have suggested its reduction[52] to obedience and the extension of the frontier near Purnea to the hills, "the latter being the natural boundary of Bengal." Kamdat Singh, the Raja of Morung, claimed, however, that "at no time whatever has he paid either rent or peshkash to anyone" for his principality consisting of the "districts of Bejpur, Amarpur and Makwanpur extending from Bhutan to Nepal and from Purnea to Tirhut and Bettiah."[53] The Raja also asserted that even the country of Bhatgaon was formerly under his father's jurisdiction but the *zamindars* there had become independent with the help of "the Raja

[48] O. C. 1 of October 31, 1769.
[49] Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. II, No. 1685.
[50] Markham's Bogle, p. 158.
[51] *Ibid.*, p. 150.
[52] Select Committee Proceedings, Vol. 17, pp. 184-185.
[53] Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. II, No. 233.

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of Sikkim who possessed the district of Bhutan." In 1765-1766, Kamdat Singh was persuaded by his ministers Budh Karan and Ajit Ray to stage an attempt at recovery of his ancestral domains with a body of troops mostly natives of Purnea and Tirhut. The ministers were dismissed by him for their intrigues with these troops and in revenge "they formed a design of assassinating or imprisoning him" and setting up his four-year-old son in his place. They caused a rising of the disbanded troops who drove Kamdat Singh to Purnea to seek the protection of the *faujdar* Suchit Ram. Upon this the Nawab sent "Rao Arjan Singh with a parwana of encouragement to fetch him."[54]

On February 12, 1767, Raja Kamdat Singh of Morung was reported by Mahomed Reza Khan to have reached Nawabganj,[55] and the next day he was directed to send the Raja to Calcutta.[56] Kamdat reached Murshidabad by February 23, and was given "a Khalat to encourage him" but Mahomed Reza Khan added that "being an inhabitant of the hills, he is very unpolished, and also ignorant of the country language."[57] Indisposition preventing the Raja from undergoing "the fatigues of a land journey," he proceeded to Calcutta by water on February 26, attended by Harkishan Das.[58] At Calcutta, Kamdat Singh appealed for a body of troops to recover his territories, promising to bear the cost of the expedition.[59] No help, however, was forthcoming and Mahomed Reza Khan was informed on March 30, 1767, that "the Raja of Morung is so much indisposed that the Governor has decided to send him back to Murshidabad."[60]

[54] Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. II, No. 233.
[55] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, No. 44.
[56] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, No. 51.
[57] *Ibid.*, No. 85.
[58] *Ibid*, Nos. 98 and 174.
[59] *Ibid.*, No. 233.
[60] *Ibid.*, No. 241.

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This was not the end of the Morung episode. The Raja, when he was not granted "the aid of two or three companies of sepoys," returned to Morung and merely with the help of "an ill-armed rabble of about two thousand men" recovered the flat portion of his country, the rebel *Dewan* Budh Karan falling back on the hills. In July, 1769, the Raja however was assassinated by his own troops and the murder was of course "generally ascribed to the artifice of the Dewan." Kamdat Singh ("Kham Dull Sain") was succeeded by "the next male heir of the family —His uncle Regonaut Sain" but the *Dewan* coming out from his retreat obliged Raja Raghunath Singh to seek English protection in his turn.[61] Writing from Purnea on April 4, 1770, Ducarel, "the Supravisor of Purnea" reported to Becher, the Resident at the *Darbar*, that the *Dewan* Budh Karan's disorderly troops were plundering the frontier region putting the inhabitants to flight. He pointed out that civil strife in the Morung would always subject the frontier tracts to depredations while if that country established a firm strong government, it would "draw from us great part of our ryotts and must affect the revenues of the frontier purgunnahs." The way out of the difficulty was obviously to take advantage of an opportunity "to obtain Every degree of influence in the Morung Country."[62]

Ducarel thought that four companies of sepoys would be enough to secure Raghunath's restoration as his predecessor had maintained his ground against the *Dewan* for two or three years with about two thousand of the most disorderly troops unprovided with firearms. After driving the *Dewan* to the hills, the Government might take over the management of the liberated region and of "the forests of Saul timbers," stationing sepoys "in two or three places to check

[61] Select Committee Proceedings, Vol. 17, pp. 185-186.
[62] *Ibid.*, pp. 182-189.

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the incursions of the mountaineers and influencing the latter through controlling all their grain supply from the flat country. It was at any rate common prudence to give the Raja "such small assistance as may enable him at least to divide the country with the Dewan," and to constitute a barrier to raids from the hills. Ducarel further added that the occupation of the Morung country would have the additional advantage of "commanding all the boats, gauts and passages of the Cossy river which is not fordable at any time of the year." This would "prevent any further incursions of the Sinnosses or other disorderly people into Bengal whose route after they cross the Cossy river lays through the flat Country between the Company's jurisdiction and the hills," so that "a proper distribution of troops along the bank of the Cossy river might preserve all the Eastern part of Bengal from the ravages of horse or the attempt or (sic.) irregular forces."[63]

The Select Committee instructed[64] the Resident "to secure our own frontier from the inroads of Either party by detaching a force for that purpose" and the President to "write to the Dewan of Morung in such a style as may check his insolence and compel him to a cessation of those ravages which his troops have committed on the borders of Purnea." If an actual intervention in Morung became necessary, "the Committee will then take into consideration the most Eligible and permanent method of settling that country." And there the Morung affair rested for the next three years.

On May 21, 1771, Keighly of Darbhanga drew attention to the situation in the Tatar Parganas bounded by Champaran, Purnea, the Gandak and the Teriana. The Patna Council suggested to Cartier on June 25, 1771, that the *Parganas* which in the Mughul days belonged to the Tirhut

[63] Select Committee Proceedings, Vol. 17, pp. 187-189.
[64] *Ibid.*, pp. 190-191.

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Sircar and which the Gurkhas had conquered from the Muckwanpur Raj might now be occupied. This would however mean a rupture with the Gurkhas and require an invasion of Nepal or at least the stationing of two battalions of sepoys on the Betteah and Tirhut frontier. The Board at Calcutta in response to the Patna letter demanded more detailed information.[65] In due course it received a report from Raja Shitab Rai. The Tatar Parganas consisted of 23 *mahals* together with Janakpur and their previous history was described in the report. In 1175 A.H., Prithvi Narayan occupied this tract where a collector on behalf of the Government had resided for about five years since Mir Kasim's ill-fated expedition against the Gurkhas. Kinloch drove the Gurkhas out from the *Parganas* and Golding placed collectors therein but after Kinloch's withdrawal, they were reoccupied by the Gurkha Raj. Prithvi Narayan agreed however to pay a tribute of 72,500 rupees in elephants at the customary rate for this region.[66]

The Board resolved on this occasion not to take the offensive against Prithvi Narayan. "From the Rajah's known activity and the situation of his Country, in an Expedition against him it is to be expected he would give us much trouble." The claim to the Tatar Parganas was not to be entirely dropped however, and was to be revived if the customary tribute for the tract was not paid, or if the Gurkhas committed hostilities in this direction.[67]

In 1772, there was anothor chance of a clash with Prithvi Narayan. The Board had sent up in 1770 Messrs. Peacock and Christie to secure timber from Morung. Peacock proceeded towards West Morung of which country

[65] I.O. Cons., 1771, pp. 119-123.

[66] *Ibid.*, pp. 147-153.

[67] See the documents printed by the present writer in *Bengal, Past and Present*, 1932 (Serial No. 87).

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he had some knowledge. He wrote to Raja Coran Sing (Logan's Choudind Raja, obviously) and got a favourable answer from him. Peacock then went up *via* Nawabgunj to Nautpore in January, 1772, and had an interview with Coran Sing, when he "got leave to explore the whole Country." He was given the "sole Grant for Cutting Firs and other Wood on Account of the Hon'ble Company, in the Amerpore Morong" from "Condar Sing Rajah of the Morung Country." (West Morung apparently was distinct from Eastern Morung). Condar Sing or Coran Sine had not forgotten his antipathy to the Gurkhas. Peacock received a letter from him in the summer of 1772 in which the Raja reminded him that "when you visited me at Chunra I informed you of the ill Conduct of the people of the East who had seized 10 or 15 Villages belonging to me." "The Vackeels of 24 Rajahs," he added, "& others came and represented That Gorikah had killed the Rajah of Nypaul" (Jaiprakas Malla ?). "If you have Gorikah punished and the Zemindary given to the Cousin of the Deceased" (a pretender, obviously, to the Nepal chieftaincy) "it will be praiseworthy." The Raja proceeded to inform Peacock that he wanted to send "30,000 or 25,000 Archers thro' the Hills and 1,000 or 1,500 Horse and Tellingahs on Water Carriage by the Borders of the Hills." He actually sent some forces to Nepal "to assist the Rajah" (the pretender ?) but "Mr. Keighly, Chief of Durbungah, received Gorekha's Vizir not to suffer my Troops to enter the Country. My Troops had nearly reached Gorekah, Mr. Keighly sent his to oppose them." To avoid a clash the Raja recalled his men, and he now appealed to Peacock to "bring a perwannah to the people of the East to give up the Villages they have seized and another to Mr. Keighly that he may never impede the marching of my Troops to Neypaul." The Raja asked the Company to assist him "with Horses and Artillery" and proposed a joint expedition in which he promised provisions and a passage

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"thro' such Roads that they shall undergo no Hardship." He concluded his letter fervently by remarking that "Gorekha is a great Tyrant. To punish him will..... be a good Deed in the Eyes of God." The Company however was not to be moved from its cautious policy and here we lose sight of Coran Sine, who must have been an inveterate enemy of Prithvi Narayan.

In 1773, East Morung again comes into the picture. The treacherous *dewan* Budh Karan was not allowed to enjoy his hard-won authority in that region for long. Prithvi Narayan, who had now firmly established himself in Nepal proper, was casting his eyes on the rich region of the Morung. As a precautionary step, he sent two *vakils*, Parsodh Pandit and Aka Misar to the Governor with a letter on May 27, 1773.[68] He proposed to send a force to punish Budh Karan who had usurped the countries of Amirpur and Bijepur which were in the possession of his "brother Kamdat Singh." He requested the Company to instruct the Chief of Purneah "not to give any assistance to the Diwan." He also promised if he succeeded in punishing the *Dewan* to send to the Governor "merchandize and curiosities." There was also a letter at the same time from "Deota Sahai Diwan of Raja Pirthi Narayan Singh" to the same effect.[69] The Gurkha *vakils*[70] saw the Governor "just at the time of his leaving for Benares" and were asked "to meet him at Patna, which they never did." This we learn from a letter addressed to Prithvi Narayan on October 30, 1773,[71] which further requested him to send reliable representatives and to take steps "to prevent the depredations committed every year in Bengal by Sannyasis" who came from Nepal. The letter was accompanied by another to the Gurkha *dewan* (who is now called Abhiman Singh) with the same purport.[72]

[68] Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. IV, No. 333.
[69] *Ibid.*, No. 334.
[70] *Ibid.*, No. 601.
[71] *Ibid.*, No. 602.
[72] *Ibid.*, No. 763, Jan. 14, 1774.

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In reply to the above, Prithvi Narayan wrote that a *vakil* was being sent to the British, possibly Abhiman Singh himself. He announced that the *Dewan* Budh Karan was in flight and had escaped to Bijepur which the Raja was prepared to seize. Prithvi Narayan regretted that he could not prevent the *sannyasis* from crossing the Gandak which was lately included in Betteah, adding however craftily that he was "prepared to extend his possessions in that direction" if permitted, in which case "the sannyasis will never be able to cross the river." He reminded the Governor in this connection that "at the instance of Vansittart he had once severely punished the sanyasis for plundering an English factory."

Prithvi Narayan's conquest of Morung proceeded apace. By August 10, 1774, the Governor was writing to him[73] in protest against the Gurkha occupation of Bijepur and Amirpur and demanding the evacuation of those places " both of which are parts of the province of Bengal." This letter also made a reference to the reply, which, it was reported, was handed over to the Gurkha *vakil*. Calmly ignoring the protest, Prithvi Narayan wrote back[74] that " Makwanpur together with Amirpur and Bajitpur (sic.) formerly under the authority of Raja Kamdat Singh have now come under his possession." He now requested a " sanad under the seal and signature of the Governor for those places " for which a *nazr* would be paid.

But the hill rajas were in great alarm. Raja Ajit Singh was writing by November 12, 1774,[75] that Budh Karan had fled and sought protection in the Company's territory and that Prithvi Narayan after seizing the lands formerly under Kamdat Singh and another raja intended to reduce more

73 Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. IV, No. 1212.
74 *Ibid.*, No. 1341, October 13, 1774.
75 *Ibid.*, No. 1398.

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countries. Ajit Singh, between whom and Captain Fullerton "a friendly correspondence has taken place," suggested British help to Budh Karan against the common enemy and offered his own co-operation in an expedition to punish the Gurkha two of whose garrisons he had already reduced. In return for English assistance, Ajit Singh was ready to present the Governor-General with 200 *tanyans* or strong hill ponies. Another chief, Raja Partab Singh, who is described in one place as the "infant raja of Morung" (and who might have belonged to the house of Kamdat Singh in the east or to that of Coran Sine in the west) complained[76] that Prithvi Narayan had seized his territory and imprisoned his brother-in-law, and so he requested British help for his restoration. Partab Singh had fled to Nawabgunj in the vain hope of meeting Peacock there (this seems to indicate his connection with Coran Sine, Peacock's patron). On February 2, 1775, *Dewan* Achint Ray of Purneah was instructed to provide Partab Singh and his family with quarters and necessaries.[77] Again, in December, 1774, the *Zamindar* of Bajitpur (who said that he had been assured of the Company's support through his *vakil* at Dinajpur) reported[78] the Gurkha occupation of his lands which had forced him to take refuge at Goramara, a village dependant on Purneah. This *Zamindar* was also a candidate for British assistance and promised to make an agreeable '*bandobast*' on recovery of Bajitpur.

Meanwhile negotiations with Prithvi Narayan were being carried on still. A letter came from him[79] offering to the Company the revenue of Bajitpur on terms similar to those in Muckwanpur. The Gurkha Raja urged the Governor-General not to be "prejudiced against him by the mis-statements of his enemies." A Gurkha *vakil* was already at Dinajpur

[76] Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. IV, No. 1384, October 11, 1774

[77] *Ibid.*, No. 1567.

[78] *Ibid.*, No. 1468.

[79] *Ibid.*, No. 1443, November 28, 1774.

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and another was being sent in the person of Dinanath Rao. In reply, Prithvi Narayan was informed on January 19, 1775[80] that the *vakil* who had come was not acquainted with the business and had no full powers. This might have been part of a deliberate game played by the Gurkha conqueror. He had to be informed again on February 2, 1775, that no reply had been received to the previous letter and that he must send a *vakil* to Mr. Henchman, Chief of Malda, to settle the Bajitpur matter.

From the official records described above some idea may thus be gleaned about Prithvi Narayan's process of conquest of the hilly land and the *terai* country all along the northern frontier of Bihar and Bengal. But the stormy career of the conqueror was drawing to a close. Two letters came from the new Raja of Nepal,[81] one announcing his father's death and his own accession, the other expressing surprise at the British demand for the revenue of Morung. This had been the last acquisition of Prithvi Narayan and the Governor-General was notified of the appointment of Kirat Singh as *Subadar* of Morung on November 20, 1775.[82] After this, things rapidly settled down along the northern frontier of the Company's dominions. Pratap Singh, the Raja of Nepal, received also the formal congratulations of the Tashai Lama,[83] so that relations between Nepal and Tibet also were becoming more normal.

Under these circumstances, the last quarter of the 18th century did not, unlike the third, mark any very great activity along the Nepal frontier. But still it was not entirely eventless. The Gurkhas apparently invaded Tibet[84] and attacked Sikkim,[85] in 1788. Tribute was exacted by them from Tibet,

80 Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. IV, No. 1526.
81 *Ibid.*, Nos. 2048, 2049—November 20, 1775.
82 *Ibid.*, No. 2050.
83 Markham's Bogle, p. 191.
84 *Levi, Le Nepal*, Vol. II, p. 279.
85 Markham's Bogle, p. lxxvii.

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as we learn from Kirkpatrick's book, pp. 345-346. It was on this occasion that the Dalai Lama sent an embassy to Bengal [86] to which I drew attention in the Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission, 1930. Cornwallis apparently administered a rebuff to the Tibetan embassy which was followed by a breakdown in the northern intercourse.[87] In 1790, the Gurkhas again penetrated Tibet and sacked many places.[88] This provoked, however, a Chinese counter-intervention against the Gurkha invaders. Duncan, the Resident at Benares, had concluded a commercial treaty with Nepal in 1792.[89] Probably on the strength of this, Nepal in her turn appealed for English help against China. Cornwallis turned down [90] this application also as he had done the previous Tibetan overture. Kirkpatrick was sent, of course, on a mission of mediation, in 1792-1793, but evidently he came too late to produce much impression. The Chinese closed the passes leading from Nepal to Tibet and blocked the Gurkha progress to the north. The British had already blocked their southern expansion and Nepal, therefore, began to settle down within these limits.

[86] O. C. 27 of December 72, 1788.
[87] Markham's Bogle, p. lxxix.
[88] Turner's Account, pp. 440-42.
[89] Markham's Bogle, p. lxxvi.
[90] Kirkpatrick, p. 350.

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SUPPLEMENT

Exhibition Catalogue

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ASUTOSH MUSEUM OF INDIAN ART, CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

I. Excavations at Bangarh, Dt. Dinajpur, 1938-39

A. *Terra-cotta figurines, animal heads and toys*

(*C. 2nd Cent. B.C.—C. 4th Cent. A.D.*)

1. Terra-cotta head with turban (uṣṇīṣa) on
2. Terra-cotta head of a male figurine with turban (uṣṇīṣa) on
3. Torso of a female figurine
4. Torso of a female figurine
5. Fragment of female figurine
6. Torso of a female figurine
7. Head of male figurine
8. Lower part of the head of a human figure
9. Terra-cotta head of a ram
10. Terra-cotta head of a bull
11. Terra-cotta hen (rattle)
12. Upper portion of toy bird (headless) (Mediæval)
13. Terra-cotta head of a monkey (Mediæval)
14. Terra-cotta animal figurine
15. The upper arm of a terra-cotta human figure with the indication of upper garment
16. Torso of a human figurine
17. Terra-cotta animal figurine
18. Terra-cotta animal figurine
19. Lower part of a terra-cotta squat figurine.

B. *Clay sealing and terra-cotta medallions, etc.*

1. Clay sealing

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2. Terra-cotta medallion with the design of a cart
3. Terra-cotta medallion with incised decoration on both sides
4. Terra-cotta medallion with the figure of a peacock and flower.

C. *Coins*

1. Punch-marked circular coin (silver)
2. Punch-marked oblong coin (silver)
3. Oblong cast coin (copper)
4. Oblong cast coin (copper).

D. *Metal objects*

1. Copper stick
2. Copper stick
3. Pendant (lead).

E. *Miscellaneous objects*

1. Two fragments of gold amulet
2. A small ring of green paste
3. Fragment of terra-cotta bangle with decorative design
4. Fragment of a stone casket
5. Terra-cotta plumbing bob.

F. *Different types of beads of stone and other materials*

G. *Different types of pottery*

1. Jar
2. Decorated
3. Handled j
4. Narrow-mouthed vase
5. Narrow-mouthed vase
6. Narrow-mouthed round vase

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7. Small vase with a rib in the belly
8. Vase with prominent rib in the belly
9. Miniature round vase
10. Potters' dabber
11. Lamp
12. Potsherd with incised decoration
13. Black potsherd with incised circle
14. Potsherd with granular design.

H. *Ornamental bricks of different designs*

1. Elephant-head
2. Two bricks forming part of the head of an elephant
3. Fragment of a brick with the design of the head of a horse (?) within scroll
4. Fragment of a brick with the design of a deer and scroll
5. Brick with the design of the head of a bird
6. Brick with the design of a human head
7. Brick with the design of a deer
8. Fragment of a plaque with the leg of a human figure
9. Brick with floral design
10. Brick with lozenge design
11. Brick with stepped pyramid design
12. Brick with the design of a part of lotus
13. Brick with wavy design
14. Brick with stepped design for cornice
15. Brick with floral design
16. Brick with floral design
17. Brick with plant design
18. Brick with column design
19. Brick with column design
20. Brick in *amalaka* design
21. Fragment of brick with floral design
22. Fragment of brick with decorative design.

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II. Mathura Antiquities

[*Puranchand Nahar Collection*]

A. *Terra-cotta toys and miscellaneous objects*

1. Miniature cart wheel.
2. Round bead with five-point star ornament on two sides.
3. Decorated cone (probably an ear ornament).
4. Fragment of an ornament.
5. A ring.
6. A mould.
7. A seal matrix.
8. A fragment of a potsherd.

B. *Terra-cotta animal figurines*

9. Elephant head.
10. Running fox.
11. A mother elephant with baby.
12. Fragment of an elephant with rider.
13. Head of a monkey.
14. Ditto.
15. Ditto.
16. Ditto.

C. *Terra-cotta human figures, figurines, torsoes, etc.*

17. A grotesque human head, with bulging eyes and prominent teeth.
18. A head with flabby cheek.
19. A head with sunken eyes and fleshy cheek.
20. A head of a soldier with head-gear.
21. A head of a female figure with elaborate jewellery.
22. A head of a female figure with cone-like hair.
23. Ditto with coiled coiffure.
24. Ditto with top knot.
25. Ditto.
26. Ditto with a different type of top knot.

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27. A small head with a high coiffure.
28. A head with hair tucked up on the right ear.
29. A head with hair arranged as a cone over the left ear.
30. A head with a string of bead over the forehead.
31. A nicely modelled bead.
32. Ditto with peculiar arrangement of hair.
33. A head wearing high head-dress with sun-shade.
34. Ditto without sun-shade.
35. Ditto with a jewelled ribbon round the head-dress.
36. A head wearing a low helmet.
37. A big head with a parted beard and twisted hair.
38. A big head with profusely adorned coiffure.
39. A slightly damaged standing figure with a long necklace of beads.

[Note the Hellenistic influence in dress and modelling]

40. A seated figure of two-handed Ganeśa—legs missing.
41. A female figure seated with folded knees.
42. Fragment of a fat-bellied figure—seated in European fashion.
43. Fragment of a female figure with raised right arm, in Hellenistic costume.
44. Fragment of a standing female figure wearing-jewellery—legs only.
45. Fragment of a standing female figure with girdles—feet missing.
46. Fragment of a dwarfish figure.
47. Ditto with queer face.
48. Upper fragment of a female figure with ear and neck ornaments.
49. Upper fragment of a female figure in low relief.
50. Ditto with jewellery.
51. Ditto.
52. Ditto.

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53. Torso of a profusely bejewelled female figure.

54. Upper portion of a female figure with schematically arranged hair.

55. Torso of a female figure.

56. Fragment of a female figure wearing necklace and breast bands.

57. Fragment of a female figure wearing necklace and breast-bands.

58. Fragment of a female figure with elaborate jewellery.

59. Ditto with drapery.

60. Ditto.

D. *Stone statuettes, reliefs, etc.*

61. Red sand-stone head.

62. Ditto.

63. Red sand-stone head with schematically arranged hair.

64. Ditto

65. Head under foliage decoration.

66. Gaja-Lakṣmi.

67. Fragment of a statuette in the round with the right hand raised and the left with a staff.

68. Fragment of a human figure.

69. Fragment of a red sand-stone relief panel with a male and a female figure.

70. Fragment of a relief with a human figure and an animal.

III. Terra-cotta Toys, Fragments of Animal and Human Figurines Lamp-stands, Jewellery, Beads, etc., from Situpālagarh, near Dhauli

[*B. N. Roy Collection*]

1. A toy duck.

2. Toy Fantastic animal.

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3. Toy Fantastic animal.
4. Fantastic bird with long neck and beak (vulture).
5. Toy bird.
6. Fragment of a lamp-stand with attached lamp.
7. Fragment of a lamp-stand.
8. Small black pot.
9. Fragment of a saucer.
10. Fragment of a human figure seated cross-legged.
11. A terra-cotta locket with the bust of a human figure in relief.
12. Ditto
13. Ditto, with an elephant in relief.
14. Ditto, with a dancing elephant in high relief.
15. A toy stupa.
16. Toy ring.
17-22. Circular Ear studs.
23-26. Karṇapūras.
27-28. Peculiar ear ornament.
29. Chessman-like ornament.
30-35. Decorated cones.
36-39. Decorated ear-rings.
40-41. Pendants.
42-45. Terra-cotta heads.
46-47. Skin cleaners.
48-49. Circular stone ear studs.
50. Stone beads.

IV. Kiosk No. 1, Sculptures from Sundarban, S.-W. Bengal

[*Kalidas Dutt Collection*]

1. Double-sided chakra with Viṣṇu dancing on Garuḍa, from Sarishadaha (C. 11th Cent. A.D.).

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2. Six-handed Gaṇeśa dancing on a lotus, from Mayda (C. 11th Cent. A.D.).
3. Viṣṇu within a decorated niche from Manirtat (C. 10th Cent. A.D.).
4. Sarasvatī (feet and *vina* damaged) from lot No. 23 near the sea (C. 10th Cent. A.D.).
5. Umā-Maheśvara, from Raidighi near the sea (C. 9th Cent. A.D.).
6. Decorated slab with Nṛsiṁha killing Hiraṇyakaśipu, from Kuldia (C. 16th Cent. A.D.).
7. Navagraha slab, from Kankandighi (C. 11th Cent. A.D.).
8. Viṣṇu under snake hood, from Kakadwip (C. 12th Cent. A. D.)
9. Fragmentary figure of a Viṣṇu with an inscribed pilaster on either side (C. 11th Cent. A.D.).

V. Kiosk No. 2, Sculptures from Bihar, Majority Mediæval in date

[*Puranchand Nahar Collection*]

1. Miniature stupa with 4-seated Buddhas in decorative niches.
2. Viṣṇu, Ananta-śāyin.
3. Umā-Maheśvara.
4. Ditto.
5. Viṣṇu, standing, flanked by a male and a female figure.
6. Umā-Maheśvara.
7. Headless Umā seated with Kārttikeya on lap (Bengal).
8. Fragment [illegible] slab.
9. Standing male figure with staff and rosary.
10. Mañjuśrī, standing.
11. Female figure reclining, with Kārttikeya, Gaṇeśa, etc., on top.

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12. Crowned Buddha seated in Dharmachakra-pravartana *Mudrā* under a decorated niche.

13. Standing figure of a boy from Souripur, U. P. (C. 6th Cent. A.D.).

14. Pediment of a votive stupa with rows of Buddha figures.

15. Fragment of a Viṣṇu from Bengal.

16. Seated Padmapāṇi, inscribed.

17. Seated Gaṇeśa.

18. Seated Buddha from Gandhara (C. 2nd Cent. A.D.).

19. Buddha under a niche.

VI. Kiosk No. 3, Sculptures from Orissa—Figures of Virala, Nayika, Mithuna, Yamuna, etc.

[*Biren Roy Collection*]

VII. Terra-cotta Objects, mostly Mediæval, from Patna, Nalanda, etc.

[*Puranchand Nahar Collection*]

1. Fragment of a female figure with ear-pendants and neck-collar (Bulandibag, C. 1st Cent. A.D.).

2. Buddha in *Bhūmisparśamudrā* inside a shrine, with two lines of inscription below and impression of a stupa above.

3. Buddha in *Bhūmisparśamudrā* inside a shrine, no inscription.

4. Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi in *Lalitāsana*, with impression of a stupa above.

5. Buddha in *Bhūmisparśamudrā* inside a shrine, with two lines of inscription below and impression of a stupa above.

6. Sun-baked seal of trefoil shape, with the figure of a stupa in the centre flanked by three Mahāyāna Buddhist

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divinites. Solar disc and Lunar crescent on either side of the topmost figure.

7. Fragment of a human foot.

8. Fragment of a seated Gaṇeśa.

9. Fragment of a seal, with two figures on the right, and traces of inscriptions (C. 8th Cent. A.D.).

10. Fragment of a seal, with Vairochana in the centre with three other deities below, and traces of inscriptions (C. 8th Cent. A.D.).

11-16. Terra-cotta seals from Nalanda.

17. Votive tablet with chaitya.

18. Four lamps in a square tablet with lamp-stand.

19-20. Oil-lamps.

21. Fragment of a vase with incised decoration.

22. Jar.

23. Inkpot.

24. Fragment of a decorated brick.

25. Fragment of an elephant.

VIII. Fragments of Human Figurines, Statuettes, etc.

(from various parts of Northern India, mostly Mediæval)

[*Puranchand Nahar Collection*]

1. Standing figure of Viṣṇu.

2. Head of a female figure with curling hair, from Mathura (Late Gupta).

3. Fragment of a head with jewelled tiara and uṣṇīṣa, from Mathura.

4. Small head with jewelled crown, from Mathura.

5. Small head of Śiva, from Mathura.

6. Seated Buddha.

7. Avalokiteśvara.

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8. Viṣṇu.
9. Upper fragment of a male figure.
10. Chāmuṇḍā (?)
11. Head of Buddha, from U. P.
12. Ditto.
13. Torso of a crowned figure.
14. Fragment of a lion, from Mathura (Early Kusana).
15. Mother and child.
16. Fragment of a Nāyikā figure.
17. Fragment of a female figure, from Central India.
18. Viṣṇu-patta slab, from Bengal.
19. Four-handed divinity.
20. Manasā, from Bengal.

IX. Bigger Sculptures

[*Puranchand Nahar Collection*]

Bihar

1. Four handed Śiva with Pārvatī—6th century A. D.
2. Two-handed figure of Jyeṣṭhā seated crosslegged—7th century A.D.
3. Standing figure of six-handed Chaṇḍī—8th century A.D.
4. Standing figure of Viṣṇu—8th century A.D.
5. Ditto —9th century A.D.
6. Standing Surya with two queens, attendants, etc.—9th century A.D.
7. Two-handed Bṛihaspati (damaged)—9th century A.D.
8. Standing Buddha—9th century A.D.
9. Two-handed Surya standing on a lotus—9th century A.D.
10. Standing Viṣṇu—9th century A.D.

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11. Standing Avalokiteśvara—9th century A.D.

12. Buddha seated in *Bhūmisparśamudrā*—10th century A.D.

13. Six-handed Mañjuśrī—10th century A.D.

14. Buddha seated in Dharmachakra-pravartana-mudrā—10 century A.D.

15. Agni seated on ram, flames shown on the back-slab—10th century A.D.

16. Torso of Śiva with jaṭā-mukuta—10th century A.D.

17. Standing Buddha—11th centutry A.D.

Bengal

18. Surya from Kashipur (Sundarban)—c. 7th century A.D.

19. Double-sided slab from Howrah district with Surya and Brahmā—10th century A.D.

20. Viṣṇu from Hooghly district—c. 10th century A.D.

21. Ṛṣabhanātha from Sundarban—c. 10th century A.D.

22. Ditto from Rajshahi district—c. 11th century A.D.

23. Śiva-Bhairava from Dinajpur district—c. 11th century A.D.

24. Umā-Maheśvara from Rajshahi district—c. 11th century A.D.

25. Kārttikeya from Rajshahi district—c. 11th century A.D.

26. Viṣṇu from Murshidabad—12th century A.D.

27. Ditto from Hooghly district—12th century A.D.

X. Bronzes

1. Bronzes from Bengal.

2. Bronzes from Orissa (*B. N. Roy Collection*).

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3. Bronzes from Bihar (*P. C. Nahar Collection.*

4. Two bronze figures of Buddha and one figure of Umā-Maheśvara (*D.C. Sen Collection*).

*XI. PAINTINGS

[*Puranchand Nahar Collection*]

Portraits

1. Prithviraj, the last Hindu King of Delhi ... ... (Rajput)
2. Prithviraj, hunting tiger ... (Rajput)
3. Mahmud of Ghazni ... (Mughal)
4. Tamer Lane (*K. S. Nahar Collection*) ... ... (Mughal—later phase)
5. Timur Shah (*K. S. Nahar Collection*) ... (Mughal—later phase)
6. Humayun ... ... (Mughal—later phase)
7. Akbar with Mansingh, Birbal and Mulla Dupyaji ... (Rajput)
8. Akbar and Birbal ... (Rajput)
9. Akbar and his Librarian ... (Mughal—later phase)
10. Jahangir ... (Rajput)
11. Jahangir ... ... (Mughal—later phase)
12. Jahangir and Nurjahan on horseback ... (Mughal)
13. Aurangzib (*K. S. Nahar Collection*) ... (Mughal—later phase)
14. Princess Zebunnisa, daughter of Aurangzib ... (Mughal)
15. Emperor Farrukhshiyar listening to music ... (Mughal—later phase)
16. Ahmad (*K. S. Nahar Collection*) ... (Mughal—later phase)

* The Exhibition Committee regrets that owing to the shortness of time it was not possible to arrange the Painting exhibits in chronological order.

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17. Alikabar (Alamgir II ?) (*K. S. Nahar Collection*) ... (Mughal—later phase)
18. Akbar II (*K. S. Nahar Collection*) ... ... (Mughal—later phase)
19. Ahmad Shah Durrani ... (Mughal)
20. Salawat Jung ... (Rajput)
21. Asfuddoulah, Nawab of Oudh
22. Asfuddoulah, Nawab of Oudh (Lucknow)
23. Wazid Ali Shah, Nawab of Oudh ... ... (Lucknow)
24. Prince Mohammed Mokeem, grandson of Tipu Sultan
25. Nawab Kamaraddi Shah ... (Mughal—later phase)
26. Munshi Sajai Kashid ... (Mughal—later phase)
27. Raja Mansingh and his Guru (Rajput)
28. Birbal ... ... (Rajput)
29. Maharaja Sardar Singh ... (Rajput)
30. Maharao Ramsingh ... (Rajput)
31. Maharaja Sursingh of Bikanir ... ... (Rajput)
32. Maharaja Raysingh ... (Rajput)
33. Jinabhakta Suri, a Jaina saint ...
34. Portraits of Jaina Saints
35. Prince on horseback ... (Rajput)
36. A portrait ... ... (Rajput)
37. A portrait ... (Mughal—later phase)
38. A portrait ... (Mughal—later phase)
39. A portrait (inscribed) ... (Mughal)
40. A portrait bust ... (Rajput)
41. A Rajput chief ... (Rajput)
42. Portrait miniatures on ivory (6 portraits)
43. Portrait miniatures on ivory (6 portraits)

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44. Portrait miniatures on ivory (5 portraits).
45. Portrait painted on glass.
46. Portrait painted on glass (Nana Fadnavis?)
47. Portrait painted on glass
48. Portrait painted on glass
49. Portrait painted on glass

Rāgiṇī Paintings

50.	Rāgiṇī Ṭoḍī ...	... (Kangra)	
51.	Rāgiṇī Kānaḍā	... (Rajput)	*K. S. Nahar Collection*
52.	Rāgiṇī Meghamallāra	... (Rajput)	
53.	Rāgiṇī Kāmoda	... (Rajput)	
54.	Rāgiṇī Kakubha	... (Rajput)	
55.	Rāgiṇī Paṭamañjarī	... (Rajput)	
56.	Rāgiṇī Mālavī	... (Rajput)	
57.	Rāgiṇī Pūravī	... (Rajput)	
58.	Rāgiṇī Guṇakeli	... (Rajput)	
59.	Rāg Pañchama	... (Rajput)	
60.	Rāg Gauḍamallāra	... (Rajput)	
61.	Rāgiṇī Gurjari Meghamallāra	(Rajput)	
62.	Rāgiṇī Khāmbāja	... (Rajput)	
63.	Rāgiṇī Bhairavī	... (Rajput)	
64.	Rāg Deva-gāndhāra	... (Rajput)	
65.	Rāgiṇī Lalita	... (Rajput)	
66.	Rāgiṇī Vairāṭī	... (Rajput)	
67.	Rāg Vasanta	... (Rajput)	
68.	Rāgiṇī Malanakapachchhi (?)	(Rajput)	
69.	Rāgiṇī Bibhāsa	... (Rajput)	
70.	Rāg Śrī-rāga	... (Rajput)	
71.	Rāg Mālakoṣa	... (Rajput)	

Jain Paintings

72. Twenty-four Tirthaṇkaras.

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73. Sameta Sikhara.
74-79. Scenes from the lives of Jain Tirthaṅkaras (from Kalpa-sūtra).
80. Indian Military Review ... (Rajput)
81. Galta Ghat of Jaipur ... (Rajput)

Specimans of Calligraphy

82. Illuminated Calligraphy ...
83. ,, ,,
84. Illustrations from MS. ... (Persian)
85. ,, ,, ... (Persian)
86. ,, ,, ... (Persian)
87. ,, ,, ... (Persian)
88. ,, ,, ... (Persian)
89. ,, ,, ... (Persian)

Scenes from the Shah Nama

90. Illustrations from the Shah Nama ... ... (Persian)
91. ,, ,, ... (Persian)
92. ,, ,, ... (Persian)
93. ,, ,, (Rustom Killing Azdaha) ... (Rajput)

The Indian Months

94. Jyaiṣṭha ... ... (Rajput)
95. Āṣāḍha ... ... ,,
96. Śrāvaṇa ... ... ,,
97. ,, ... ,,
98. Pauṣa ... ... ,,
99. Chaitra ... ... ,,

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100. A lady ... ... (Persian)
101. A saint attended by ladies... (Mughal)
102. Prince and Princess ... (Mughal)
103. ,, ,, ... (Mughal)
104. A lady and her deer ... (Mughal)
105. Dewali fireworks ... (Mughal)
106. Evening—Prince on terrace (Mughal)
107. Royal seraglio ... (Mughal)
108. Hindu Cosmography ... (Rajput)
109. Gaṇeśa with Ṛddhi, Siddhi and attendants ... (Rajput)
110. Rāma in the exile with Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa ... (Rajput)
111. Bharata worshipping Rāma's wooden sandals ... (Rajput)
112. Prince and Princess in Holi festival ... ... (Rajput)
113. Bathing scene ... ... (Rajput)
114. Dhola Marwan (Hero lovers) (Rajput)
115. Hara-Pārvatī in Kailāsa ... (Rajput)
116. A lady ... ... (Rajput)
117. Sleeping lady and her lover... (Rajput)
118. A Yogini singing before a Rajput Chief ... (Rajput)
119. Hunting scene... ... (Rajput)
120. Bathing scene ... ... (Rajput)
121. A lady in toilet ... (Rajput)
122. A lady worshipping ... (Rajput)
123. A lady with a sword ... (Rajput)
124. Stealing of lover ... (Rajput)
125. Kṛṣṇa holding mount Govardhana ... (Rajput)
126. A lady with birds ... (Kangra)
127. Prince and Princess listening to music ... ... (Kangra)

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128. Toilet scene ... ... (Kangra)
129. A lady with her attendants... (Kangra)
130. Painting on mica executed during the time of the East India Company—
   (*a*) Procession of the Goddess Kālī.
   (*b*) Elephant fight.
   (*c*) Hunting scene.

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2

CENTRAL ASIAN ANTIQUITIES MUSEUM, NEW DELHI

Four Wooden Tablets from Niya, Central Asia

Wood as Writing Material in Ancient Central Asia

Wood was the most commonly used material in Central Asia for writing on before the use of paper was known to the Chinese about the early 2nd century A.D., and remained as the official writing material down to the end of the 3rd century A.D. Official documents and communications of a confidential nature are inscribed on double tablets, "Wedge-shaped" or "rectangular." The text, written in lines parallel to the upper long side of the wedge, occupies the smoothened obverse of the under tablet and is protected by the covering tablet, which serves as an envelope. Whenever the length of the communtcation required it, the writing was continued on the reverse of the covering tablet in such a way that, with the latter turned back, the whole of the text could be seen simultaneously. The text on the wedge-shaped documents begins with *Mahanuava maharaya lihati*, which means "His Excellency the Great King writes," and that on rectangular tablets opens with a full date (*Samvatsare*) followed by the name and titles. The address and name of the person entrusted with it are written on the obverse of the covering tablet and near the hole on the upper piece of wedge-shaped tablet is the usual formula *dadavo*, meaning "to be given to." The reverse of the under tablet of wedge-shaped type bears the name of the messenger while that of rectangular one is ordinarily left blank.

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The tablets are encircled by a hemp string embedded in the clay seal packed into the rectangular socket cut on the upper tablet. This ingenious device insures the documents against unauthorised scrutiny and tampering and is analogous to the present-day sealing of letter-covers.

Twigs, stick-like tablets, single rectangular and *takhti*-shaped tablets are used for memos, accounts and other unimportant communications. The script most commonly used in the documents is Kharosthi and the language an early Prakrit, showing a considerable admixture of garbled Sanskrit terms. The elucidation of these records reveals the antiquarian interest possessed by many of these documents.

3

PATNA STATE, EASTERN STATES AGENCY

I. *Copper coins*

1-14.	Bull and Horseman type. No legend. Probably belong to Ohind ...	14
15-17.	Bull and Horseman type. Alau-d-din Masud Shah (A.D. 1241-46). Legend—*Suritana Sri Atachina*, Other side—*Sri Hamira* ...	3
18-22.	Copper coins of some mediæval dynasty of Northern India. Bull and horseman type. No legend ...	5
23-24.	Chauhan (?). Bull and horseman type. Legend—*Samanta* only ...	2

II. *Copper plate grants*

1-4.	Copper plate grants having 3 sheets each	4

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

III. Album containing photographs of ancient temples, inscriptions, etc.

The album contains the following photographs :—

PAGE.

1. View of the main temple, Ranipur-Jharial.
2. The brick temple do
3. East view of the Hillocks do
4. West view of the hillocks and Lotus tank, Ranipur-Jharial.
5. Central Statues of the Chosatyogini Ranipur-Jharial.
6. North view of the hillocks do
7. Rani Mahal at Ranipur-Jharial.
8. Mahadev temple on Kumuda Dangar, Titilagarh.
9. South view of the hillocks, Ranipur-Jharial.
10. (1) Distant view of the temple and Lotus tank, Titilagarh.
    (2) Ruins of temples, Ranipur-Jharial.
11. (1) Brick temple at Kaisil village, Ranipur-Jharial.
    (2) Original Sakti and Linga of the main temple at Bangomunda, Ranipur-Jharial.
12. Statues of the Chosatyogini, Ranipur-Jharial (two pieces).
13. do. do. do.
14. do. do. do.
15. do. do. do.
16. do. do. (three pieces)
17. (1) do. do.
    (2) Group of temples on the hillocks, Ranipur-Jharial.
    (3) do. do. do.
18. Inscriptions on a flat rock, do.
19. Inscriptions on a standing rock, Ranipur-Jharial (three pieces).
20. Inscriptions inside the main temple, Ranipur-Jharial (eight pieces).

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21. Inscriptions inside the main temple, Ranipur-Jharial (eight pieces).

22. (1) Inscription of the old palace at Patnagarh.

(2) do. do. do.

23. Inscription on a flat rock, Ranipur-Jharial.

4

KUMAR DEBENDRANATH RAI, KUNJAGHATA

1. Letter of Maharaja Nanda Kumar in his own handwriting to his son Raja Gurudas Gourpati Bahadur ; the letter contains some historical facts.

2. One old Kabala.

3. One ivory box presented by Nawab Sirajdoula to Maharaja Nanda Kumar.

4. One dagger presented by the Emperor Shah Alam to Raja Gurudas, son of Maharaja Nanda Kumar, as *Khilat* when he was granted the title of Raja Bahadur by him with two thousand cavalry and three thousand infantry and Nokara Danke and Jhalardar *Palki*, the sanad of which was presented to the Victoria Memorial Hall.

5. One stick of very old fashion used by Maharaja Nanda Kumar.

6. The painting of Historical House of Maharaja Nanda Kumar where Lord Curzon erected a memorial medallion for the commemoration of Maharaja Nanda Kumar.

7. The photo of the original painting of Lord Gauranga, which was presented to Maharaja Nanda Kumar by his Family Guru, Srinibas Acharyya of Malihati.

8. The painting of the only present representative of Maharaja Nanda Kumar.

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5

R. SUBBA RAO, Esq., M.A., L.T., RAJAHMUNDRY

1. A set of three copper plates of the Eastern Chulukya King Vijayaditya II.

2. A set of three copper plates with ring and seal of the Eastern Ganga King Trikalingadhipati Indravarma.

3. Two photographs of Buddhist sculptures found at Ramiredipalli, Kistna District.

4. Palmyrah leaf manuscript of the Padmanaika Charita.

5. Cowl granted to Raja Kandregula Sreenivasa Rao Jaggernat Bahadur Mazumdar and Sur Sirstadar of Rajahmundry Circar. Signed by Josias Dupre, Warren Hastings, John Smith and six others and dated 12th April, 1771.

6. Letter, dated 13th July, 1773, bearing the seals and signatures of the President and Council of Fort St. George, addressed to K. Venkatrayulu, confirming his offices.

7. Letter, dated 25th September, 1769, bearing a Persian seal and signed by Bouchier, confirming the grant of Nizamuddaulah and ordering Zamindars to recognise his rights.

8. Letter to C. Venkatrao Jaggernat Bahadur, signed by Charles Smith and Members of the Council at Fort St. George, re-instating him in his former offices.

9 and 10. Two letters of John Pybus, requesting Jogi Pantulu to negotiate with Nizam Ali regarding renting of the 5 Circars.

11. Eight gold coins of the Eastern Ganga Kings of Kalinga.

12. Nine Andhra lead coins of the 1st century A.D.

13. Eight Mughal silver coins.

14. One gold coin of Krishna Deva Raya of Vijaynagar.

15. One gold coin of Yadava King Ramchandra.

16. One gold coin of Kakatiya Pratapa Rudra.

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6

HARIHOR SETT, Esq., CHANDERNAGORE

1. Cannon Balls used by Clive.
2. Ghiretta House (picture).
3. Fort de Orleans (picture).
4. Chandernagore before 1756 (map).
5. Oldest plan of Chandernagore.

7

PRINCIPAL, CALCUTTA MADRASSAH

1. Bhagavad Gita (Persian) For Painting and Calligraphy.

2. Hadiqatul of Haqiqat. /14/42. Illuminated Persian Manuscript. Fine Naskh.

3. Ajaibal Bilad. Persian /13/1. Illuminated Naskh on coloured paper.

4. Khansa-i-Nizami. Persian /13/11. Illuminated fine Calligraphy.

5. Qissa-i-Jawahair. Persian /12/23.

6. Waqiat-i-Kashmir. /13/33. Illuminated Persian manuscript.

8

IMPERIAL LIBRARY, CALCUTTA

1. An old Persian Map of Grand Trunk Road from Delhi to Kandahar.

2. Panorama of the City of Lahore.

3. Eighteen pictures relating to old Army system in the days of John Company.

4. A letter congratulating the Governor General on the fall of Delhi and complete suppression of the rebels (Indian Sepoy Mutiny).

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5. A letter, dated 21st July, 1863, from Bharpur Singh to Lord Elgin presenting a data of fruits, etc.

6. Impressions of Emperor Shah Jehan's hand, seal, etc,

7. A sketch of most of that part of Calcutta Town inhabited by the English in 1756.

9

DHIR SINGH NAHAR, Esq., CALCUTTA

Terra-cotta objects from Rajgir, Bihar

1. Medallion bearing six-handed figure of Mañjuśrī.
2. Bell pattern Stupa.
3. Miniature medallion bearing phallic emblem of Śiva between two trees with inscription (*Pādapeśva-sya*) below in Brahmī Script of the 3rd-4th Century A.D.
4. Medallion bearing Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi.
5. Stupa pattern.
6. Object with seal impressions on two sides—

(*a*) Dharmachakra with three-line inscription below (*Śri-Nalāndā-mahāvihāriyā....Sanghasya*).

(*b*) Mañjuvara seated on roaring lion with an inscription below.

7. Medallion bearing a standing figure of Tārā with a lotus in her left hand—inscriptions on two sides.
8. Tablet with the representation of the Great Miracle of Srāvastī.
9. Large medallion bearing Buddha in *Bhūsparśa-mudrā* inside a miniature shrine.

Stone Sculpture

10. A black basalt image of Hevajra, 11th-12th Century A.D.

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10

MAYURBHANJ STATE

A. *Coins*

1. Copper Kushan Coins.
2. Copper Puri Kushan Coins.
3. Gold Gupta Coins.
4. Gold Ganga Coins.

B. *Palm-leaf paintings*

5. Illustrated Amaru Sataka.
6. Illustrated Vaidehaisa Vilasa.

C. *Sanads of the rulers of Mayurbhanj*

7. Paper Sanad of Maharaja Krishna Bhanja Deva, 1660.
8. Paper Sanad of Trivikrama Bhanja Deva, 1660-1688.
9. Paper Sanad of Maharaja Sarvesvara Bhanja Deva, 1688-1711.
10. Paper Sanad of Maharaja Biravikramaditya Bhanja Deva, 1711-1728.
11. Paper Sanad of Maharaja Raghunatha Bhanja Deva, 1728-1750.
12. Paper Sanad of Maharaja Chakradhara Bhanja Deva, 1750-1761.
13. Paper Sanad of Maharaja Damodara Bhanja Deva, 1761-1796.
14. Palm-leaf Sanad of Maharani Sumitra Bhanja, first wife of Maharaja Damodara Bhanja Deva, 1796-1810.
15. Paper Sanad of Maharaja Trivikrama Bhanja Deva, 1810-1828.
16. Paper Sanad of Maharaja Jadunatha Bhanja Deva, 1828-1863.
17. Paper Sanad of Maharaja Srinatha Bhanja Deva, 1863-1868.
18. Paper Sanad of Maharaja Krishna Chandra Bhanja Deva, 1868-1882.

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DACCA MUSEUM

1. The Gunaighar plate of Vainya Gupta.
2. The Ghugrahati plate of Samachara Deva.
3. The Chittagong plate of Kanti Deva.
4. The Kedarpur plate of Srichandra.
5. The Dhulla plate of Srichandra.
6. The Samantasar plate of Harivarmma,
7. The Vajrayogini plate of Samalavarmma.
8. The Belava plate of Bhojavarmma.
9. The Madanpur plate of Visvarupa Sena.
10. The Adavadi plate of Dasaratha Deva.

12

SARADASRAM, YEOTMAL, C. P.

A. *The impressions of inscriptions and other antiquities*

1. Koyar Stone inscription of the 2nd century A.D.
2. Photographs of the copper plates of Vakataka King Vindhyasakti of the 4th century A.D.
3. Stone inscriptions of Mārkaṇḍa temple in C. P. belonging to the 5th century A.D. (3 in number).
4. Stone inscriptions at Bhandak in C. P. of the 10th century A.D. (2 in number).
5. Stone inscriptions at Lonar in Berar, 11th century A.D.
6. Stone inscriptions at Barsi Takli in Berar, 10th century A.D.
7. Stone inscription in Pusad Taluq in Berar, 12th century A.D.
8. Stone inscription at Nandagaun Khandeswar in Berar, 12th century A.D.

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9. Stone inscription at Markanda in C. P., 12th century A.D.

10. Stone inscription at Jayanada in Nizam State, 12th century A.D.

11. Stone inscription at Unakeswar, 13th century A.D.

12. Photographs of seals of the 4th century A.D., found at Mahurgari in Nagpur district.

13. Photographs of the statue of Rāma unearthed recently at Unara railway station, G.I.P., in Berar.

14. Photograph of Mārkaṇḍa temple, C. P., approximately of the 6th century A.D.

B. *Historical documents*

Satara Rajas

15. Original orders by Sahu Maharaj of Satara (4 in number).

16. A list of Darbar Nazranas of the time of Shahu Maharaj.

Peshwas of Poona

17. Letters and orders in original by Balaji Vishvanath, Madhav Rao I, Madhav Rao Narayan (about 10 in number).

18. Original letter of Maratha general Visaji Krishna.

19. Letters of Vakeel of Deokote Sardar from Poona (3 in number).

Rajas of Nagpur

20. Orders in original by Raghoji I, Raghoji II, Mudhoji, Sahaji and Janoji (10 in number).

Mughal Emperors

21. The Farmans of Shahjahan, Aurangjeb, Mahammad Shah and other Emperors (8 in number).

22. Orders by the first Nizam and his successors (6 in number).

23. The revenue accounts of the Perganas in the reign of Aurangjeb (3 in number).

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24. The Kharita with the seals of the Mughal Emperor, and Madhav Narayan (2 in number).

25. A Persian manuscript belonging to the Nabobs of Ellichpur containing the divan of Asafjah and other works.

13

O. C. GANGULY, Esq., CALCUTTA

1. Portrait of a Chief (Kangra).

1-2. Two palm leaf manuscripts of "Visuddhi Magga" in gold letters (from Siam).

14

PRABODHKUMAR DAS, Esq., CALCUTTA

Manuscripts recovered by Late Rai Saratchandra Das, Bahadur

3. One palm leaf manuscript of "Dhammapada" in gold letters (from Siam).

4. One Tibetan manuscript of "Kah Bab Dun" (from Tashilumpo).

5. One Tibetan manuscript of "Yig Kur Nam Shag" (from Lhasa).

15

PROFESSOR M. MAHFUZ-UL HAQ, M.A., PRESIDENCY COLLEGE, CALCUTTA

A. *Manuscripts*

1. A copy of 'Attār's *Tadhkirat-ul Awliyā*, or the 'Biography of Saints,' written in beautiful *Naskh* in the 9th century *Hijra*. This valuable copy once belonged to the library of 'Abdur Rahim Khān Khānkhānān, the great general of the Emperor Akbar, whose autograph note it bears.

2. A copy of 'Ali Yazdī's very rare *Hulal-al-Mutarraz* (written in fine *Nastalīq*), which once belonged to the Barīd

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Shāhī Kings of Bīdar (1492-1609). On the occupation of Bīdar by Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shah II of Bijāpūr, the manuscript entered the library of the 'Ādil Shāhī Kings and was later taken away by the Emperor Aurangzeb in 1686.

3. A copy of Sana'ī's *Hadiqat ul-Haqīqat*, transcribed by Saiyyid Jamal bin Muhammad al-Husaynī, a talented calligraphist of the 10th century *Hijra*. The manuscript once belonged to the library of Prince Parwīz, an elder brother of the Emperor Shāhjahān, whose seal it bears.

4. A beautiful copy of the *Khamsa*, or the 'Five Poems' of Nizāmi (died 1202 A.D.), transcribed by Mīr Jamshīd, son of Mir Fattū of Kashmir, in Rabi'al-Awwal, 1009 *Hijra* (1600 A.D.).

5. A copy of the very rare *Dīwān* of Nawwāb Shukrullāh, *Khaksar*, a Mughal grandee of the Emperor Aurangzīb, containing additions and corrections in the handwriting of the poet himself.

6. An autograph copy of the *Bayāz* of Mirzā Muhammad Bakhsh, *Āshūb*, an Indian poet who died in *Hijra* 1199 (1784 A.D.).

7. A fine copy of the *Yūsuf Zulaikha* of Jāmi (died 998 A.H., 1492 A.D.). The manuscript is written in beautiful *Nasta'līq*. Not dated; apparently 16th century.

8. A copy of the versified Persian version of the *Rāmāyana*, made by Mullā Masīh of Panīpat during the reign of the Emperor Jahangir. Copied at Hyderabad in 1237 A.H. (1821 A.D.).

9. Another copy of the versified Persian version of the *Rāmāyana*, made by Amānat Rāy, an employee of Rahīm-un-Nisā Begam of Delhi. He completed the work in 1168 A.H. (1754 A.D.)

B. Specimens of Calligraphy

10. A *Waslī* copied by Mir 'Ali al-Katib, the court calligraphist of Timurids of Persia (died about 957 A.H.).

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11. A *Waslī* copied by Mīr 'Alī al-Husaynī, a celebrated calligraphist of the 16th century.

12. A *Waslī* signed by Sultān 'Ali of Mashhad who is acknowledged to have brought the art of *Nast'alīq* calligraphy to its highest perfection (died about 921 A.H.).

13. A *Waslī* transcribed by Mālik ad-Daylamī, the teacher of Mīr 'Imad, the greatest calligraphist of Persia.

14. A *Waslī* transcribed by Saiyyid 'Alī al-Husaynī, who came to India at the instance of the Emperor Shahjahan to train Aurangzīb in the art of calligraphy. The Emperor Aurangzib conferred on him the title of *Jawāhir Raqam*. The *Waslī* is dated Isfahān, 1058 A.H.

15. An illuminated page from a Persian manuscript written in beautiful *Naskh*.

16. A *Waslī* transcribed by Muhammad Qāsim, a well-known Persian calligraphist of the 16th century.

17. A *Waslī* copied by Mīrzā Muhammad, a calligraphist of the court of the Emperor Jahāngīr.

18. A *Waslī* copied by 'Abdur Rashīd ad-Daylamī, the teacher of Prince Dārā Shikūh. The *Waslī* contains a well-known Quatrain of 'Umar Khayyām.

19. A *Waslī* copied by 'Abdur Rahīm *Shīrīn Qalam*, the celebrated calligraphist, on whom the Emperor Jahāngīr conferred the title of *'Ambarīn Qalam*. The *Waslī* is dated 1025 A.H.

20. A *Waslī* copied by *Darwish*, the celebrated *Shikasta* calligraphist of Persia.

21. A *Waslī* copied by Muhammad Fāiq, a calligraphist of the time of the Emperor Aurangzib.

22. A *Waslī* copied by Hāfiz Nūrullāh, a calligraphist of Nawwāb Āsafuddaulah of Oudh.

23. *Waslī* copied by Hāfiz Muhammad Ibrāhīm of Lucknow, a pupil of Hāfiz Nūrullāh.

24. A specimen of *Tughrā* calligraphy, dated 1057 *Hijra* (1646 A.D.).

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25. A *Wasli* copied by Mansā Rām, a well-known calligraphist of Lucknow.

26. A *Wasli* copied by Parem Sukh, a calligraphist of Lucknow.

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VANGIYA SAHITYA PARISHAD, CALCUTTA

Autographs

1. Poet Bharat Chandra Ray's application, with Maharaja Krishna Chandra Ray's order on it.
2. A deed of gift signed by Rani Bhavani Devi.
3. Manuscript of Indian Economic History by R. C. Dutt.
4. Manuscript of collection of Bengali works by Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar.
5. Rammohan Roy's signature on a draft.
6. Manuscript of a page of "Sadhabar Ekadasi" by Dinabandhu Mitra.
7. Notes on miscellaneous subjects by Raja Rajendralala Mitra.
8. Old painting, from Vishnupur.
9. Do. Do.
10. Do. Do.
11. An illustrated leaf from a manuscript.
12. Illustrated wooden manuscript cover.

War-material

13. A Canon-ball found in the ruins of Raja Pratapaditya's palace at Jashohara.

Document

14. Sale of a man—a deed.

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DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN INDIA, NEW DELHI

1. *Khamsa* (Five poems) of Nizami, a Persian manuscript copied in the year 955 A.H. (A.D. 1547-48). The copy is illustrated with beautiful miniatures in Persian style and contains the royal seals of the Emperors Babar, Akbar, Aurangzeb and Muhammad Shah.

2. *Khamsa* (Five poems) of Nawai, a manuscript in Turkish language. It contains one picture and bears an autograph of the Emperor Humayun with the date 960 A.H. (A.D. 1552-53).

18

BAHADUR SINGH SINGHI, Esq., CALCUTTA

Copper Plates

1. Alas Plates of the *Yuvaraja* Govinda II, son of the Rashtrakuta King Krishnaraja I, Saka 692.

2. Elapura Grant of Western Chalukya Vijayaditya, Saka 626.

3. Indore (C. I.) Grant of the *Maharaja* Svamidasa, G. 67—A.D. 475.

4. Indore (C. I.) Grant of *Maharaja* Bhulunda. G. 107—A.D. 425.

5. Cambay (Gujarat, Bombay Presidency) Plates of the Rashtrakuta King Govind III, Saka 852.

6. Baroda (Bombay Presidency) Plates of the Rashtrakuta King Dhruva II, Saka 793.

7. Gujarat Plates of the Rashtrakuta Chief Dantivarman, Saka 789.

8. Two Valabhi Plates without seals.

9. South-India Plates of Harihara II of the Vijaynagar dynasty.

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10. Kharepatan (Bombay Presidency) Plates of the Silahara Chief Rattaraja, Saka 930.

Farmans

11. Farman granted by Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar Shah Badsha Ghazi to Bhagwan Kanungo of the Subah of Bengal when he presented himself in the Imperial presence, in recognition of his loyalty, faithfulness and best services, confirming his appointment of the office of Kanungo which he held and issuing the Imperial edict to all concerned to work in collaboration with him and also to take his decisions in all affairs concerning the land affairs of the Subah and granting the sum of Rupees Two thousand seven hundred and fifty and Seven thousand Bighas of cultivable land in Mahal Monoharshahi as reward besides the customs due and available to the Kanungo; dated the 7th day of the month of Aban-e-Ellahi in the Regnal year 36 equivalent to 11 Zilhaj, Hijri year 999.

Bearing the seal of the Emperor.

Reverse

Entry of the Prime Minister Saif-al-din Fateh Khan, Paymaster-General Shaikh Farid Khan and Raja Todarmal.

Bearing seals of Farid Khan, Asaf Khan and Todarmal.

12. Farman granted by Abul Fateh Nasir-al-din Mahammad Shah Bahadur Badshah Ghazi, in regard to the office of Kanungoi of half the province of Bengal, fallen vacant on the death of Darp Narain, to which his son Ishwar Narain, like the deceased, on the acceptance of Peshkash of Rupees Ten lakhs by the Imperial Court, was appointed, with the same privileges as before and with the order that he shall carry on fully the duties assigned to that office; dated 17th Safar in the Regnal year 8.

Bearing the seal of the Emperor.

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Reverse

Bears the seals of Minister Emad-al-dowlah Qumar-al-din Khan Chin Bahahur Nusarat Jung and Raja Amar Singh, son of Raja Raghunath.

13. Farman granted by Abu Nasar Moin-al-din Muhammad Akbar Shah II, Emperor of Delhi, conferring honour on Syed Jafar Ali Khan Bahadur by bestowing upon him the title of Zulfekar-al-dowlah Muzaffar Jung and ordering the Imperial Princes, Wazirs and all concerned to use this style in addressing the aforesaid Khan. Granted on 27th day of Zilhaj in the Regnal year 1.

Bearing the seal of the Emperor.

14. Farman granted by Abu Nasar Moin-al-din Muhammad Akbar Shah II, Emperor of Delhi, conferring on Muhammad Taqui Khan the title of Bahadur Bahram Jung and on Syed Muhammad Khan the title of Iquidar-al-dowlah Bahadur Karim Jung and on Syed Matlab Khan the title of Mukram-al-dowlah Bahadur Asad Jung and on Syed Muhammad Reza Khan the title of Fakhr-al-dowlah Bahadur Shumsher Jung and on Syed Muhammad Hadi Khan the title of Imtiaz-al-dowlah Bahadur Bahadur Jung and on Syed Ashkari Khan the title of Nusrat-al-dowlah Bahadur Munir Jung and directing the Royal Princes and the Ministers and the grandees of eminence and all concerned with the Imperial Court as also the administrators of the provinces to conform submissively to the Imperial order hereby given at an auspicious moment under the Imperial seal on the 8th of Safar-al-Muzaffar in the Regnal year 11.

Bearing the seal of the Emperor.

As by this one Farman titles have been conferred on six different personages of the Emperor's Court, it is presumed that this Farman is a Court copy for preservation in the Imperial archives and also to be used for the purpose of

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proclamation from the Grand staircase of the Jumma-Musjid on the day of the conferment of the titles.

15. Farman granted by Ghazi-al-din Haider, Nawab of Lucknow, granting on his accession to the throne an annuity of Rupees Two thousand four hundred to the divine Moulvie Syed Muhammad Baker and Moulvie Syed Muhammad Sadeq, sons of the great divine Moulvie Syed Muhammad Saheb with effect from the 28th Rabi-ul-awal Hijri year 1248.

Bearing the seal of the Emperor.

Arabic and Persian Manuscripts

16. QURAN SARIFF. Calligraphed in Nasq character in Nairez style with illuminated frontispiece in Gold and Lapislazuli. The script, all through, is in 3 colours, blue, black and gold. This is evidently a pre-Akbar manuscript. It bears the seals at the end of—

Arshad Khan, a grandee of the Court of Shah Alam Badshah.

This book was given as a reward to Syed Salabat Khan, another grandee of the Court, on the seventh of Rajab-ul-Murajjab in the Regnal year 4 of the Emperor Shah Alam.

17. DIWAN-E-SHAHI. The author of this book, Aga Malik bin Jamal-al-din Firoz Kohi, whose poetical title was "Shahi," was a native of Sabzwar in Khorashan. Besides being a distinguished poet, "Shahi" was very well skilled in calligraphy, painting and music. He found a patron and rfiend in the learned Prince Mirza Bayshanghar, the grandson of Amir Timur. He died in 1454 A.D.

On the first page there are some very important and historic endorsements and seal-marks which have given this manuscript a close association with the Royal Mughal house of Shah Jahan.

The seal-mark of Shah Jahan has unfortunately been rubbed out by some mischievous hand, but just below it

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"Sahib Qiran Sani Ghazi" (The second Lord of felicity, the King-Champion of faith), the title of Shah Jahan is written.

In 1640 Jahan-ara-Begum, the favourite daughter of Shah Jahan, wrote a few lines in praise of a saint, at the end of which she has styled herself "Ummat-al-Faniah Jahan-ara-Begum ibn Hazarat Saheb Qiran Sani Khuld Allahu Mulkahu Khams Shawal San 14" (The daughter of mortality Jahan-ara-Begum, the daughter of His Majesty the second Lord of Felicity, may God perpetuate his kingdom; dated the 5th Shawal of the 14th year of accession).

In the centre of the coloured panel in the middle of the first page there is an impression of the signet of Dara Sukoh, the eldest son of Emperor Shah Jahan. Below the seal the Prince has written in his own hand a few lines in Arabic and a verse in Persian composed by the Prince himself. In concluding the endorsement the Prince writes, "The humble and worthless Mohammad Dara Sukoh, son of the Second Lord of Felicity (Shah Jahan). May God perpetuate his Kingdom; (written) in the 18th year (of accession of Shah Jahan)."

At the end of the book there is also a seal-impression of Prince Dara Sukoh. On the margin of several pages there are notes and quotations in the handwriting of Prince Dara Sukoh of his own composition. This book was calligraphed by Khwaja Saleh which is mentioned in the Colophon.

The last page contains a picture probably of "Shahi" the poet.

18. SHAH NAMA. An illuminated manuscript copy of the work of Abul Quasim Mansur with the poetical name of Firdausi of Tus (A. H. 321-411).

This manuscript was transcribed by Mir-Ali-al-Katib (died 950 A.H.) who lived in the Court of Abdullah Khan Uzbeg of Bokhara.

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It bears several notes of librarians of the Royal libraries and of some other noblemen, besides an autograph of Emperor Jahangir :—

(1) Notes of the librarian of Shah Safawi (probably Shah Tahmasp I Safawi), dated A. H. 975.
(2) Notes of the librarian of Sultan Danial.
(3) Notes of Abu, the librarian of Akbar the Great, dated 1st year of the reign of Akbar.
(4) Notes of Mullah Habibullah, the librarian of Akbar the Great, dated 7th year of the reign of Akbar.
(5) Notes of Mullah Saleh, the librarian of Emperor Jahangir, dated A. H. 1015, the second year of the reign of Jahangir.
(6) Autograph of Emperor Jahangir, recording the fact that he received this book from the library of the late Prince Danial.

It bears the seals of—

(1) Abdul-Bari, Murid Jahangir Badshah.
(2) Abdul Muttalib Khan.
(3) Abdul Muttalib Sultan, son of Shah Bidagh Khan.
(4) Muhammad Nasir Ali.
(5) Lutfullah.
(6) Nawab Malka Zamanya Begum.

Albums

19. An Album containing the portraits of 14 Pathan Sultans of Delhi from Shahab-al-din Muhammad Ghori (589 A.H.) to Qutab-al-din Mubarak Shah Khilji (716 A.H.).

20. Tarikh-Ghulsan-i-Hind. An album prepared in the year 1253 A.H. containing 24 portraits of the Mughal Emperors of Delhi and other members of the Timur family from Amir Taimur (736 A.H.) to Bahadur Shah II (1275 A.H.)

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Signet Rings

21. An Emerald signet ring in gold, dated 1178 A.H. of Jagatseth Khushal Chand, eldest son of Jagatseth Mahatab Rai who was put to death by Nawab Mir Kasim of Murshidabad.

22. An Emerald signet ring in gold and enamel, dated 1192 A.H. of Seth Sumer Chand, third son of Jagatseth Mahatab Rai who was put to death by Nawab Mir Kasim of Murshidabad.

23. An Emerald signet ring in gold and rare black enamel of Rai Hulash Chand, dated 1269 A.H. This signet ring was presented by Emperor Bahadur Shah, the last Emperor of Delhi, together with a Khillat, on the occasion of conferring the title of " Rai " on the former.

Maps

24. A hand-coloured steel-engraving map of the Great Mughal Empire printed by the Dutch East India Company during the reign of Emperor Jahangir (1605-1635) bearing the English translation of the seal of Emperor Jahangir, with the Sun and Lion emblem of the Emperor in the centre placed on an altar with the inscription " Magni Mogolis Imperium," and supported on either side by a Mughal and an European Grandee.

25. A steel-engraving map of Old Calcutta—" A plan for the intelligence of the Military operations at Calcutta when attacked and taken by Seerajah Dowlei, 1756."

Revenue Stamp Paper

26. An unused lithograph stamp paper of the Government of Wajid Ali Shah, Badshah of Lucknow (Oudh), dated 1847 A.D.

Autograph Letters

27. An autograph letter from Lord Clive, dated Berkeley Square, the 31st May, 1764, to Mr. Wm. Innes, Lime Street.

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28. An autograph letter from Arthur Wellesley (Duke of Wellington), dated Seringapatam, the 1st July, 1801, to Jos. Webbe, Esq.

Sword

29. One Silver-mounted Sword. On one side of the scabbard is engraved the facsimile of the Mysore Medal, *i.e.*, the British Lion trampling over the Mysore Tiger and the date IV May *MDCCXCIX* (1799).

On the other side is engraved the following inscription :—

Presented by the most noble the Marquis Wellesley Governor-General of India to Major Allan Deputy Quarter Master General of the Army before Seringapatam.

Currency Notes

30. A currency note issued by the Bank of Hindustan at Calcutta for Rs. 16. Sixteen Sicca Rupees ; dated 12th May, 1835.

31. A currency note issued by the Bank of Bombay for Rs. 10. Dated 1854.

32. A currency note issued by the Government of India at Calcutta for Rs. 1000. Dated the 25th May, 1863.

33. A currency note issued by the Government of India at Bombay for Rs. 10. Dated the 10th June, 1865.

Promissory Note

34. One promissory note issued by the Governor General of India in Council for the sum of Calcutta Sicca Rupees Six hundred (Rs. 600) as a loan to the Honourable the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, bearing interest at the rate of 4% four per cent. per Annum. Dated Calcutta, the 1st of May, 1832.

Commemorative Medals

35. One Silver Medal.

Obverse—Bust of Lord Clive. Legend—Robert Clive, Baron of. Plassey.

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Reverse—Goddess of war standing by the side of and pointing towards the victory pillar inscribed—1757 Feb. 5. Nabob's Camp. Destroyed June. 23. Victorious. At Plassey 1765. Established Peace in Bengal and made Omra of the Empire.

Around—Honour. the Reward of. Merit.

Below Anno. 1766.

36. One Silver Medal.

Obverse—Bust of Lord Cornwallis. Legend—*Car. Marchio. Cornwallis. Strategus. Acerimus.*

Reverse—Lord Cornwallis receiving the 2 sons of Tippoo Sultan as hostages. Inscription—*Fas. Sit. Parcere. Hosti. Sultano. Tipoo. Devicto. Obsides. Recipit. MDCCXII.*

37. One Silver Medal.

Obverse—Diademed head of Queen Victoria; Around —*Victoria Regina.*

Reverse—Inscribed in straight lines—*The East Indian Railway projected by Rowland Macdonald Stephenson, George Turnbull being chief engineer, was commenced in the XVth year of the reign of Victoria; James Andrew, Marquis of Dalhousie K.T. being Governor General of India, and was opened to Rajmahal in the XXIVth year of the same gracious reign. Charles John Earl Canning G.C.B. being Viceroy and Governor General. A.D. MDCCCLX.*

Around—*Prosper thou the work of our hands upon us! prosper thou our handiwork. Ps XC.*

19

PROF. SYED HASAN ASKARI, PATNA COLLEGE, PATNA

1. *Sagarfnamah-i-Wilayat*, by Itsamuddin of Nadia. The work is an account of an early voyage from Calcutta to London undertaken by the author in the Company of Major Swinton to convey a letter (in connection with the

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Diwani) and presents from Shah Alam II to the King of England in 1183=1766. It also gives in the preface some interesting details regarding contemporary historical personalities like Shitab Ray and Clive which would go to revise present knowledge. The manuscrtpt was copied in 1219=1804, at the instance of Diwan Syed Nasir Ali of Kujhwa.

2. *Muntakhab-ul-Wazara* : a rare history of the Wazirs from the time of the early Prophets till 992=1584, by Qazi Ahmad Ibrismilul Husaini. The author quotes here and there the sources tapped by him and promises a second volume, of which the present manuscript is the first one. It was copied by Md. Mumin in 1029=1619 and contains 15 seals, 3 having been tampered with. There are 3 "Arz-i-didas," dated 1069=1658 and the 25th and the 27th year of the reign. The manuscript appears to have belonged to the royal library. Many of the headings are written in gold (now faded). Some of the important topics are written in red ink.

3. *Diwan-i-Humayun* (a collection of Persian poems composed by the Emperor Humayun). There is no mention of the date and name of the copyist but in the text reference is made to author's attachment to Ali and his descendants and to the merits of opium. The style of decoration and the brittle and discoloured nature of the paper lead one to presume the copy to be dated somewhere in the 17th century. The pen-name of "Humayun" and the fact that some of the poems available in the present manuscript are to be found in the standard histories and biographical dictionaries, both contemporary and subsequent, including Akbarnama, Jouhar-i-Samsam (the contemporary biography of Humayun), Tuhfai Sami (written in 1550 A.D.), Maasari Iqbal-i-Jahangiri and Tazkira of Taqi Auhadi (finished 1515 A.D.), as also the completely different nature of Diwan of Humayun-Isfraini (O. P. Lib. MS.) from the present work are conclusive evidence of the genuineness

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of the manuscript. Prof. Abdul Ghani's book "Persian Literature under the Mughals" (Vol. II) contain some poems of the Emperor, taken from a manuscript in British Museum, which correspond to those available in the present copy. No other copy of this valuable work is known to exist.

4. *Shah Nama* of Firdausi. The manuscript, copied between 861 and 869 A.H. (1456 and 1464 A.D.), appears to be the third oldest copy of the Great Epic in the world, being earlier than the Patna O. P. Library manuscript, and a little later than the two earlier copies now in the British Museum. The large number of miniatures and paintings display Sino-Persian and possibly Indian Buddhist influences, which must have been prevalent in Persia from the end of the 8th to the 15th century A.D. The copy, written in fair *nastalik* in 4 columns, ornamented with rich headpieces, ornamental gilded borders and decorated headings, is the work of Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Al Khus Mehri.

Bound in two volumes.

20

K. P. SAMADDAR

Three documents of a Bandobast dating 1102 B.S. which refers to early Landholder's possessions in Barisal, ten years after the Bargi Riot.

21

BIJAY SINGH NAHAR, Esq., CALCUTTA

1. Leaves from a manuscript of Avasyaka Sutra copied in 1529 V.S. (1472 A.D.)

2. A manuscript of Karmastavavritti. Copied at Jaisalmer in 1611 V.S. (1554 A.D.) by Sri Sumati Dhira Garu, disciple of Jina Manikya Suri, at the age of 16. [A year after he was made an *acharya* and was named Sri Jina Chandra Suri, a Jain monk highly respected by Akbar.]

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3. Manuscript cover with pearl and gold thread work, showing the fourteen dreams of Trisala, the mother of Mahavira, and the eight auspicious signs on the other side.

4. *Burmese Golden Book*. Fifteen metal folia with enamelled work in gold and writing enamelled in black. The covers, and first and last folia contain figures painted in gold.

5. Original letters of Sir Alexander Cunningham addressed to J. D. Beglar, during his archaeolgical tours in India.

6. Portrait of Rana Pratap.

7. Portrait of Durgadas.

8. Portrait of Jina Chandra Suri, with Akbar and his courtiers.

22

RAJA KSHITINDRA DEB RAI MAHASAI, BANSBERIA RAJ

An enlarged photograph of the original *Sanad* conferring the heriditary title of "Raja Mahasai" to Raja Rameswar Rai Mahasai by the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb, dated 10 Safar, 1090 Hijri (1673 A.D.) The *Sanad* is in Persian and an English translation, certified by H. Beveridge, I.C.S. (Retd), is attached. A similar enlarged photograph is preserved in the Victoria Memorial, Calcutta, and another in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

23

RAI BAHADUR RADHAKRISHNA JALAN, PATNA

1. Mughal Painting (17th century A.D.)
   (*a*) Obverse—Wedding Procession.
   (*b*) Reverse—Elephant with rider.

2. Four playing cards on tortoise-shell painted with figures in Rajput style.

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Records

1. Extracts from Charter of William III, granted Sept. 3rd, 1698.

2. Extracts from a letter from Hon'ble the Court of Directors, dated the 20th March, 1799.

3. Letter from General Wedderburn, Bombay, dated the 13th April, 1771.

4. Colonel Don's opinion on the decrease of population in Bengal.

5. Extract from a letter from Government, dated 30th March, 1797.

6. Extracts from a letter from the Commissioners to Major General Robert Bowles, dated Mahe, 25th April, 1797.

7. Monthly Return of the Company's First Battalion of the Sixth Regiment of Native Infantry, Bomhay, 1st July, 1799.

24

NAWABZADA A. F. M. ABDUL ALI, CALCUTTA

1. Two old Chogas.

25

THE IMPERIAL RECORDS DEPARTMENT

Documents containing Signatures of Governor-Generals from Warren Hastings to Lord Canning

1. Sec. Cons. 24th Mar., 1775, No. 3 (bearing Warren Hastings's autograph).
2. Minute of Sir John McPherson (*pro-tem.*) proposing that the opinion of the Advocate-General may be taken to determine whether compliance with Mr. Stewart's request would be considered as an evasion of certain Act of Parliament. (H. D. Pub. 31st May, 1785, No. 2.)
3. Minute of Sir John Shore, expressing, on his ap-

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proaching departure for Europe, his sincerest acknowledgments to his colleagues for the services rendered by them. (H. D. Pub. 5th Mar., 1798, No. 1.)

4. Lieutenant-General Sir Alfred Clark, K.C.B. (*pro-tem.*). Minute proposing the appointment of the sanctioned number of cadets as Ensigns of Infantry Regts., which are deficient in officers, the Cavalry Regts. being already complete. (Mily. Cons. 27th Aug., 1799, No. 1.)
5. The Earl of Mornington (Marquess of Wellesley). Letter from the Governor-General in Council at Fort St. George stating that no further expense need be incurred in sending rice from Bengal, and recommending that as rice is wanted at the Cape of Good Hope it be sent there. (H. D. Pub. 31st May, 1799, No. 2.)
6. Minute of Lord Cornwallis acknowledging receipt of and conforming to para. 4 of Court of Directors' Public General Letter, dated 5th Apr., 1793, regarding the terms of office and of payment of salary of Governor-General and Council of Bengal and Governors and Councils of other Presidencies, when one goes out of India and westward of the Cape of Good Hope. (H. D. Pub. 30th July, 1805, No. 6.)
7. Letter of Lt.-Col. Sir George Barlow (*pro-tem.*) enclosing his minute appointing the Hon. Mr. George Udny as Vice-President and Deputy Governor of Fort William. (H. D. Pub. 14th, Oct., 1805, No. 6.)
8. Minute of Earl of Minto and Council appointing Mr. G. I. Siddons as an Asstt. to the Resident at Fort Marlborough. (H. D. Pub. 1st Jan., 1808, No. 1.)

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9. Earl of Moira's minute giving his reasons for the restoration of the salary of the Private Secy. from Rs. 36,000 per annum to its former standard of Rs. 50,000. (H. D. Pub. 7th Jan., 1814, No. 1.)
10. Marquis of Hastings's letter resigning the offices of the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief of all the King's and the Hon'ble Company's Forces in India. (Autograph.) (H. D. Pub. 13th Jan., 1823, No. 4.)
11. Minute of Governor-General John Adam (*pro-tem.*) appointing Charles Lushington as his Private Secretary. (H. D. Pub. 13th Jan., 1823, No. 8.)
12. Lord Amherst's letter granting license to Mr. J. H. Alt, Prof. of Bishop's College, to proceed to England. (H. D. Pub. 7th Aug., 1823, No. 2.)
13. Mr. W. B. Bayley acknowledges general letter from Court. (H. D. Gen. 13th Mar., 1828, No. 4c.)
14. Lord W. H. C. Bentinck acknowledges general letter from Court. (H. D. Gen. 4th July., 1828, No. 2.)
15. Sir Charles Metcalfe's minute nominating Mr. W. T. Princep as a member of the Council. (H. D. Gen. 20th Mar., 1835, No. 5.)
16. Lord Auckland's autograph letter regarding his sentiments upon the services rendered to the State by his Private Secretary Mr. I. R. Colvil. (H. D. Gen. 2nd Mar., 1842, No. 1.)
17. Earl of Ellenborough's communication to the Members of his Council advising them to notify his tour (up-country) in the official Gazette. A letter from Mr. W. W. Bird (*Pro. Tem.*). (H. D. Pub. 11th Apr., 1842, No. 1.)
18. Autograph letter of Sir H. Hardinge announcing

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his departure from Barrackpore. (H. D. Pub. 22nd Sep., 1845, No. 1.)

19. Lord Dalhousie's autograph expressing his Lordship's regret on taking leave and the high opinion he entertains of Mr. Secretary Bushby. (H. D. Pub. 10th Oct., 1848, No. 1)

20. Holograph of Lord Canning on the duties performed by the Home Secretary to a Junior Secretary with reduced pay, and of separating the Revenue and Judicial business from the Foreign Department. (H. D. Pub. 24th Oct., 1856, No. 53.)

Provisional Rules for Grants in Aid of Education

21-25. Bengal—H. D. Pub. Cons. 6th July, 1855, Nos. 54-8.

26-29. Madras—H. D. Pub. Cons. 27th July, 1855, Nos. 29-32.

30-32. Agra—H. D. Pub. Cons. 17th Aug., 1855, Nos. 33-5.

33-34. Bombay—H. D. Pub. Cons. 23rd Nov., 1855, Nos. 84A, 84-5.

35. Ditto—H. D. Pub. Cons. 20th June, 1856, No. 56.

36-38. Ditto—H. D. Pub. Cons. 12th Sept., 1856, Nos. 62-4.

39. Resolution relative to the absence of the Governor General (Lord Dalhousie) from the Council and to the necessity for vesting the Governor General by law with certain powers during such absence. (H. D. Pub. Cons. 19th June, 1855, No. 240.)

40-42. Reports on the Rivers of Bengal describing the nature of the country through which they flow, their embankments, etc. (H. D. Pub. Cons. 30th Dec., 1848, Nos. 6-8.)

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43-44. Scheme of the Presidency College—Lord Dalhousie's Minute, etc. (H. D. Pub. Cons. 5th May, 1854, Nos. 4-6; H. D. Pub. Cons. 24th Nov., 1854, No. 13.)

45. Construction of line of Telegraph from Kerrachee to Lahore *via* Hyderabad and Mooltan and of line to connect India with England by way of Asiatic Turkey and the Persian Gulf. (H. D. Pub. Cons. 31st Oct., 1856, No. 119.)

46. Copy of Firmaun for the Dewanney of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. Written on the 24th of Suffer of the 6th Year of the Jalors. And the Contents of the Zimmun. (H. D. Pub. Cons. 9th Sep., 1765, No. 2.)

47. Copy of Agreement with the Nabob in Consequence of the Phirmaund obtained for the Dewanny of the Provinces to the Company. (H. D. Pub. Cons. 9th Sep., 1765, No. 3.)

48. Copy of Firmauns for the Dewanny of the Province of Bengal. Written the 24th of Suffer of the 6th Year of the Jalors. And the Contents of the Zimmun. (H. D. Pub. Cons. 9th Sep., 1765, No. 4.)

49. Copy of Firmaun for the Dewanny of the Province of Behar. Written the 24th of Suffer of the 6th year of the Jalors. And the Contents of the Zimmun. (H. D. Pub. Cons. 9th Sep., 1765, No. 5.)

50. Copy of Firmaun for the Dewanny of the Province of Orissa. Written the 24th of Suffer of the 6th Year of the Jalors. And the Contents of the Zimmun. (H. D. Pub. Cons. 9th Sep., 1765, No. 6.)

51. Lord Clive's proposals for appropriating the legacy of five lakhs of rupees conferred upon him by

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Nawab Mir Jafar and the present of 3 lakhs of rupees made to His Lordship by Nawab Nazim-ud-Daulah, to the benefit of the Company's invalid servants and widows of those who lost their lives in the Company's service. Among the enclosures are translations of three certificates concerning the legacy of five lakhs (attested, 12th Jan., 1767) given by Nawab Nazim-ud-Daulah, his mother, *i.e.*, wife of Nawab Mir Jafar, and Maharaja Nanda Kumar. [H. D. Pub. Cons. 20th Jan., 1767, Nos. 6-6 (1) to 6 (5).]

52. Copy of a list of articles to be provided at the Cossimbazar Factory for the investment for the year 1786-87, extracted from the order of investment by the Dutton. (H. D. Pub. Cons. 16th Jan., 1786, No. B.)

53. Original notes and minutes on the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India by Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General, the Hon. A. Ross and the Hon. Lt. Col. W. Morrison, C.B., Members of the Supreme Council and Mr. H. T. Princep, Secretary to the Government of India in the General Department; there are notes and remarks in pencil on Mr. Princep's minute by the Hon. (afterwards Lord) T. B. Macaulay, Member of the Supreme Council. (H. D. Pub. Cons. 7th March, 1835, No. 19 and K. W.)

54. Lord Auckland's minute on the promotion of education among the natives of India. (H. D. Pub. Cons. 24th Nov., 1839, No. 10.)

55. Lord Auckland's Autograph minute on Delhi in the year 1838. (H. D. Pub. Cons.)

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56. Treaty with King Christian VIII of Denmark for transferring the Dutch Settlements in India to the English, dated 22nd Feb., 1845.

57. Relating to reform in system of examination and instruction pursued in the College of Fort William. (H. D. Pub. Cons. 25th Nov., 1856, 6-18 and K. W.)

58-59. Incorporation of the University of Calcutta with adaptations for the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay. (H. D. Pub. Cons. 12th Dec., 1856, Nos. 51-55.)

60. Copy of the minute of the Hon'ble T. B. Macaulay on native education. (H. D. Pub. Cons. 7th March, 1835, No. 15.)

61. Introduction of Postage Stamps in supersession of the system of money payments as postages. (H. D. Pub. Cons. 18th Mar., 1853, No. 1.)

62. Postal Reforms. (H. D. Pub. Cons. 1st July, 1853, Nos. 1-3.)

63. Postal Reforms. (H. D. Pub. Cons. 12th May, 1854, Nos. 44-5.)

64. Postal Reforms. (H. D. Pub. Cons. 19th May, 1854, No. 64.)

65. Royal Act of Amnesty, Pardon and Oblivion which, by command of the Queen, has been proclaimed to the people of India. (H. D. Pub. Cons. 26th Nov., 1858, Nos. 75-92.)

66. Proclamation of the assumption of the Government of India by the Queen. (H. D. Pub. Cons. 5th Nov., 1858, Nos. 11-2, 49.)

67-70. Proposition submitted by H.M.'s Post Master General for including India in the arrangements to be adopted for the establishment of uniform rates of postage between England and the Colonies. (H. D. Pub. Cons. 8th July, 1853,

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No. 4.; H. D. Pub. Cons. 16th Sept., 1853, Nos. 21-3; H. D. Pub. Cons. 25th May, 1855, No. 51; H. D. Pub. Cons. 30th Mar., 1855, No. 69.)

71. Petition of the Greek inhabitants of Calcutta requesting permission to erect a chapel. (H. D. Pub. Cons. 11th Apr., 1774, No. 4.)

72. Letter from Sr. Diogo Fernandez Salema De Sald, Governor of Macao, requesting the restoration of the five slaves carried away by Capt. Thomas Mercer and enclosing the proceedings of the judicial enquiry regarding the same. (H. D. Pub. Cons. 11th Apr., 1774, Nos. 5-6.)

73. Draft of reply to the Hon'ble Sr. Diago Fernandez Salema De Sald. (H. D. Pub. Cons. 11th Apr., 1774, No. 7.)

74. Copy of a letter from the Commissioners of Police, transmitting a complete estimate of the value of all the shops, lands, houses, tenements and hereditaments in the town of Calcutta, as well as the assessment of a tax for the year 1781, intimating that for the present the full tax permitted by the Ordinance must be levied, and requesting the Board to signify their approval of the assessment in writing. (H. D. Pub. Cons. 2nd July, 1781, No. 1.)

Maps and Plans

75. Plan of Calcutta and its environs executed by Lt. Col. Mark Wood in the years 1784 and 1785. Published by Wm. Ballie in October, 1792.

76. Map of Calcutta and its environs, 1792 and 1793; by A. Upjohn.

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77. Southward of Chowrunghee and General Hospital, 1796; by E. Blunt.

78. Country from 30 to 40 miles round Calcutta, 1800; by R. H. Colebrooke.

79. North-East of Calcutta, 1801; by G. Fleming.

80. Suburbs of Calcutta commencing at Intally, 1813; by J. F. Hyde.

81-84. (1 to 4) by F. S. White.

No. 1. Roads in the suburbs of Calcutta from Garden Reach to Chitpore, 1815.

No. 2. Bhowanipore, Garia Hat and Ballygunge, 1815.

No. 3. Ballygunge to Intally, 1815.

No 4. Intally to Cossipore, 1815.

85. Calcutta Lands, 1847; by C. Martin.

86-89. (1-4) Plans of Calcutta and its environs. (For the use of the Lottery Committee by Capt. T. Prinsep.)

90-93. (1-4) Plans of Calcutta from actual survey in the years 1847-1849; by F. W. Simms. (Revised to 1875.)

Repairing of Old Manuscripts and Books

94. Annals of the College of Fort William, by R. Roebuck, Calcutta, 1819. A fine specimen of *inlaying work*. This book was hopelessly damaged by Silver-fish and had almost become a solid mass of paper, which was specially treated before every page of it could be inlaid very skilfully, gathered and bound up in a scientific way.

95-96. Manuscripts illustrating the evil of using white tracing paper in repairing important documents. (H. D. Pub. Cons. 19th May, 1777, No. 4.) The tracing papers were subsequently peeled off

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and replaced by *mousseline de soie* (chiffon) in 1920. (H. D. Pub. Cons. 26th Aug., 1789, No. 4.)

Papers selected from the Foreign Department Records

97-98. Maharaja Nanda Kumar's accusation against Warren Hastings. (H. Sec. Con. 11th Mar., 1775, Nos. 1-2.)

99. Request from Maharaja Nanda Kumar to reside under a strict guard in some place in Jail where he can easily carry on his religious scruples. (Sec. Con. 8th May, 1775, No. 6.)

100-01. Supreme Court Judge Elizah Impey's letter (dt. 13. 5. 1775) stating that Maharaja Nanda Kumar's religious scruples against pollution and contamination during the period of his confinement in Jail were mere pretence which was substantiated by the opinion of several Pandits with reference to the Sastra point of view. (Sec. Con. 16th May, 1775, Nos. 1-2.)

102. Earthquake in the town of Bhooj (in Cutch) and its vicinity. (Pol. Con. 28th Aug., 1819, Nos. 6-9.)

103. Suppression of the slave trade in Persian Gulf. (Sec. Con. 18th July, 1851, Nos. 33-4.)

104. Specimens of gold found on the sands of the Indus. (For. Cons. 11th Oct. 1850, Nos. 92-6.)

105. The great and meritorious services which his ancestors Rajah Jankeeram, Rajah Doolubram, and Rajah Rajebullub rendered to the Company's Government. The Sequestration by Government of the Family Jageer of Nagore Basse, Noypoor, and ca. The present distress of his family and his hopes that relief will

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be granted them. (Pol. Cons. 7th Mar., 1808, No. 69.)

106-07. Golaum Khauder Khan (Grandson of Najib Khan) blinded King Shah Alam. (Sec. Pol. Cons. 29th Aug., 1788 No. 2.)

Consequent punishment of Golam Kader Khan by Madajee Scindea. (Sec. Pol. Cons. 8th Sep., 1788 No. 12.)

108-21. Papers relating to Ghyretty House and Garden. (For. Cons. 23rd March, 1816, Nos. 13-26.)

122. Ditto. (Pol. Cons. 24th November, 1821, No. 104.)

123. From Raja Chait Singh of Benares. This is a Sanskrit text of the answers of the Pandits of Benares who were asked by the Governor General to give their rulings in the light of signatures of the renowned Pandits of Benares. (7th November, 1778, No. 102.)

124. From Madho Rao (Mahadaji) Sindhia. Informs that he has supplied Col. Goddard, while he was on this way to Surat, with provisions, etc., and expresses a hope that the existing treaty between him (Sindhia) and the Company will be strictly adhered to. (17th April, 1779, No. 67.)

125. From Raja Chait Singh. Says that it was with great difficalty that he managed last year to contribute five lakhs of rupees for the expenses of the war and regrets his inability to make any further contribution. (27th August, 1779, No. 91.)

126. From the learned and noblemen of Calcutta. Represents that a decent and suitable Madrasah may be set up in the neighbourhood of Murshidabad and that Maulvi Majdud-Din, a man of great learning and erudition, who has just

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returned from Hindustan (Upper India), may be employed to take up the work of teaching. (21st September, 1781, No. 51.)

127. From Jassa Lama, a minister of the Teshu Lama. Complimentary, informing the Governor General of the re-incarnation of the Lama in the person of an infant and sending presents as a token of his friendship. (28th March, 1784, No. 16.)

128. From Muhammad Ali Khan, Nawab of Arcot. Complains against Lord Macartney, the Governor of Madras, who purposely omitted to include his name in the treaty with Tipu as one of the parties. (12th August, 1784, No. 57.)

129. From Nawab Asafud-Daulah of Oudh. Is concerned to learn of the Governor General's indisposition. Prays for his speedy recovery. Requests to be informed of his progress from time to time. Written in characteristic *shikashta* style. Bears the seal of the Nawab. (12th September, 1785, No. 65.)

130. From Nana Farnavis, minister of the Peshwa. Asks the Governor General to send military assistance to the Peshwa and the Nizam against Tipu. Bears the seal of Nana Farnavis. (14th November, 1785, No. 94.)

131. From Teshu Lama. Complimentary. Bears the seal of the Lama. (5th January, 1785, No. 3.)

132. From the Raja of Nepal. Professes his friendship for the Company and informs the Governor General of his safe arrival at Benares with a view to performing his pilgrimage at Kashiji and expresses his gratification for the utmost care and attention shown him by Mr: Vanderheyden. Bears the signature of the Raja. (22nd June, 1800, No. 185.)

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133. From Shamsun Nisa Begum, daughter of Khan Khanan Bahadur. Acknowledges the receipt of a letter from the Governor General and congratulates him on the conclusion of a treaty between the English and the French. (23rd October, 1802, No. 396.)

134. From Nawab Nizam Ali Khan. Congratulates the Governor General on the success of British arms over the Mahrattas. (16th January, 1805, No. 27.)

135. From Jahanabadi Begam, one of the widows of the late Prince Jahandar Shah. Solicits the Governor-General's permission to proceed on a pilgrimage to Najaf and Karbala with her son Mirza Ali Qadr, and requests that an advance of 5 years' *peshkash* and a guard of sepoy for her protection may be granted to her. (Nov., 1816.)

136. From Raja Ghansam Singh Bahadur, Zamindar of Pargana Charkawan, Ramgarh, to Mr. George Swinton. Says that agreeably to his instruction he accorded a fitting reception to Mr. Simeon when the latter visited his zamindari on his way to Benares. The Raja accommodated the gentleman in his own house and did everything in his power for his comfort. He also accompanied him on his departure as far as the fort of Royta. Bears the seal of the Raja. (29th January, 1820.)

137. From Maharaja Karam Singh Mahindar. Says that he has made over the house of Partapa, a notorious dacoit, to the Company. He had captured the house with great difficulty and at an enormous loss of men and money. Requests, therefore, that a similar house may be given to him in lieu thereof. (8th Feb., 1820.)

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138. From Akbar Shah II, Mughal Emperor, informing the Governor-General of the betrothal of his son Mirza Muhammad Jahangir with the daughter of Mirza Sulaiman Shikoh. Bears the seal of his Majesty. (20th November, 1820.)

139. From Bishan Singh, Raja of Bundi. Condoles with the Governor-General on the death of His Majesty the King of Great Britain (George III) on 29th January, 1820 and expresses his satisfaction and pleasure on the accession of His Gracious Majesty George IV. (24th August, 1820.)

140. From Abdur Rahman Khan, Amir of Afghanistan. Seeks Governor-General's permission to bring down his family from Tashkand to Kabul. Bears the Amir's seal and signature. (November, 1880.)

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PUNJAB GOVERNMENT RECORDS

Pictures

1. Maharaja Ranjit Singh in Durbar (a rare contemporary picture).
2. Maharaja Ranjit Singh and Raja Hira Singh driving in a *palky* (pencil sketch).
3. Original Mutiny telegrams, dated 11th and 12th May, 1857.
4. Letter from H.R.H. Prince Albert to Sir Henry Lawrence, dated 6th July, 1846.
5. Raja Dina Nath (Finance Minister to Maharaja Ranjit Singh).

Documents

6. Holograph report by Sir Herbert Edwards, dated 15th October, 1846, on his negotiations with the

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Envoys of Sheikh Imam-ud-Din, Governor of Kashmir.

7. Original warrant for the confinement of the Prema conspirators in the Delhi Jail, dated 1st October, 1847.
8. Defeat of the adherents of Dewan Mulraj near Dera Ghazi Khan by (Sir) Herbert Edwards, 27th April, 1848.
9. Proceedings of a meeting of the Board of Administration held on 17th December, 1849 to arrange a division of work between the members.
10. Copy of a demi-official letter written by Sir Henry Lawrence on 29th March, 1849 announcing the annexation of the Punjab.
11. Warning conveyed by Sir Henry Lawrence to Maharaja Gulab Singh of Kashmir.
12. Office orders drafted by Sir John Lawrence defining the procedure for dealing with appeals to the Chief Commissionor, dated 19th December, 1858.
13. An interesting view of the military situation on the 21st June, 1857 by General Nicholson.
14. Sir John Lawrence's letter to Sardar Khan Singh Rosa, dated the 15th June, 1857.
15. Original warrant for the execution of the Nawab of Ferozepur Jhirka for complicity in the murder of Mr. Fraser, dated the 29 September, 1835.
16. Lord Dalhousie's approval of the Hill Station of Dalhousie being called after him, dated the 2nd June, 1854.
17. Letter from Sir John Lawrence to Lord Canning, dated the 14th August, 1858.
18. Constitution of the Chief Court of the Punjab, dated the 19th February, 1866.

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19. Oaths of the first two Judges appointed to the Chief Court of the Punjab, constituted February 19, 1866.
20. Oath of allegiance of an old Lieutenant Governor (Sir D. F. McLeod), dated the 10th January, 1865.
21. Proclamation, dated the 29th March, 1849, declaring the annexation of the Punjab to the British Empire.
22. Form of permit and rules for visitors to Kashmir in 1867.
23. "The Illustrated London News," dated the 15th March, 1851, showing an interview between Lord Dalhouse and Maharaja Gulab Singh at Wazirabad in 1850.
24. Letter from Maharaja Dalip Singh to Sir John Lawrence, dated the 4th September, 1854.
25. Autographs of European Officers in the service of Maharaja Ranjit Singh—(*a*) General Avitabile, (*b*) General Court, (*c*) Gorman *alias* Gordon and (*d*) W. H. Campbell.
26. Signature of Maharaja Sher Singh in English.
27. Persian copy of the Tripartite Treaty of 1838.
28. A Firman of the Emperor Aurangzeb granting rent-free land.
29. Parwanah of the Sikh times granting a Jagir.
30. Specimen of an old Jagir Sanad of 1853.
31. Mutiny Jagir signed by Sir John Lawrence.
32. Final receipt for the purchase of Kashmir, dated the 30th March, 1850, signed by the Board of Administration.
33. Summons to a witness to attend the trial of Bahadur Shah, Ex-King of Delhi.
34. Treaty of 1809 between the British Government and Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

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35. Three treaties of 1846, *viz.*, two between the British Government and the Lahore Durbar and one the British Government and Maharaja Gulab Singh.
36. Office copy of the Treaty of March, 1855 between the British Government and Amir Dost Muhammed Khan of Kabul.
37. Letters of condolence from Amir Sher Ali, Khan of Kabul, at the death of Lord Mayo, dated 1872.
38. Letter, dated 3rd December, 1857 from General Mansfield (Lord Sandhurst) to Sir John Lawrence (partly in Greek characters).

27

BENGAL GOVERNMENT RECORDS

Judicial and Criminal

1.	O. C. No. 16, dated 29th Dec., 1826.	Mr. J. H. Harington's Minute, dated 11th January, 1826, regarding Slavery (bears his original signature).
2.	O. C. No. 18, dated 29th Dec., 1826.	Holograph Minute, dated 25th January, 1826, of Lord Amherst, on Slavery in India.
3.	O. C. No. 27, dated 6th March, 1828.	Holograph Minute, dated 4th January, 1828, of Lord Amherst, declining to abolish *Sati* immediately.
4.	O. C. No. 10, dated 4th Dec., 1829.	Autograph Minute of Lord William Bentinck, recommending abolition of *Sati*.

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5. O. C. No. 1, dated 15th Feb., 1773. Letter, dated 5th Feb., 1773, from the Board of Revenue of the whole Council at Fort William to the Committee of Circuit, on the settlement of Dinajpur and Silberis (bears the autographs of Warren Hastings, General Robert Barker and Thomas Lane).

6. Cal. Com., O. C. No. 1, dated 6th Dec., 1773. Letter from the Board of Revenue of the whole Council to the Calcutta Committee of Revenue, regarding the constitution of the Provincial Councils of Revenue (bears the autographs of Warren Hastings, W. Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, James Lawrell and others).

7. O. C. No. 17, dated 11th June, 1773. Original petition from Loknath Nandi (son of Kanto Babu, Banian to Governor-General Warren Hastings and founder of the Kashimbazar Raj family), Gokul Chandra Ghosaul (founder of the Bhukailash Raj family), Darpo Narayan Thakur (Tagore) and Kasinath Babu, salt contractors of Hijli (bears their autographs).

8. Original letter, dated 15th November, 1773 from the French Council at Chander-

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		nagore to the Revenue Board of the whole Council, complaining against the proceedings of Mr. Barwell, with an English Translation. (This bears the autographs of the Chairman and the members of the French Council.)
9.	Cal. Com., O. C. No. 1, dated 20th October, 1775.	Letter, dated 16th Oct., 1775, from the Revenue Department to the Calcutta Committee of Revenue, regarding the French Factories or Residencies within their jurisdiction (bears the autographs of Warren Hastings, Philip Francis, R. Barwell, J. Clavering and Col. G. Monson).
10.	O. C. No. 12, dated 21st May, 1776.	Draft of a Sanad, dated 21st May, 1776, granting the Zemindari of Burdwan to Maharaja Tez Chand Bahadur.
11.	Revenue O. C. No. 10, dated 30th Nov., 1779.	Petition of appeal of Kissen Kanto Nandi (commonly known as Kanto Babu), relating to his mercantile affairs in Calcutta.
12.	Revenue O. C. No. 4, dated 18th Sept., 1789.	Original minute of Sir John Shore, dated 18th September, 1789, on the Permanent Settlement of Bengal and Bihar.

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13.	Revenue O. C. No. 52, dated 10th Feb., 1799.	Last minute of the Governor General (Lord Cornwallis) on the Permanent Settlement of Bengal and Bihar.
14.		Original Quistbundi, dated 1173 B. S. (corresponding to English era 1767), executed by Maharani Bhawani of Natore Raj for her Zamindary (this bears the Rani's own signature in Bengali).
15.		Original Quistbundi, dated 1192 B. S. (English 1785), executed by Maharajadhiraj Tej Chandra Bahadur for Pergana Burdwan, etc. (bearing his signature in Bengali).
16		Original Qabuliat, dated 1192 B. S. (1785), executed by Raja Raj Sing (ancestor of the Maharajas of Susang), for Pergana Susang (Mymensingh) with his Seal.
17.		Original Qabuliats, dated 1192 B. S. (1785), executed by the Zemindars of Muktagacha (Mymensingh), ancestors of the Maharajas of Mymensingh, for Perganas Mymensingh and Alapsing (bearing their signatures).

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